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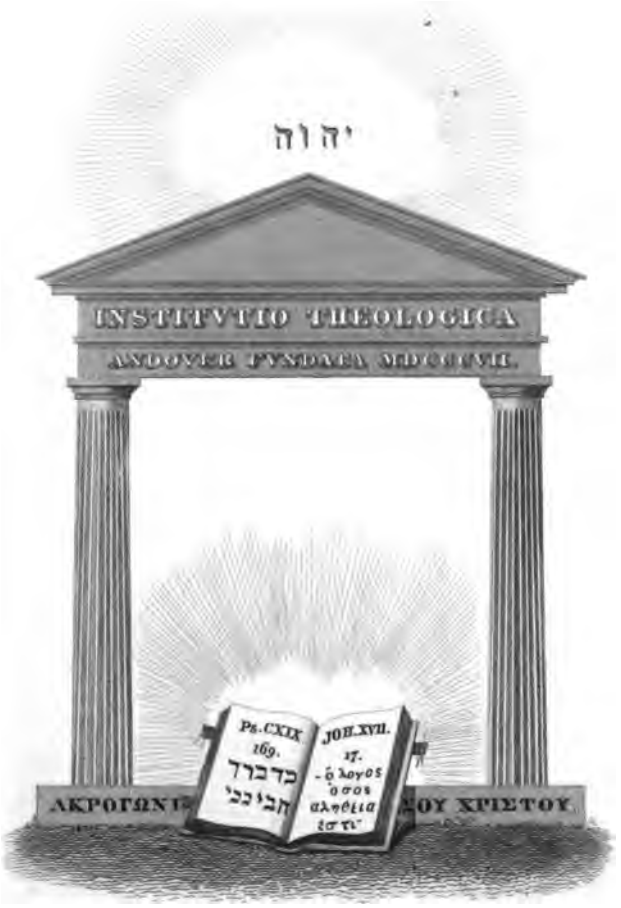

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

32741.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

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Rolls House,
December 1857.

MEMORIALS OF SAINT DUNSTAN

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

EDITED FROM VARIOUS MANUSCRIPTS

BY

WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY AND FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD;
SOMETIME LIBRARIAN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

Historical importance of the Lives of the Saints.

AMONG the original sources of medieval history no insignificant place belongs to the Acta Sanctorum. The value of the results which flow from the study of these monuments of devotion is not to be estimated by their direct bearing on narrative history any more than by the bulk of the volumes that contain them. The Lives of the Saints were not written for the purpose of adding to our knowledge of events, but for the purpose of arousing pious affection, admiration for holy men, and devotion to the principles and practices which they represented. In some instances the object was lower; it may have been the mere desire of enlisting votaries in some particular Order, or of drawing pilgrims to some particular shrine. In these cases the student of history finds his chief debt to these books in the fact that they reflect certain phases of thought and character, illustrate certain lines of education and illumination, or afford minute details of local colouring, which throw light incidentally on the condition of society in which they were produced and prized.

They are generally the Lives of great men.

But a very large proportion of the men whose lives have been thus written owed the distinction to their services done to mankind. Even the saint whose reputation is due apparently to the reported performance of posthumous miracles, must be presumed to have been really such a person as would be likely to perform such acts. The ecclesiastical beatification is in a vast majority of cases the result rather than the cause of popular devotion. Many of the early biographies are thus con-

nected directly with history, because they profess to be the private memorials of the lives of those who are the more prominent actors on the historical stage. These books, although it may not be uniformly true that they are the necessary supplements to the chronicles, are always interesting and sometimes most valuable.

Lives of English saints written by pupils or contemporaries.

Chiefly is this the case when, as it has so often happened with the English saints, the task of recording the acts and thoughts of the great men has fallen into the hands of disciples whom they themselves have trained, or of contemporaries who have survived them. The life of Wilfrid by his disciple Eddius, the poetical history of the archbishops of York by Alcuin, the lives of Ethelwold and Oswald,[1] the anonymous life of Edward the Confessor, and Eadmer's life of Anselm, are the memorials of the best men of the time written by the best scholars of the time. The best men may have been narrow-minded and superstitious, and the best writers may have been ignorant and pedantic, but the bigotry and pedantry of an age in which pedants and bigots ruled, is a necessary matter of study to the scholar, who would view facts as they are, and trace the gradual shining of the light out of the darkness. But although such charges may be sometimes true, the popular worship has not generally been wasted on the memory of selfish ascetics, nor have the works of mere pedants been, as a rule, preserved and multiplied by an admiring, undiscriminating posterity.

Importance of incidental notices.

Once more, the incidental touches of fact which constantly show themselves, the undesigned coincidences that help us to recognize and realize the times, places, and personages of history, the notices of social life, of international intercourse, the very fashion of style and

[1] Of these the *Life of Oswald*, contained in the Cotton MS. Nero E. 1, has never been printed. We may hope for an edition of it in Canon Raine's York volumes of this series. It is an invaluable and almost unknown evidence for the reigns of Edgar and Ethelred.

turn of thought, which are indispensable to the biographer, even when he tries to abstract his mind most entirely from secular matters, and without which he would fail to find readers or copyists,—these are points of no small importance, where all material is so scanty. Tone of thought.

These considerations must be allowed due weight in reference to the present volume. For the history of England in the latter half of the tenth century we have, except the very meagre notices of the Anglo Saxon Chronicles, no contemporary materials, unless we admit the lives of the Saints of the Benedictine revival. Florence of Worcester, writing within fifty years of the Conquest, could find nothing to add to the details of the Chronicle for this period, except the notices of Dunstan drawn directly from the biographies of the saint. The light which they shed is not great, but it is precious in proportion to its scantiness. Obscurity of the tenth century, illustrated by these books.

Of the importance of Dunstan as a historical personage there can be no doubt. He was the close friend and chief minister of Edgar, the king around whose name the last glories of the Anglo Saxon kingdoms circle. His wise influence, possibly his active share in the administration, kept off the evil day for ten or twelve years after Edgar's death. He was canonized in popular regard almost from the day he died. He was the favourite saint of the mother church of England for more than a century and a half, during which there were numbered among his successors, the scholar Elfric, the martyr Elfege, Lanfranc the statesman, and Anselm the doctor and confessor; his glory was at last eclipsed, but it was by no less a hero than Thomas Becket. The memory of his greatness was permanent, or the belief in his miracles would have been impossible. Of the lives contained in the present volume one was written within sixteen, another within twenty-three years of his death; both of these are dedicated to his successors, who knew him well, as being his fellow scholars or his own disciples. In both he appears as a statesman as well as a saint. Neither Importance of Dunstan.

Early lives of Dunstan.

of them is of any great literary merit; neither writer has troubled himself much with dates or with the adjustment of personal and local relations. Yet they open up several points of historical and literary interest, without which our knowledge of the age, incomplete as it is, would be more imperfect still.

Importance of the later biographies of Dunstan.

And some such interest belongs also to the later biographies; especially in their bearing on the sources of information open to the historians who follow the age of the Conquest. The works of Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, on secular history, are so important that everything that illustrates the history of the writers is important too; and the information supplied by Osbern, who represents the Canterbury traditions as they were at the eve of the Conquest and during the period of transition that followed it, who himself witnessed the second Benedictine revival under Lanfranc, and whose book is really the basis of the work of the two later writers on this subject, has a special value, whether it be regarded in connexion with or independently of the work of his predecessors.

Plan of this Introduction.

In the following pages I shall attempt to say something on each of the heads to which I have referred. Our stock of knowledge has many bearings, and can scarcely be treated in each of these without much repetition. In order, however, to make the statement as brief as possible, I will arrange my remarks in the following order: taking first the view of our authorities, touching on their narrative only so far as it affects their personal history; secondly, the literary history of the cycle; and thirdly, the chronology of the life of Dunstan; noting at each stage the light shed by these materials on the character of his career and the history of his times.

The first biography.

Dunstan died in 988, and his first biographer dedicates his work to Elfric,[1] who ruled the church of Canterbury from 996 to 1006; as early as the year 1004

[1] See p. 3; "cujus exstitisti successor in terris," &c. p. 5.

it had been copied and a revised edition sent into France;[1] it had already reached the position of an approved work; and the date of its composition may be approximately stated as the year 1000. The writer was qualified for the task he undertook by personal acquaintance with his subject, and in two places asserts that he was an eye-witness of what he relates.[2] He describes himself, with some marked expressions of humility, as a priest, a Saxon, and by the initial letter of his name.[3] It seems fair to conclude from the first of these indications that he was not a monk. This inference is borne out by the general tone of the work, which is not marked by any strong bias towards monastic institutions, and in which scarcely anything[4] is said of the monastic reformation in which Dunstan unquestionably took part. It may be further inferred that, although he wrote the life of one archbishop of Canterbury and addressed it to another, he was not, either as monk or priest, attached to the cathedral community. His connexion with Elfric was one of charity alone,[5] and, although he was able to appeal to personal knowledge for his details of the daily life of Dunstan, he gives as authority for special statements the information derived from a circle of disciples, who may indeed have been the inmost circle of companions,[6] but who could not have engrossed all the particular knowledge of a life, much of which must have been lived in public, and the less public parts of which must have been transacted before the eyes of the cathedral clerks. Had the writer been a monk or priest of Christ Church, he must have been an eye-witness of much that he seems to describe on the

Early publication of it: about A.D. 1000.

Question as to the author:

not a monk;

nor settled at Canterbury;

nor a constant companion of Dunstan.

See below, p. xxvii.

[2] "vel videndo vel audiendo, licet "intellectu torpenti, ab ipso didice-"ram," p. 5; "ea saltim quæ vel "egomet vidi vel audivi," p. 49.

[3] "Omnium extimus sacerdotum "B. vilisque Saxonum indigena," p. 3.

[4] The only important passage is at p. 25; and it will be discussed further on.

[5] "sola septus connexione cari "tatis," p. 5.

[6] Pp. 5, 49, 52.

Possibly connected with S. Augustine's.

evidence of others. The fact that two of the three MSS. in which his work is preserved are connected with S. Augustine's, may point to that monastery as the temporary home of the writer, but a settled monk of S. Augustine's would scarcely have spoken of his house as "ædicula."

He was a Saxon.

A second note of personal identity may be sought in his account of himself as "vilis Saxonum indigena." The question arises immediately, whether we are to understand by this an insular or a continental Saxon. The internal evidence of the book is not decisive. In one place the writer speaks of the harp as a musical instrument "quam lingua paterna hearpan vocamus";[1] in another he mentions the city of Bath as "quem incolæ "locum sub paterna lingua Bathum soliti sunt appel-"lare;"[2] in another he represents the mysterious person whom he connects closely with the murder of king Edmund, as declaring "voce Saxonica se ex orientis regni "partibus esse."[3] It is possible that in these passages he speaks as an Englishman of the tenth century might be expected to speak, that he describes his own language as "paterna lingua," and by the word "Saxonica" implies the common dialect of the South of England. The nation, however, is spoken of as "gens Anglorum,"[4] the king as the "rex Anglorum,"[5] England as "Anglica "terra," the West Saxones[6] are the people of Dunstan's native province, the Orientales Saxones[7] the pastoral charge of the bishop of London. It is quite as likely that the terms "lingua paterna" and "lingua Saxonica" are used more generically for the common tongue of the continental and insular Saxon, and merely opposed to

Was he an English Saxon?

[1] P. 21.

[2] P. 46; cf. Chr. Sax. A.D. 972.

[3] P. 46.

[4] The *gens Anglorum* is mentioned, p. 5; "universus populus "Albionum," p. 6; "Anglica na-"tio," p. 25; "Anglorum princi-"pes," p. 32; "summus Anglorum "pontifex, p. 40.

[5] The "rex Anglorum" is mentioned, p. 6; "Anglica terra," p. 50.

[6] See p. 6.

[7] See p. 37.

the Latin in which the work is composed. The "vilis "Saxonum indigena" may have been primâ facie as probably an Englishman as a German; on the other hand, it may be asked why, in addressing his own archbishop, a native Englishman should describe himself as a Saxon, in a form which is scarcely ever used by an English writer without some qualifying limitation, as in Angul-Saxones, West Saxones, or Orientales Saxones.[1]

The question is not decided by the style of the book.

Unfortunately the general language of the book does not serve to clear up this point, for it is marked by an inflated and involved style which is common to the writers of the age wherever found; it contains few words which can with any certainty be said to have been

[1] I have come across a curious case of the use of the word *Saxones* whilst collating for this work. It is in the Cotton MS. Nero A. 2 (Hardy, Catalogue of Materials, I. 559); in a fragment apparently written by a Briton or a Scot. I give it entire, with the very interesting prayer that follows it; the first piece may be read as verse;

"Carta dirige gressus per mare
" per navium tellurisque spatium ad
" reges palatium; regem primum
" salute, reginem et clitanum, cla-
" rus quoque commitis, militis,
" armieros, quorum regem cum
" Æthelstanum ista per fecta Saxo-
" nia vivit rex Æthelstanum per
" fecta gloriosa. Ille Sictric de-
" functum armatum in prælia Saxo-
" num per totum Bryttanium,
" Constantinus rex Scottorum et
" velum Bryttanium salvando regis
" Saxonum fideles servitia."

"Dixit rex Æthelstanus, per Petri præconia "Sint sani sint
" longævi Salvatoris gratia."

"Domine Deus Omnipotens, rex
" regum et dominus dominantium,
" in cujus manu omnis victoria
" consistit, et omne bellum conteri-
" tur, concede mihi ut Tua manus
" cor meum corroboret, ut in vir-
" tute Tua in manibus viribusque
" meis bene pugnare viriliterque
" agere valeam, ut inimici mei in
" conspectu meo cadent et cor-
" ruant, sicut corruit Golias ante
" faciem pueri Tui David, et sicut
" populus Pharaonis coram Moysi
" in mare rubro, et sicut Philistini
" coram populo Israhel ceciderunt,
" et Amalech coram Moysi, et
" Chananei coram Jesu corruerunt,
" sic cadant inimici mei sub pedi-
" bus meis. Et per viam unam
" conveniant adversum me et per
" septem fugiant a me; et conteret
" Deus arma eorum et confringet
" framea eorum, et eliquisce in
" conspectu meo sicut cera a facie
" ignis, ut sciant omnes populi
" terræ quia invocatum est nomen
" Domini nostri Jesu super me,
" et magnificetur nomen Tuum
" Domine in adversariis meis, Do-
" mine Deus Israel." The first part is printed in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 179.

strange to English scholars of the time, and few references to customs which are more or less English than they are continental. Some light, however, may be afforded by two or three words, for which it would be hard to find parallels in the English Latin of the tenth century. Describing the expulsion of Dunstan from the court of Edmund, the biographer tells us that he was bidden to seek himself another lord, "sibi senioratum ubi vellet "sine se suisque conquirere."[1] The reference is no doubt to the Anglo Saxon custom, made obligatory by the law of Athelstan, that a man who had neither lands of his own nor kinsmen willing to be his sureties must find a lord who would represent him or answer for him in the courts of justice. The right of "hlafordsokne," or choosing a lord, was open to the landless freeman, whether he lived, as Dunstan had done, as *gesith* or companion to the king in the royal mansion, or simply required a patron. Dunstan, banished by the king and renounced by his kinsmen at court, was in imminent danger of being treated as an outlaw. He must seek a new patron. The word *senioratus*, common enough in the capitularies and in the countries governed by Frank law,[2] never occurs in English books, laws, or charters; and an English writer having occasion to mention the custom, would scarcely have looked for a foreign word to express his meaning.

Use of the word *senioratus*.

Another casual expression may be adduced which points in the same direction. The writer, dilating on the success of Dunstan's pupils, mentions that many of them were promoted to the rank of archbishop, bishop, abbot, "decanus," and "præpositus."[3] He also specifies among the nursing fathers of the infant church "reges, "pontifices, duces, decanos, præpositos, cæterosque ec-

The use of the word *decanus*.

[1] P. 23.

[2] See Du Cange's Glossary, under the word *Senioratus*. The only passage quoted there, connected with England, is the one mentioned above.

[3] P. 26.

" clesiæ suæ rectores."[1] The office of dean as an ecclesiastical dignity was not introduced into England until at least half a century later than the date of our author. The word occurs, in this sense, in none of the contemporary lives of the saints of the period, and is never given as a title by any of the numerous witnesses of the charters; nor does it appear in the laws.[2] It is found, as a designation for the monastic officer who ruled a company of ten monks, in the rule of S. Benedict, and may therefore have been known in this sense in the English monasteries, although it is not found in the *Regularis Concordia*, sometimes ascribed to Dunstan,[3] and it would be difficult to cite many instances of its use. In the work before us, however, it is twice applied to the governor of a church,

Rarity of the word in English books.

[1] P. 4.

[2] This statement is made of course subject to correction by competent authority. The strongest evidence against it is the following: (1.) S. Oswald is said to have been dean of the canons of Winchester before he became a monk, on the authority of a monk of Ramsey, whose work is preserved in the Historia Rameseiensis (ed. Gale, p. 391). (2.) Ethelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury in 1022, is said to have been dean before his promotion (Gervase, c. 1650), and Godric and Henry, who were contemporary with Osbern, and the latter of whom was afterwards prior, both bore the title of dean. In the cases, however, of Oswald and Ethelnoth, our information comes in a twelfth century dress, and cannot be regarded as contemporary. If true, I should be inclined to understand by the term a disciplinary officer rather than the head of the chapter. Godric and Henry lived close upon the Conquest, when we hear of the title being given far more commonly, as, e.g., to the deans of Waltham (Tractatus de S. Cruce, p. 15), Thetford (Epp. Herberti Losing, p. 73), Durham (Sim. Dun. A.D. 1080). At Canterbury Gervase expressly states that the title was introduced after the martyrdom of Elfege in 1012. Neither dean nor canons appear at Winchester in the contemporary lives of S. Ethelwold. In the contemporary life of Oswald, MS. Nero, E. 1, decanus is used two or three times, always for a monastic officer.

[3] Printed in the first volume of the Monasticon and in Reyner's *Apostolatus Benedictinorum*. See below, p. cix. Wulstan, dean of Glastonbury, whose death is noted by Florence under the year 981, must have been a monastic dean: so Germanus is called dean of Ramsey in the ancient life of Oswald, but Oswald is not there said to have been dean at Winchester. The several officers at Fleury are named pater monasterii, decanus, præpositus, armarius, cellerarius, cantor, magister scholæ (Nero E. 1, f. 7).

Twice applied to the ruler of a church of canons.

apparently a church of canons; an application which was common enough on the continent, especially in North France, Lorraine, and Germany, but of which there is no instance in England until on the very eve of the Conquest. In the Anglo Saxon Chronicle, as early as A.D. 1037, we find recorded the death of Eafic "the "noble dean" at Evesham; but the title is interpreted by later historians of the abbey as belonging to the judicial president of their peculiar courts;[1] the dean is not a substitute for the abbot. A little later deans and canons are introduced, with or without the Lotharingian rule, into cathedral and collegiate churches. The secular clergy in these churches had, in England until then, been called clerks, not ordinarily canons; and their principal officers were not deans, but either "præpositi," priors or provosts, or, in some cases probably, abbots.

The *Oriens Regnum*.

Another curious expression is the "oriens regnum" already referred to. This occurs twice. When Dunstan fell into disgrace with Edmund he sought the acquaintance of certain venerable men, "regni videlicet orientis nuncii,"[2] who were then lodging with the king. He represented himself as already sentenced to exile and devoid of counsel; the king had forsaken him; he begged that they would not leave him forlorn, but would take him with them to their own country. They compassionately replied that if he would accompany them he should enjoy all that their kingdom afforded, "quæque regni sui "commoda." In another passage we are told that the mysterious person who appeared at court before Edmund's death professed that he came from the "Oriens "regnum" "ex orientis regni partibus;" and that he had a matrimonial proposition to lay before the king.[3] In this passage it is possible that "Orientis regni parti-"bus" may mean the eastern parts of the kingdom, and

[1] Chron. Evesham, ed. Macray, p. 83; where he is called prior and dean of Christianity for the vale of Evesham. Elfward bishop of London was still abbot.

[2] P. 23.

[3] P. 46.

one MS. of the life[1] gives "nuntialis" instead of "nup- "tialis" as the description of the proposition to be made to the king; but this does not affect the meaning of the former passage. What then was the "Oriens regnum"? The Bollandist fathers understood it to mean Essex, the kingdom of the East Saxons;[2] but there had been no such kingdom for two centuries before the date of Edmund; Essex was a mere province whose envoys could have no power to represent themselves as independent of the king of the English. The same is true of East Anglia, which is called by a writer of the time *Orientale regnum*.[3] It would seem almost necessary to refer it to the German kingdom, now rising into great power under Otto I., the king's brother-in-law, the kingdom of the eastern Franks, the older Austrasia, not yet united with the imperial dignity. In the mouth of an Englishman it would perhaps have been more naturally Germany or Eastern France, but the form is conceivable enough in the mouth of a countryman of Witikind of Corvey. Another possible explanation is that the kingdom of the Ostmen, the Irish Danes, is meant; but to the English these old enemies would have been Danes or Norsemen, and the fact that the emissary spoke in the Saxon tongue seems fatal to this notion. A subject of Otto I. might well speak the "lingua "Saxonica," and the "vilis Saxonum indigena" might naturally regard his native land as the "Oriens regnum."[4] It is important to observe that William of Malmesbury paraphrases the words "regni orientis nuncii" by "extera- "rum gentium legati."[5]

Explanations of the *Oriens Regnum*.

[1] P. 471.

[2] Acta Sanctorum, Maii, iv. 352, "orientale regnum intelligo Es- "sexiam, Orientalem Saxoniam."

[3] The biographer of Oswald certainly uses Orientale regnum for East Anglia, "Æthelwoldus "vero satis digniter principatum "Orientalis regni adquisivit,"—Nero E. I. fo. 8.

[4] I do not find in the continental writers any exact parallel to this use of the "Oriens regnum," but Henry I., in his treaty with Charles the Simple, is called by the latter "rex Orientalis." Pertz, Leges, i. 604. See Freeman, Norman Conq., i. 604, where other illustrations will be found.

[5] Below p. 269.

Slight indications that the writer of the first life was a foreigner.

It may be added that, if it be understood that the writer was a foreigner, we have an adequate explanation of the fact that he mis-spells the name of the archbishop to whom he writes, calling him Albric [1] instead of Ælfric, the former name being common enough abroad but strange to English ears, whilst the contrary is true of the latter; and that he is so forgetful of the ancient glories of English monasticism as to call Dunstan the first abbot of the English nation,[2] a statement equally strange whether it be understood generally or in reference only to Glastonbury, which possessed at the time a list of fifteen abbots, beginning in the reign of Ina.

His initial letter.

The initial letter of the author's name is B. The Bollandist fathers, by whom this first life was first printed, contented themselves with describing him as "B. presbyter coævus." Du Cange, who had used the work in the composition of his Glossary, and who perhaps had seen the S. Gall MS., in the margin of which the name "beda" is written,[3] quotes it as "Beda in "Vita S. Dunstani."[4] Mabillon,[5] who knew the book in MS., although he did not regard it as worth publication, conjectured that he had found the author in the person of Bridferth or Byrhtferth, the scholar of Ramsey, a pupil of Abbo of Fleury, and a commentator on the mathematical writings of Bede; and this guess, for it is little more, has been since generally accepted as convenient if not convincing.

[1] A similar use of *Albrich* for *Elfric* is found in the list of Athelstan's courtiers, who were admitted by letter to fraternity with the monks of S. Gall. Goldast, Rerum Alamannicarum Scriptores, ii. 156.; p. lxxvi. below.

[2] P. 25, "primus abbas Anglicæ "nationis enituit."

[3] P. 458.

[4] S. v. Senioratus.

[5] Acta Sanctorum, O. S. B. sæc. V. p. 640: "Hic ille stilus boni ora- "toris, quem esse Bridferthum "cœnobii Ramesiensis monachum "conjicio, tum ex B. littera nominis "initiali, quam præfert Vedastinus "codex, tum ex ætate Bridferthi, "quem Abbonis discipulum Pitseus "tradit, atque sub annum 980 "vixisse." This was written in 1685. The conjecture is mentioned by the Bollandists in the VIIth volume for May, p. 809, but without approval, in 1688. Henry Wharton in 1691 (Ang. Sac. ii. p. ix.) mentions it without accepting it, but quotes the Life under the name of Bridferth (*ibid.* p. 102).

The name of Beda may be at once set aside; the marginal note of the S. Gall MS. is, no doubt, an instance of the tendency to ascribe to the father of English history any anonymous work connected with England. There certainly were other persons of the name, and the writer may have been one of them; but no known Beda belonged to the age of Dunstan. Does it stand for Beda?

Mabillon's conjecture has somewhat more to recommend it. Byrhtferth was perhaps the most eminent English scholar of the time, next after Elfric or the Elfrics. He was a pupil of Abbo, and not only was Abbo connected with Dunstan, in whose house he had lived, and to whom he dedicated his life of S. Edmund of East Anglia,[1] which he had composed from materials furnished by the archbishop, but he was, as we shall presently see, very closely connected with the later history of this identical book. To the probabilities which influenced Mabillon may be added the fact that the penmanship of the most ancient MS. of this book, that preserved at Arras, presents a remarkable likeness to the penmanship of the work of Byrhtferth on the Computus, which is now among the Ashmolean MSS.[2] in the Bodleian, and which contains on a fly leaf, in a contemporary hand, a little antiphon with musical notes addressed to Dunstan himself: "Alleluia, veni, alme Dunstane, ad Christi so-" lium sanctum humilibus et tuis deposce famulis reg-" num cœleste." Byrhtferth has left several monuments of erudition behind him: the commentaries on Bede[3] afford evidence of wide reading and a familiar acquaintance with Latin authors. The book on the Computus, however, presents more personal details, and although a careful examination of it furnishes some curious facts, it does not suggest any argument in favour of Mabillon's hypothesis. Does it stand for Byrhtferth?

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[1] See p. 378, below.

[2] No. 328.

[3] Printed with Bede in the old editions of his collected works.

Description of Byrhtferth's book on the Computus.

The title of the work is thus given: "Incipit Compo-
" tus Latinorum ac Græcorum Hebræorumque et Ægip-
" tiorum necnon et Anglorum." It is explained word for word in Latin and translated into English on the lower half of the page, the same plan being observed, paragraph by paragraph. The name of the author is given more than once indirectly. In a grammatical example at p. 96 we read, "swylce ic thus cwethe, Byrht-
" ferðus ipse scripsit bene, beneque docet ille suis
" discipulis." At p. 152 we have a prayer, "Oratio
" patris Byrhtferði":

" Spiritus alme veni, sine te non diceris unquam,
" Munera da linguæ Qui das in munere linguas."

These words, which occur also in the history ascribed to Simeon of Durham,[1] and which may be much earlier, are translated by Byrhtferth into what are perhaps the earliest English hexameters:

" Cum nu Halig Gast butan the ne bise thu gewurthod,
" Gyf thine gyfe thære tungan the thu gyfst gyfe on
" gereorde."

At p. 168 is another grammatical example: "swylc ic
" thus cwethe, Byrhtferth mæsse preost stent on tham
" twelftan stede æfter tham biscope Eadnothe oththe
" he sitt." Eadnoth, who became bishop of Dorchester in 1006, had been the first abbot of Ramsey, and was nephew of another Eadnoth, prior of Westbury and monk of Worcester.[2] At p. 220 is a mention of S. Oswald, the founder of Ramsey; enumerating the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit, he writes, "Spiritus timoris Domini in
" Oswaldo dignissimo archiepiscopo refulsit in nostris
" temporibus." At page 234 we have a reference to Bede: "O si quis devotus hujus numeri vel ceterorum
" desiderat agnitionem luce splendidius agnoscere, ape-

[1] Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 658.

[2] Hist. Ramsey; ap. Gale, pp. 394, 399, 429.

" riat librum reverentissimi Bedæ, quem *de temporibus* " prætitulavit, et mox in prima sententia invenit de " hac re satis dignissime disputatum." I will quote lastly his notice of Abbo, p. 240: "Ratio hujus numeri, " quam dignæ memoriæ Abbo super hunc invexit, libet " libari. Iste vero quantæ dignitatis refulsit in vita " ostendunt post mortem miracula. Erat enim in doc- " trinali scientia peritus, et in philosophia perfectus. . . . " His explicitis ex rationibus doctoris nostri et martyris " Christi, accedamus ad alia." The connexion of Abbo with Ramsey is a well-established fact. His biographer Aimoin tells us that he lived and taught there for two years.[1] The same evidence is given by the historian of the abbey, and there is extant a work of Abbo on grammatical questions dedicated to his English pupils, and especially to the inmates of S. Benedict's monastery at Ramsey:

Byrhtferth on the Computus.

" O Ramesiga cohors amplis quæ claudere stagnis,
" Purior obryzo niteris esse Deo." [2]

It is clear, then, that Byrhtferth and Abbo were closely connected, and that both of them were friends of Dunstan. Further light will probably be thrown on this point by one of the letters contained in this volume.[3] There is therefore no antecedent improbability in supposing that Byrhtferth might have written Dunstan's life. But on the other hand it is most improbable that the same author who wrote the commentary on Bede's mathematical works, and the work on the Computus and grammar, which has just been described, both of which contain evidence that he could write good Latin, should have written the life before us in the turgid and stilted style which caused Mabillon to describe it as mere

Balance of probabilities as to Byrhtferth.

[1] Aimoin, V. S. Abbonis, ap. Mabillon, AA. SS. O. S. B. sæc. VI. pp. 36, 37; Hist. Rams. ap. Gale, p. 400; and see below, p. 378.

[2] Mabillon, Annales O. S. B. tom. IV. App.; Migne, Patrol. 139, p. 534.

[3] Below, p. 376.

Difficulties in ascribing the life to Byrhtferth.

"stribiligo." It is still more improbable that he should have done this without once mentioning his own monastery, Ramsey, and his patron Oswald, who had been Dunstan's successor in the see of Worcester, and who shared and outdid all Dunstan's monastic reforms. It is almost impossible that when the abbot of S. Augustine's transmitted, as we shall see him doing,[1] this very book to Abbo to be turned into verse, he should have omitted to tell him that it was the work of Byrhtferth, his most prômising scholar.

Notwithstanding then the general acceptance which has been accorded to this conjecture, and although I have nothing so definite to put in its place, I shall venture to suggest another theory which points to a different school of writers, and may possibly furnish, if not the name, yet some tangible data as to the personality of this author.

Possible clue afforded by an ancient letter.

The Cottonian MSS. Tiberius A. 15 and Vespasian A. 14 contain, appended to two collections of the letters of Alcuin, a number of letters of the time of Dunstan, some of them addressed to Edgar, and some to the archbishop himself. Several of these seem, from their style and tone, to be the composition of the same writer, and the language, forms of words, and construction of sentences, furnish a very close resemblance to those of the first Life of Dunstan. In one of the letters which are preserved in both the MSS., which is addressed to archbishop Ethelgar, Dunstan's immediate successor, the writer ,although concealing his full name, gives a clue to his own personal history.[2] He describes himself as "B. omnium fæx Christicolarum," a singular coincidence, if it be only a coincidence, with the "omnium extimus sacerdotum B. vilisque Saxonum "indigena," of the Prologue to the biography. The burden of the letter appears to be a lamentation for the literary refreshment and educational privileges which

[1] Below, p. 409.

[2] P. 385, below.

the writer had enjoyed in his youth under the patronage of the bishop of Liege, since whose death he has been in exile from the court of Wisdom. He further professes his obedience to Ethelgar, who seems to have commissioned him to go to Winchester to make a copy or to examine a MS. of Aldhelm's work on the praises of Virginity. Ethelgar had been abbot of the New Minster at Winchester before his promotion to the episcopate. The writer of the letter was then neither a monk of Winchester nor a personal dependant of Ethelgar, but unquestionably a foreign scholar who for some reason or other was living in exile in England.

The letter of B. to Ethelgar.

Another of the letters, which bears intrinsic evidence of the same authorship, is addressed to Dunstan himself. The writer describes himself as "exilii catenulis admodum "retitus;"[1] as having placed himself under the protection, *mundiburdium*, of the archbishop, and as having been treated by him as a friend and companion. He also addresses Dunstan as his "senior" or lord, and finally breaks into hexameters in which he entreats the archbishop to obtain for him a restoration to his own country.

A letter to Dunstan himself.

A third letter, which contains some of the forms characteristic of this writer, is addressed to a person whose name is only indicated by the initial N. The writer, who calls himself "bellus sed causa, si dici liceat, infortunii "misellus,"[2] has left his patron and crossed the sea: on landing he has borrowed a horse, for the hire or purchase of which he has incurred a debt, and in default of payment he is in danger of being sold.

A third letter in the same tone.

Of these three letters the first is the only one which directly connects itself with the authorship of the Life of Dunstan, and the others can be brought, only by their similarity of style and juxtaposition in the MS., into conjectural bearing upon the subject. But where other

Possible connexion of these three letters.

[1] Below, p. 374.

[2] Below, p. 390.

Possible identity of the writer with Dunstan's biographer.

data are wanting, these considerations may, at least tentatively, be allowed weight. We have then reason to suppose that the writer of the letters, whose language is so closely akin to that of the Prologue, who addresses Dunstan as a patron, and who indicates his name by the same initial letter, was a foreigner, a pupil of the school of Liege, and present in England about the time of Dunstan's death, or at least within a year after it, Ethelgar's pontificate lasting only fifteen months.

Similarity of style,

The first point, the similarity of style and vocabulary, may be tested by a comparison of the several documents, all of which are contained in the present volume. The extravagant professions of humility, the involved form of sentence, the constant use of diminutives in the most inappropriate places, are illustrative if not convincing evidence. In the vocabulary the coincidences are more striking. The biographer styles Dunstan "decens ædi-" tuus;"[1] the letter-writer mentions the bishop of Liege as "beatæ memoriæ ædituum;"[2] the form "senior"[3] in another of the letters answers to the "senioratus" of the

and vocabulary.

biography;[4] the use of the word "dagma"[5] helps to identify two of the letters as written by the same hand; both writers describe their work as "titulatio;"[6] both request the person addressed to correct grammatical errors; both use the simile of the bee gathering honey for the student accumulating knowledge; both use a curious adjectival form in "eus" from nouns ending in "or," as "favoreo" and "lectoreo;" both run into Greek; the one calls the hand in the ablative "chyra," the other calls the heart "cardian" in the nominative.[7] These are small matters in themselves, for which parallels might be found doubtless in other writings of the age, but

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[1] P. 3.
[2] P. 386.
[3] P. 390.
[4] P. 23.
[5] Pp. 386, 390.
[6] Pp. 5, 388.
[7] Pp. 27, 387.

which, taken together and coupled with the coincidence of the initial "B." seem to imply identity.

We ask next who was the bishop of Liege who had been the patron and instructor of the letter-writer. He must have been the bishop who had died last before the year 989, to which the letter belongs. This was Ebrachar, or Euraclus, who had ruled from 959 to 971, and whose successor Notker lived until the year 1007. Ebrachar had been, previous to his elevation, provost of the collegiate church of Bonn; he was a pupil of archbishop Bruno of Cologne, the brother of the emperor Otto I., and a disciple also of Ratherius, the famous bishop of Verona, who had governed the see of Liege several years before the promotion of Ebrachar.[1] Ebrachar was sprung from a noble family in Saxony,[2] and was specially devoted to the memory of S. Martin, by whose bones he was said to have been miraculously cured of "lupus," and in whose honour he founded a church at Liege. He was also a great promoter of education. Is it possible that our "vilis Saxonum indigena" was a kinsman or pupil of the Saxon bishop of Liege? Such a supposition has something at least to recommend it. It accounts for the mention of the "Oriens regnum," the "Saxonica lingua," the "Senioratus;" it is in perfect harmony with the few other indications of personal history, which we have traced in the Prologue and the Biography. It accounts too for the special mention of S. Martin,[3] the patron saint of the patron bishop, and for the likeness noticed between him and Dunstan.

Question as to the bishop of Liege.

He was Ebrachar, a Saxon.

On behalf of Bridferth, or Byrhtferth, not even such slight argument can be advanced. There is not a trace

[1] Ann. Laubienses, Martene and Durand, Thesaurus III. 1415, 1416: there is a good sketch of the career of Ratherius and Ebrachar in the Art de Verifier les Dates, among the bishops of Liege.

[2] See his life by Reiner, a monk of S. Laurence at Liege, in Pez, Thesaurus, IV. pt. 3, pp. 153-166; and Wattenbach's Geschichtsquellen, vol. I. pp. 278, 279.

[3] P. 50, below.

This theory more probable than the reference to Byrhtferth.

of similarity of style, not an indication of common history. The connexion of Byrhtferth is, as I have remarked, with Fleury, that of Dunstan and his biographer with Flanders and northern France, Arras, Ghent, Rouen, and Paris. Abbo of Fleury found a welcome in his house, but his friends and correspondents were Wido of Blandinium, Odbert of S. Bertin, and the great count abbot Arnulf, who had befriended him in his exile. The traditionary connexion of Canterbury with the Flemish churches is traceable long after this, and the church of S. Vedast in the city of London, which was in the patronage of the prior and convent up to the fourteenth century, was no doubt a result or a sign of this connexion. The most ancient MS. of the earliest life of Dunstan is found in the library of S. Vedast at Arras.

Name denoted by B.

What name is indicated by the initial B. can only be conjectured; it may have been the common Saxon Bruno; or some name to which the Latin "Bellus" might be supposed to answer, one of the many names that begin with Bert,[1] or it may have been Benedict or even Beda.

The special mention of S. Augustine of Canterbury, which occurs twice in the book,[2] may, as has been already noticed, betoken some special relation to that monastery.

Three MSS. of the work.

We may now pursue the history of the book itself, as it may be gathered from the three editions of it which we possess in the three MSS. of the Arras, S. Gall, and Cottonian libraries.

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[1] William of Malmesbury, in the first chapter of the book De Antiquitate Eccl. Glastoniensis, speaks as if he thought that "B." stood for "Britonum;" "quorum unus "Britonum historiographus." This is curious; we may conjecture that William detected evidence of foreign workmanship in the book, or that he had seen a copy in which the name was written at full "Brit-" win," or lastly that the word Britonum was the unauthorized insertion of a transcriber. The last is the most probable, yet it is difficult to say what meaning could be attached to the word in the particular place.

[2] Pp. 6, 48.

The first of these bears on its face evidence of its originality; the Arras MS. is not perhaps the autograph of the author, but it clearly represents an original from which the other two editions diverge. The S. Gall[1] copy preserves the Prologue and the poetical portions of the original writer, but corrects his grammatical mistakes, and in many cases paraphrases whole sentences. The Cotton MS. retains the original text more faithfully, but gives up the Prologue and the hexameters. Neither of the two latter MSS. could have been derived from the other without losing sight of the common original. The relative age of the three.

The first text is dedicated, as has been said, to archbishop Elfric. The writer, apologizing in his Prologue for the faults of his style, begs the archbishop to exercise the office of a critic. He mentions, too, his attempts to embellish his work with occasional poetical efforts, to which he gives the appropriate title "satirica fatuitas."[2] It can scarcely be said, on a perusal of the book, that this epithet is a mere result of the author's modesty. The style is throughout rough, bombastic, involved, and obscure. The poetical episodes are attempted in the worst taste and wretchedly executed. The task imposed on the critic was no light one. The Arras text. The poetical portions mentioned in the prologue.

The second text has a history of its own. The Life of Dunstan found a patron if not also a critic in the monastery of S. Augustine. The work was re-written in great part, the most glaring errors corrected, one or two questionable statements expunged, and in one case an additional piece of clumsy versification inserted.[3] But the taste of the age was not satisfied with this. It was desirable that the whole should be turned into verse, and for this purpose the book in its reformed shape was transmitted by Wulfric, abbot of S. Augustine's to Abbo of Fleury, who just then was engaged in reforming the The S. Gall text; a corrected copy of the first. Sent to Abbo to be versified.

[1] The collation of the S. Gall MS. will be found at pp. 458–472 of this volume.

[2] P. 4.

[3] See pp. 460, 468, below.

Letter to Abbo in the S. Gall MS.

monasteries of Aquitaine. The S. Gall MS. preserves the letter in which the abbot requests Abbo to undertake the versification.[1] The date of the negotiation may be ascertained within a very few years. Wulfric became abbot in the year 989, and died in 1006.[2] The book, being dedicated to Elfric, was not written before 995. Abbo of Fleury died Nov. 13, 1004.[3] But the interest of the question does not stop here. The S. Gall MS. contains, on its superfluous leaves, letters and charters which prove that at a very early period it was the property of the monastery of Squirs, afterwards called la Reole, in Gascony.[4] It was at this place that Abbo suffered martyrdom. He was engaged in the work of monastic reform, and staying at Squirs, when one day as he was at work on his books or accounts, a tumult broke out in the courtyard of the monastery. Abbo, holding in his hand his tablets and style, went out to quiet the mob; one of the rioters struck him on the side with a lance; he was mortally wounded, died, and was buried at Squirs.[5] We can scarcely doubt that it was in this way the MS. life of Dunstan came into the monastic library. Abbo was only visiting at Squirs, his home was at Fleury. He may have brought the MS. to employ him in his leisure; it may have been the very work on which he was employed, when, pen and note-book in hand, he received his death wound.[6] At all events we hear no more of the poetical version, and the MS. never found its way back to Canterbury.

This MS. belonged to the monastery in which Abbo was murdered.

The Cotton MS.

The third text likewise has its history. The monks of S. Augustine, despairing, it would seem, of the poetical version, adopted another mode of treatment, and revised

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[1] P. 409, below.

[2] W. Thorne, ap. Twysden, c. 2246; Elmham, ed. Hardwick, p. 23.

[3] Aimoin, V. S. Abbonis, ap. Mabillon, sæc. VI. p. 50; and see the letter of the monks of Fleury, *ibid*, p. 32.

[4] See p. 472, below.

[5] R. Glaber, ap. Mabillon, l. c. p. 32.

[6] Aimoin, however, speaks of the work on which he was employed as "computatiunculas," *ibid.* p. 49.

the book on another principle. Under this process the prologue, in reference to which the writer says that scarcely one endowed with common prudence and a cultivated mind has so "deformis facundia" as himself in the composition of prologues, is judiciously abandoned. The "satirica fatuitas" of the original hexameters is superseded by a form of prose, which, whilst it pretends to be no more than prose, preserves, in the general vocabulary and in the rhymed cadences into which it falls, some traces of the original from which it is adapted.[1] On every page the redundancies of the earlier texts are retrenched, and the obscurity and pedantry obviated without destroying the essential character of the work. The reviser has done most in the earlier pages, which indeed contained the most glaring offences against good taste and grammar. These changes, which will be found duly noted in the present edition, may be classified as, first, the reduction of the hexameters to rhyming prose, such as was usual in the sequences of the missal; secondly, the substitution of simple pronouns for the full titles of the saint reiterated in the original; and thirdly, the substitution of ordinary Latin words for unmeaning diminutives.

It is a reformed and corrected text.

Omission of the Prologue and versified passages.

This revised edition, which was made before the middle of the eleventh century, remained at S. Augustine's. William of Malmesbury saw it there, and by a quotation which he makes from it,[2] in his book on the antiquity of Glastonbury, enables us to identify it as the text which he used, although he saw a copy containing the prologue in the library of Glastonbury,[1] and another at S. Ed-

This text was known to William of Malmesbury.

[1] See especially pp. 9 and 20.

[2] He quotes thus: "Quorum "unus Britonum Historiographus, "prout apud Sanctum Edmundum, "itemque apud Sanctum Augusti- "num Anglorum apostolum vidi- "mus, ita exorsus est; 'In con- "'finio,'" &c.; p. 7, "nulla ho- "minum arte ut ferunt, constructam ". . . virtutum mysteriis . . . "sanctæque Dei genitrici," &c., the readings of the Cotton MS. being always given. W. Malmesb. Ant. Glaston., ap. Gale, p. 293.

Later history of the Cotton MS.

mund's. There it still was at the dissolution, and there in August, 1565, John Josselin, the friend of Parker, found it among other old books.[2] Shortly afterwards it came into the Cotton Library. The history of the other MS. we have no means of tracing. It may have been brought to Arras very early during the close connexion with England, which is attested by the letters given in this volume; or it may have been given to bishop Peter of Arras when he visited Canterbury in 1188 on a vain attempt to reconcile the archbishop with the monks of Christchurch;[3] or it may have gone through Normandy by way of Jumieges, for the lives of two of the Jumieges saints form part of the same volume.[4] The matter is of less importance, for there is no reason to suppose that it is the original draught of the work. It is the most ancient form of it, but the uncorrected clerical errors which it contains show that it is a transcript, made however earlier than the S. Gall MS.

The second Life, by Adelard of Blandinium.

The second Life of Dunstan has no such interesting history. Its author was Adelard or Adalard, a monk of Blandinium. It is addressed to Archbishop Elfege,[5] who ruled at Canterbury from 1006 to 1012, and was written before 1011 at the latest. It is drawn up in the form of lessons to be read in the services of the monastery, and contains much that was intended for the spiritual

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[1] This he mentions in the Prologue to his Life of Dunstan, below, p. 252.

[2] The following note is in the Cotton MS.: "Hunc librum, cujus "auctor, ut apparebit lectori, claruit tempore ipsius Dunstani, de "quo agitur, reperi inter veteres "libros MSS. monasterii Augustinensis Cantuariæ, A.D. 1565, "mense Augusti; Joan. Josselinus." Archbishop Ussher has "added, "Ib hunc ipsum librum a "Gul. Malmesburiensi repertum "esse ex libro ejusdem de antiquitate Glastoniensis monasterii sp- "paret. Ja. Usserjus." See Hardy, Catalogue of Materials, vol. i. p. 594.

[3] Epp. Cantuar., pp. 226–229.

[4] Below, p. xxxviii.

[5] P. 53. It mentions A.D. 1006 as the date of Elfege's appointment to Canterbury; but it contains no hint of the troubles which ended in his martyrdom in 1012.

edification as well as for the information of the devout. It professes to be an abridgment or breviate,[1] a summary rather than a history of the archbishop's life; but it is not to be understood as solely or even mainly drawn from the earlier work. It contains evidence that Adelard had that book before him. Probably it had been placed in his hands by Elfege to be turned into verse, as it had been sent by Wulfric to Abbo. "Patrem tuum sanctum "Dunstanum," says Adelard, "voluisti et litteris com- "mendari et musis."[2] Instead of doing this he embodies a quantity of current traditions in a new work, and presents it to the archbishop as a set of lessons and responsories. The points of variation from the earlier life may be noticed by and by. Of Adelard himself nothing is known; but his work was rapidly multiplied, and was the source from which the breviary lessons for S. Dunstan's day were chiefly taken.[3] There are no great discrepancies in the MSS. of Adelard which would lead to the idea that it was ever re-written; but in all the copies which I have seen, the responsories have either been omitted altogether, or written so as to form an integral part of the lessons.

Not an abridgment of the first Life.

The source of the breviary lessons.

The third Life of Dunstan was written by Osbern, the precentor of Christchurch, Canterbury, during the pontificate of Lanfranc, or during the interval between his death and the appointment of Anselm.[4] Osbern had been brought up in the monastery; he had been a boy in the days of Godric the dean,[5] had seen the clergy, calling themselves monks, but living like earls before the coming of Lanfranc: he had been a helper in the archbishop's reforms, and by his industry in the musical and literary labours of the convent had earned promotion. His book on the miracles of Dunstan preserves some

The third Life by Osbern.

[1] "Ex eadem vita quasi brevem "sermonis versiculum," p. 53.
[2] P. 53.
[3] See below, pp. 445–450.
[4] Below, p. 151.
[5] P. 138.

Osbern's notices about himself.

small particulars of his personal history. He had himself been a subordinate agent in one of the miraculous cures effected at the tomb.[1] It was to him that Lanfranc gave the charge to proclaim the story of the pirate Barabas.[2] He himself, when walking in Thanet with a knight, had heard from him an undoubted case in which Dunstan had interfered to prevent injustice attempted in the law courts by the abbot of S. Augustine's.[3] He had himself had a dream, which he relates vividly and picturesquely, about Dunstan in a state of bliss.[4] Osbern wrote the life also of S. Elfege with an account of his miracles and the translation of his bones; the other books ascribed to him belong to other authors.

Later correction of Osbern's work.

The manuscripts of Osbern's book are very numerous.[5] They fall into two classes which possibly represent two editions issued by the author. It is, however, more probable that the second edition, being marked by certain omissions and variations which seem to result from the adverse criticism of his successor Eadmer, may merely have been a transcript of the original edition after it had been corrected by some later hand. The most important alteration is that touching on the seven years penance of Edgar, and the parentage of Edward.[5] The fact that some details given in the first edition were removed in the second has led some writers to question whether Osbern's work was the one criticised by Eadmer, and to suppose that some intermediate biography had been lost. This question[6] is settled by a comparison of the MSS. the result of which will be found in the notes to the present edition.

The fourth Life, by Eadmer.

Eadmer, the author of the fourth Life, was, like Osbern, precentor of Christchurch. He is best known as the friend and biographer of Anselm, and author of the

[1] P. 138.
[2] P. 155.
[3] P. 156.
[4] Pp. 158, 159.
[5] See below, p. 112.
[6] See below, p. xlii.

invaluable Historia Novorum. His eminence as a scholar and divine led to his nomination and election to the see of S. Andrew's in or a little before the year 1120. The quarrel between York and Canterbury prevented his consecration: the king of Scots, Alexander I., insisted on his receiving that rite from the archbishop of York; Eadmer was a faithful supporter of the supremacy of Canterbury. Unable to convince the king, and unwilling to yield, he renounced the right conferred by election and returned to Canterbury. In 1122, the see being still vacant, he renewed his claim, and seems to have been so far successful that no bishop was appointed so long as he lived. He died on the 13th of January, and probably in the year 1124.[1] His life of Dunstan and his letter to the monks of Glastonbury furnish some few personal data. He had been brought up in the monastery, and was old enough to remember the luxurious lives of the clergy and the imperative necessity for Lanfranc's reforms. He was a little boy when the archbishop removed the coffins of Dunstan and Elfege, preparatory to the rebuilding of the church. Fifty years afterwards he testified to the reality of that translation in order to confute the fabulous assertions of the monks of Glastonbury.[2]

Career of Eadmer.

Personal notices of Eadmer in the Life of Dunstan.

The Life of Dunstan was probably an early work. Eadmer was encouraged to undertake it by the discovery of Osbern's mistakes, and, it must be added, his fabrications. He sought information from Ethelred, his predecessor in the office of precentor, who had been promoted by S. Wulfstan in the monastery of Worcester;[3] and from the learned monk Nicolas of Worcester, who seems to have been the treasurer of English traditions there.[4] He mentions in the work no event later than

His pains taken to correct the mistakes of Osbern.

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[1] Wharton, Anglia Sacra, ii. p. xii., from the Canterbury Obituary.

[2] See pp. 412–422.

[3] Pp. 163, 164.

[4] Pp. 422–424.

Possible date of Eadmer's work.

the pontificate of Anselm, and he refers to Anselm without any of the conventional expressions which might lead to the belief that he was dead when Eadmer wrote. It would seem probable then that the book was written at least as early as the year 1109. The letter to the monks of Glastonbury on their claim to possess the relics of Dunstan, must have been composed some years later: at least fifty years after the translation of the relics, more than a hundred years after the pretended removal to Glastonbury.[1] As the earliest date for the former of these events is the year 1070, the letter must have been written soon after 1120. It will be found, together with some verses of Eadmer on Dunstan and a letter of Nicolas on the question who was the mother of S. Edward, in the seventh section of the present volume.[2]

Eadmer's Life less popular than Osbern's.

Eadmer's work never obtained so wide a circulation as Osbern's had done. It was written when the cultus of Dunstan was on the wane. The sufferings of Anselm, in his struggle against the royal claims, introduced a new idea of confessorship. Dunstan had been the king's prime minister, Anselm was a leader of opposition, and before men had had time to learn the superiority of Eadmer's work to that of Osbern, Canterbury had got a new saint. The book, further, seems to have been circulated anonymously, for although in the earliest MS., that at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, it appears among the minor works of Eadmer, it must have been copied and sent abroad without any such ascription. Hence,

Called by Surius the work of Osbert.

when the earliest collector of the Acta Sanctorum, Surius, found a copy of it, knowing by report the name of Osbern, or, as he called him, Osbert, as the biographer of Dunstan, he inferred that this was his work, and published it under the name of Osbert. The second book, the Miracles, must also at an early date have been circulated apart from the Vita, for if the single MS. of

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[1] Pp. 414, 420.

[2] Pp. 412–425.

the Life by William of Malmesbury[1] is to be trusted, the former was adopted in its integrity as a supplement to William of Malmesbury's work, whilst there is no certain proof that he had ever seen Eadmer's Life.

The fifth Life of Dunstan was written for the monks of Glastonbury by the historian William of Malmesbury, and was intended to supersede the work of Osbern, which, according to the author, displayed culpable ignorance of the antiquities of Glastonbury. As he describes him under the title of "Novus Scriptor,"[2] it seems almost certain that he had not seen Eadmer's work, at least when the first book of his own Life was written, and even in the prologue to the second book, which was written later, and which seems to show some knowledge of Eadmer's work on the Miracles, he still criticizes Osbern as the "Cantuariensis cantor."[3] Yet William must have written several years after Eadmer, for in describing the benefits of Dunstan's administration he refers to his own "Gesta Regum Anglorum" as having been written some years before,[4] and the date of that work cannot be earlier than 1120. On the other hand, it is certainly strange that the subject of Dunstan's translation to Glastonbury is unmentioned, although Eadmer had lived long enough to refute it. If we were able to trust our MSS., which in this case we are not,[5] we might argue thus;—William, when he wrote the first book of Dunstan's Life, was preparing a work on the antiquities of Glastonbury, for which he used the same authorities. After writing this first book he completed the book on the Antiquities of Glaston-

The fifth Life, by William of Malmesbury.

Chronological difficulties about this work.

[1] P. 322.
[2] P. 251.
[3] P. 288.
[4] P. 305.
[5] See Sir T. D. Hardy, Catalogue, &c., ii. 157, "No genuine MS. (of "the De Antiquitate) has yet occurred. It has been printed from "a MS. avowedly interpolated."

The question of the relation of Eadmer's book to William's is not to be settled by existing MSS.

bury, and incorporated in it the story of the Glastonbury translation, asserted to have taken place in 1012,[1] after which he wrote the second book of the Life. If we suppose that Eadmer's letter to the monks of Glastonbury was called forth by the story of the Translation, which had appeared in William's intermediate work, we may ascribe the silence of the latter author on the subject in his second book, to the fact that he was convinced by Eadmer's argument. Unluckily, however, no copy of the book de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ is to be found, which is proof against the charge of interpolation, and the manuscript of William's second book is so late in date that we cannot decide whether it is not more likely for the story to have been omitted, and the reference to Eadmer's collection of the Miracles to have been inserted by a late transcriber. Our data are too imperfect to warrant any distinct conclusion.

Question as to the relation of his two works on Glastonbury.

The difficulty of determining the connexion of the Life of Dunstan with the "De Antiquitate" does not concern the relation merely between William and Eadmer. In the preface to the second book of the Life the author states that he has completed the work "De Antiquitate."[2] In the dedication of the work "De Antiquitate" he states that he has some time ago completed the two books on the life of Dunstan.[3] The dedication is addressed to Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, who only reached that dignity in the year

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[1] This is given nearly word for word by Capgrave below, pp. 352, 353. See W. Malmesb. ap. Gale, pp. 301, sq.

[2] P. 288, "Antiquitatem istius "sanctissimi cœnobii Glastoniensis "in quo cœlestem profitemur militiam, alio opere, quantum divinus "favor affuit, absolvimus; quem si "cui voluptati erit legere, poterit "alias apud nos invenire."

[3] "Unde sicut æstimo non contemnendæ stilum dedi operæ, qui "beati Dunstani prius Glastonien"sis Abbatis, demum archiepiscopi "Cantuariensis, vitam labore meo "æternæ mandavi memoriæ, *duos*"*que libros* de hoc volentibus "Glastoniæ fratribus . . . . *dudum* "integra rerum veritate absolvi." W. Malmesb. ap. Gale, p. 291.

1129. The only way of accounting for the discrepancy is to suppose that the dedication was an afterthought, and if that were so, the introduction of the chapter on the Translation of Dunstan may have been an afterthought also, for it is scarcely fair to the historian to suppose that having suppressed the story in the Life owing to Eadmer's remonstrance, he reintroduced it in the later edition of the "De Antiquitate." Lastly, it is quite possible that the insertion of the story of the Translation is not to be ascribed to William of Malmesbury at all. Certainly he knew nothing of it when he wrote the two great works on which his fame as a historian depends. Chronological difficulties.

Besides Osbern, William had before him the Life by the priest B., which he had seen at St. Augustine's and at S. Edmund's, the work of Adelard, and certain writings in English, the memory of which has now perished. He had found also at Glastonbury a MS. of the first Life with the dedication to archbishop Elfric.[1] His own work never obtained popularity, probably for the reason already given in relation to Eadmer. It is known only by one manuscript, and that of a very questionable description.[2] Materials used by William of Malmesbury.

The sixth Life printed in this volume is extracted from Capgrave's compilation, published early in the fifteenth century. Its author, it is scarcely necessary to say, was the famous provincial of the Augustinian friars, whose death is placed in the year 1464, and whose theological and historical works are sufficiently well known. Capgrave's Life of Dunstan.

Before proceeding to trace the literary and historical connexion of the several Lives, the writers of which have been thus accounted for, it may be as well to enumerate

[1] De Ant. Eccl. Glast. ed. Gale, p. 293; and below, p. 252.

[2] Below, p. lii.

Account of the MSS. used for this volume.

and describe the several MSS. and printed texts that have been used in the preparation of this edition. They may be arranged in five classes in the order of the works they contain.

1. Of the first Life, by the priest B., there are three MSS.

A. The Arras MS.

A. The Arras MS., representing as has been said the original text, has been made the basis of the present edition. It is numbered 1,029 in the Catalogue made by the present librarian, M. Caron, published at Arras in 1860, and No. 812 in the General Catalogue of the MSS. of the Departments of France.[1]

The volume, written late in the tenth or early in the eleventh century, contains besides the life of Dunstan, the anonymous life of S. Cuthbert, described by Sir T. D. Hardy in the Catalogue of Materials for British History, vol. I., p. 293; the life of S. Guthlac, by the monk Felix, noticed in the same work, vol. I., p. 405; and the lives of SS. Philibert and Aychadrus, abbots of Jumieges, which are printed in the Acta Sanctorum of Mabillon and the Bollandists,[2] this MS. in each case having been used in the formation of the text.

It is a small quarto MS. written throughout in the same hand, rubricated in red, in single column, eighteen lines to the page. The life of Dunstan begins on folio 66 and fills the latter half of the volume. It is unfortunately imperfect; the final folio had perished when it was seen by the Bollandist Henschen, on his return from Rome in 1662,[3] and since that time a quire of sixteen leaves has been lost between folios 74 and 75 of the present pagination. It was long the property of the monastery within whose walls the library of which it forms a part is still deposited, the great abbey of S. Vedast. The inscription

[1] Catalogue Général des MSS. des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements, vol. iv. p. 322.

[2] Mabillon, AA. SS. sæc. ii. pp. 818–825, 953–971; AA. SS. Boll. Sept. vol. v. pp. 85–100; August, vol. iv. pp. 75–81.

[3] Act. SS. Boll. May, vol. iv. p. 344.

"Bibliothecæ monasterii S. Vedasti" testifies to this, but the MS. contains nothing that shows how it came into the hands of the monks, or how it fell into its present condition.

AA. The S. Gall MS. forms part of the town library of S. Gallen, which bears the name of the reformer Vadianus, on whose collections it is based. It is numbered 337 in the present catalogue, and described by M. Gustav Scherer in his "Verzeichniss der Manuscripte und Incunabeln der Vadianischen Bibliothek in S. Gallen," printed at S. Gallen in 1864, pp. 94 and 95; by Bethmann in Pertz's Archiv., ix. p. 588, and by Hattemer in his Denkmahle der Mittelalter, Vol. II., part 2, pp. 593, 594. AA. The S. Gall MS.

It is a small folio MS. of ninety-six pages, written early in the eleventh century, rubricated in red and blue, twenty-two lines to the page, and in single column. On the first page is the letter of Abbot Wulfric, already referred to; at the end, in a thirteenth century hand, are the documents which prove its connexion with the monastery of Squirs.[1]

A note "ex bibliotheca Schobingeri" shows that it was not a part of the collections of Vadianus, but came into the library in the seventeenth century with the books of Bartholomew Schobinger. I am not able to say how it came into Schobinger's hands, or how it had fared since it ceased to belong to the monastery of Squirs or la Reole; but it had probably been carried off during the wars of Religion.

B. The Cottonian MS. Cleopatra A. 13. is a collection of Anglo-Saxon tracts and fragments, which are described at length by Wanley in the third volume of Hickes's Thesaurus, p. 201, and some early pieces in Latin. The life of Dunstan fills thirty-two folios numbered 59 to 90, written in single column, not rubricated, twenty-four lines to the page. The chief peculiarity of the MS. is the way in which the letters *ch* are reversed in such The Cotton MS.

[1] See above, p. xxviii..

words as *chorus*, which is written *hcorus*. This practice runs through the whole work, and may perhaps, when MSS., of this date are more extensively known, give a clue to the person of the writer. The history of the MS., which belonged to the library of S. Augustine's Canterbury until it fell into Sir Robert Cotton's hands, has been already given.[1]

The first Life published by the Bollandists.

This Life was first published by the Bollandists. Mabillon had seen it, but did not think it worthy to be printed. He gives, however, as a specimen, in his notes on Osbern, part of the prologue, and from time to time compares Osbern's details with the Arras MS., giving extracts from the latter, the accuracy of which makes us regret that he did not print it entire. It abounded, he says, with difficulties, "scatet salebris," and was such a "stribiligo" altogether as to be unworthy of light.[2] Fortunately Henschen thought differently, and imperfect as it was, published it among the Bollandist Acta Sanctorum for May, vol. IV., pp. 344 to 358. Mabillon's notes and Henschen's edition appeared in the same year, 1685; both are reprinted by the Abbé Migne in the 139th and 149th volumes of the Patrologia.

Plan of the present edition.

In the present edition the following course has been adopted. The superior originality of the Arras text being indisputable, it was necessary to take it for the basis. For the unfortunate lacuna,[3] extending from page 10 line 14, to page 24 line 9, of this volume, it was necessary to take the Bollandist edition, correcting the obvious misprints and classical forms of the Latin by the Cottonian MS., but not altering the arrangement of words. Fortunately this was easy to do, as, with the exception of the versified parts, the two versions were nearly identical. As to the concluding page,[4] which was wanting in the

[1] Above, p. xxix.

[2] AA. SS. O. S. B. sæc. v. pp. 639–642, 646, 648, sq.

[3] The lacuna begins at the word robora, p. 10, line 14; and ends with the word præcipitĩ, p. 24, line 9.

[4] Pp. 51, 52.

Arras MS. a different plan was taken. That page contains an account of the miraculous lifting up of Dunstan's bed shortly before his death, which is not given in the S. Gall MS., and was apparently unknown to Adelard. It seemed more likely to have been added in the later copy, than to have been intentionally omitted in the earlier. The last page is accordingly completed from the S. Gall MS. The collation of the Cottonian MS. is given in the notes; that of the S. Gall MS., for which I am indebted to Dr. Dierauer, the present librarian of Vadianus's library, is given at pp. 458–472.

2. For the edition of Adelard's Life three manuscripts have been used.

C. The first is the Cottonian MS., Nero C. 7., a noble folio MS. of the twelfth century, which contains several other biographies. It is written in double columns, rubricated in red, thirty-nine lines to the page, and illuminated with figures of angels and a very fine initial capital D. The life of Dunstan fills five folios numbered 72 vo. to 77, and the division into twelve lectiones is well marked. This MS. furnishes our text. C. The Cotton MS. of Adelard.

G. The second MS. of Adelard is the property of the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn,[1] and is numbered 3 in the new catalogue. It is a beautiful folio MS., almost as fine as the Cottonian, and perhaps half a century earlier, and contains a number of lives of the saints of much the same character. It consists of 161 folios written in double columns, rubricated in red, 40 lines to the page. The life of Dunstan fills three folios numbered 75 to 78b. It omits the prologue, and one long passage of considerable importance containing the vision of Elfgar.[2] Its various readings, which are not of any great significance, are given in the notes. G. The Gray's Inn MS. of Adelard.

[1] A Catalogue of the Ancient MSS. belonging to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, p. 3.

[2] Pp. 64, 65.

L. The Lambeth MS. 159.

L. A third copy of this Life is found in the Lambeth MS., 159, a paper folio of the sixteenth century, which contains several other biographies of the Canterbury saints, and which has been very useful to me in preparing this work. This copy is a transcript of that in the Cottonian Nero C. 7.

Adelard's life known to the Bollandists, and to Wharton, who printed the prologue.

The work of Adelard is found, no doubt, in many continental libraries, although I have not been so fortunate as to light upon a copy. It was known to the Bollandists, and through them, apparently, to Mabillon, who does not mention it in his commentary on Osbern, and was probably unaware of its existence in 1685. Henschen had seen it in the monastery of Bec in Normandy,[1] remarking that it did not contain the responsoria which, according to the prologue, originally formed part of it. He gave extracts from it in the notes to Osbern, but did not print it, regarding it chiefly as an abridgment of the earlier Life, and preferring the authority of Osbern for the additions common to the later authors. Henry Wharton, in 1691, printed the prologue by itself in the Anglia Sacra, vol. II., p. 148, from the Lambeth MS. I am not aware that this book has ever been printed, and the present is probably the first edition.

Numerous MSS. of Osbern's work.

3. The manuscripts of Osbern's work are very numerous, but with the exception of the corrected passages referring to Edgar's penance, the birth of Edward, and the offence given to Dunstan after death by the cathedral clergy, they present a very uniform text, and furnish few or rather no various readings of importance. They differ, however, very much in respect of completeness. Some omit the prologue, some contain the Life without the miracles, some break off without the final paragraphs of the Life, some omit considerable portions of the miracles. These variations scarcely indicate several editions,

[1] AA. SS. Boll. May, vol. iv. p. 344.

but rather result from the purpose of the particular copyist, and accordingly offer no principle of division except according to quantity. The following MSS. have been used, and collated for this edition.

D. MS. Digby 110.

D. This is the Bodleian MS., Digby, 110, a very beautiful thirteenth century manuscript in quarto, containing only the lives of Elfege and Dunstan, the latter of which begins at folio 35, and extends to folio 88. It is written in double columns, rubricated in red and blue, twenty-two lines to the page. It does not contain the prologue or the miracles, omits the contested passages on Edgar's penance,[1] and ends with the word veniret, p. 128, leaving out the promise of the book on the miracles.

E. MS. Cotton Tib. D. 3.

E. The Cottonian MS., Tiberius, D. 3, is a large folio MS., much burnt at the edges. It is a thirteenth century MS., written in double columns, rubricated in red and green, forty-three lines to the page. The volume comprises a large collection of Lives, that of Dunstan occupying folios 118 to 134. The Life is complete, having both the prologue, the contested passages, and the proper conclusion. The Miracles follow, but only a fragment remains, ending with the words "qui "homines" at p. 133 of the present volume.

F. M.S. Arundel 16.

F. The Arundel MS., 16, in the library of the British Museum, a fine octavo MS. of the twelfth century, 115 folios, single column, thirty-three lines to the page. It contains the whole work in very good form, but the contested passages have been erased and subsequently supplied by Josselin, who also has added the miracle of Egelward (pp. 144 to 151) which had been either omitted or torn out of the volume. This MS. also con-

[1] The contested passages so constantly referred to in the following pages are (1) the sentence touching the dedication of Worcester Cathedral, p. 106; (2) that concerning the foundation of Shaftesbury, p. 112; (3) that on the birth of S. Edward, also p. 112; and (4) that on the *spurcitiæ malorum*, p. 142.

tains on an inserted slip the letters on the miracle at Saprington, which was worked up by Eadmer in his text.

H. MS. Harl. 56.

H. The Harleian MS. 56, closely resembles the last-mentioned MS. It contains the prologue and the contested passages, the first fourteen chapters of the miracles, and part of the sixteenth chapter. The scribe seems to have grown tired of his task, and stops just before the account of the burning of the cathedral.

I. MS. Harl. 315.

I. The Harleian MS. 315, a folio MS. of the twelfth century, written in double columns, contains only a fragment of the Life, beginning with the words "fidem veram," p. 78 and ending with "legere," p. 129, in the middle of the prologue to the Miracles. In the contested passages the word *quoddam* is substituted as in MS. for the name of Shaftesbury, and the account of the birth of Edward is erased.

K. MS. Cotton, Tib. D. 4.

K. The Cottonian MS. Tiberius D. 4. This is a very fine folio MS. of the twelfth century, which has suffered by fire, but contains nearly the whole work,[2] fairly legible. It contains a collection of Lives, that of Dunstan filling folios 282 to 304v°. It is written in double columns, forty-two lines to the page, and has red initial letters. The text is tolerably complete, and contains the contested passage about Edward, but omits the story of the foundation of Shaftesbury and alters the relative position of the 22nd and 23rd chapters of the miracles.

L. MS. Lambeth, 159.

L. The Lambeth MS. 159, which has been mentioned as containing the work of Adelard,[1] comprises that of Osbern as well. This is not a good copy. It has the prologue, omits the contested passages of the Life, and

[1] Pp. 144, 145.

[2] The most important omission is of that the whole of c. 6 of the Life, which shows perhaps that the MS. has belonged to Glastonbury, the traditional antiquity of which is disparaged in that chapter. This MS. also omits the word *primus*, which would make Dunstan the first abbot of Glastonbury, p. 92.

[1] Above, p. xlii.

the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of the miracles. It is an interesting volume, originally, it would seem from the inscriptions it contains, the property of James Harley a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who probably was the writer; then of William Hadley, who died on the 28th of January 1546. Hadley was the first prebendary of the eighth stall at Canterbury: he gave the volume to John Sarysbury, after whom Richard Hatton, Bachelor of Arts of Oxford, possessed it, and soon after his time it must have come to Lambeth. It has been annotated by Sancroft, and, containing as it does a large portion of the Canterbury Hagiography, is altogether a very interesting book. The Lambeth MS. 159.

M. The Paris MS. Latin 2475,[1] once in Colbert's Library (Colb. 1418, R. 3791) is of the thirteenth century, and contains lives of Cuthbert, Elfege, Odo, Edmund, and Bede. It is a large folio volume written in double columns, 32 lines to the page. The life of Dunstan begins at folio 106. It omits the contested passages of the life, and the miracle of Egelward, c. 19 of the second book; but has at the conclusion of each book a number of elegiac verses in honour of Dunstan, which are found in no other MS.[2] This is a fine and perfect text, but bears a few marks of revision which cannot be ascribed to the author. M. The Paris MS. 2475.

N. The Paris MS. Latin 5284[3] (Colbert 2632, R. $\frac{3863}{44}$) was written early in the 13th century. It is in folio, double columns, 34 lines to the page, and besides the life of Dunstan, contains the biographies of several early saints, all except S. Brendan belonging to the continental churches. Osbern's work begins on folio 161 and ends on folio 181; it has the prologue and the contested N. The Paris MS 5284.

[1] See the Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Library, vol. iii. pp. 286, 287.

[2] See pp. 128, 161, below.

[3] See the Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Library, vol. iv. pp. 68, 69.

passages, but not the miracles, ending with a doxology after the word *veniret*, at p. 128.

O. The Paris MS. 5348.

O. The Paris MS. Latin 5348,[1] (Colbert 1049, R. $\frac{3864}{77}$), belonging to the twelfth or early thirteenth century; a folio in double columns, 36 lines to the page. It contains lives of Brendan, Cuthbert, Anselm, and Dunstan, the last filling folios 58 to 88. It is very perfect as far as it goes, having the prologue, the contested passages, and the miracles, but has unfortunately lost the last leaf, ending with the words "adjuvante et Dunstano," p. 159.

P. The Paris MS. 5989.

P. The Paris MS. Latin 5989[2] (Colbert 375, R. $\frac{8395}{2}$), once the property of J. Pithou, contains a considerable fragment of Osbern's Life of Dunstan, and a life of S. Romanus of Rouen. It is of the 14th century, folio, double columns, 36 lines to the page. Osbern's work begins at folio 31, without the prologue, and ends with the words "non denique ullo humani," p. 100.

R. The Bodleian MS. 285.

R. The Bodleian MS. 285, of the twelfth century, is a large volume of 183 folios containing a considerable collection of the lives of the saints. It is written in double columns, rubricated in red and green, thirty-six lines to the page. The life of Dunstan fills folios 83 v°. to 99; it has no prologue and does not contain the miracles, but has the contested passages, and ends with the word veniret, p. 128.

CC. The Corpus MS. 328.

MS. CC. The MS. 328[3] in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, once the property of Winchester Cathedral, "Liber Ecclesiæ Sancti Swythuni Wyntoniæ," contains a very fine and perfect copy of Osbern. It is an octavo of 78 leaves, of the twelfth century, in single column, rubricated in red, and with finely ornamental initial letters. It has both the life and the miracles, with the contested passages, untouched.

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[1] See the Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Library, vol. iv. pp. 103, 104.

[2] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 188.

[3] See Nasmith's Catalogue of the Corpus MSS., p. 347.

After the life it has "Missa Sancti Dunstani,"[1] fo. 75; which is probably also the work of Osbern, and which is printed in this volume at p. 442.

DD. The Corpus MS. 42.

MS. DD. The MS. 42,[2] also in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, contains Osbern's Life, together with those of S. Martin and S. Edmund, and some other pieces. It is written in a twelfth century hand in single column, 40 lines to the page. It has the prologue, agrees with MS. M. in substituting "ali-"quod" for the name of Shaftesbury in the account of Edgar's penance, leaves out the birth of Edward, and ends with the words "videantur quæ dicamus," p. 128, omitting the miracles and the prefatory paragraph at the end of the life. The volume once belonged to John Ringwolde, a monk of Dover.

Other MSS. of Osbern.

Besides these MSS., all of which have been used for this edition, there is one in the Vatican, MS. Christina 646, fol. 1–50;[3] an octavo of the twelfth century. The Cottonian MS. Vitellius D. 15, also contained Osbern's life, but has been nearly destroyed by fire, and has now no fragment of it that can be detected.[4] The Library of Montpellier possesses a complete copy in the second volume of its magnificent collection of lives numbered first in the catalogue,[5] and once the property of the monastery of Clairvaux; and in the binding of MSS. 35, 37, 40, and 62, of the library of Boulogne-sur-Mer, are four fragments of another ancient copy which once belonged to the great abbey of S. Bertin.[6]

Osbern's Life has been three times edited, the miracles twice.

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[1] Below, p. 442.

[2] Nasmith's Catalogue, p. 26.

[3] Hardy's Catalogue of Materials, i. 598.

[4] Ibid. p. 597.

[5] Catalogue Général des MSS. des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements, vol. i. p. 283. Hardy, Catalogue of Materials, i. 599. The Laon MS. 163, mentioned by Sir T. D. Hardy, is a copy of Eadmer, not of Osbern.

[6] Catalogue Général, &c., vol. iv. pp. 595, 596, 613.

Osbern, edited by Mabillon;

Mabillon, in the Acta Sanctorum, sæc. IV.,[1] published in 1685, gave both the life and miracles from a MS. which had belonged to de Thou and afterwards to Colbert, and which may safely be identified with MS. M. described above.

by the Bollandists;

The Bollandist fathers, also in 1685, published both life and miracles, in their fourth volume for the month of May, pp. 359–384; from two MSS. "Antwerpiensi "et Bonifontensi." Their text is almost word for word the same as Mabillon's, but does not contain the concluding verses. Besides the Antwerp MS., which the editors saved from destruction by purchasing it, and the Bonfont MS., they mention a third which they had seen at Bodickheim in Westphalia.

by Henry Wharton;

Henry Wharton, my most illustrious predecessor in the charge of the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, published in 1691 the life and the prologue to the miracles in the second volume of the Anglia Sacra, pp. 88–121. He had used only the Lambeth MS. 159: thus by a curious fatality the contested passages, although they occurred in so many of the MSS., and in all the good ones, have not until now been printed, and commentators have supposed that the criticisms of Eadmer and William of Malmesbury refer to a lost biography.[2]

and Migne.

The Abbé Migne in the 149th volume of the Patrologia has reprinted among the works of Osbern, the Life and Miracles of Dunstan from Mabillon and the Bollandists.

Eadmer's Life in MS.

4. Eadmer's Life of Dunstan is very rare in MS., contrasting strongly in that respect with the work of Osbern. On the other hand we possess, in the MS. which has been used for the text of this edition, what is either the

[1] Pp. 659-688 of the edition of 1685; pp. 639–684 of the Venice edition, which I have used in preparing this volume.

[2] Hardy, Catalogue, i. 602; Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii. 211.

autograph of Eadmer himself, or a copy taken directly and immediately from the original.

P. This is the MS. 371 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which also possesses a MS., probably original, of the invaluable *Historia Novorum* by the same author. It is a fair quarto MS. of the twelfth century, and bears a contemporary title, "Opus-"cula Edmeri Cantoris." It is written for the most part in single column, 33 lines to the page. It contains, as the title states, all the minor works of Eadmer, including besides the Life of Dunstan, the lives of Wilfrid, Bregwin, Odo, Oswald, and Anselm, and three other pieces printed in the present volume, the verses on Dunstan,[1] the letter to the monks of Glastonbury,[2] and the letter of Nicolas of Worcester on the mother of S. Edward.[3] Besides these the MS. has several devotional compositions of Eadmer, some of which are printed by Gerberon and Migne in the Appendix to their edition of the works of Anselm, and some of which are yet unpublished. P. The Corpus MS. of Eadmer.

The Life of Dunstan fills folios 103 to 154 of the MS. Other MSS. of Eadmer.

Another MS. of Eadmer's Life is found in the MS. 163 bis, of the public library of Laon;[4] a volume which contains also the lives of S. Cuthbert, S. Oswald, and S. Aidan. It is a folio MS. of the twelfth century, and was formerly the property of the monastery of Vauclair. It contains both the life and the miracles.

These are the only two MSS. which are known to contain the entire work. Two others have, however, been used in the preparation of this edition, which may be noticed here.

The Cottonian MS. Nero E. 1, is a well-known treasury of early hagiology. It contains, bound up, almost wantonly, with a mass of much earlier matter, a life of The Cotton MS. Nero E. 1.

[1] P. 424.
[2] P. 412.
[3] P. 422.
[4] Catalogue Général, &c., vol. i. p. 122.

The Life in the Nero MS. is a compilation.

Dunstan, which has been understood to be Eadmer's, but is in reality a composite work, made up of long extracts from this author, and from the corresponding work of William of Malmesbury. The life of Dunstan occupies folios 401 v° to 409 v°, written in double columns, 46 lines to the page, rubricated in red, and with red and blue initial letters. The penmanship is of the thirteenth century. A collation of the whole shows that it is worthless as illustrating the text of Eadmer.[1]

The Lansdowne MS. 436.

The Lansdowne MS. 436, in the library of the British Museum, is a collection of lives adapted to the use of the nuns of Romsey: "Iste liber est de librario ecclesiæ "Sanctæ Mariæ et Sanctæ Ethelfledæ Virginis de "Romesey." It is written throughout in a good fourteenth century hand, in double columns, rubricated in red and blue. The life of Dunstan fills folios 59 v° to

[1] The following collation is sufficient to indicate its contents:—

The text of Eadmer is kept pretty closely from the beginning (p. 165) to "sortitus est," p. 175. From p. 175 to 180 is omitted. It begins again "Sublato" p. 180, and continues to "operam dedit," p. 184. Pp. 184–187 omitted. It resumes with "Post "hæc" to "consignavit," p. 187: then, omitting the intervening portions, "Ipse quadam die," p. 188, to "consecrari," p. 189. Then comes the first extract from William of Malmesbury, "Sepulto "igitur," p. 282, to "petulantiam," p. 283. Returning to Eadmer, "Erat in illis diebus," p. 190, to "exsequens," p. 197; "memorato "Odone," p. 197, to "ascendit," p. 198. After this we have a sentence abridged from William of Malmesbury, p. 293, "nec minus "cum Cantuariensi primatu susce-"pit beati Andreæ in urbe Rofensi "sedem, quæ nunquam potest di-"velli ab ejus caritate sicut nec "membrum a capite." Then, from William of Malmesbury, "Pro "more," p. 294, to "impetravit," p. 296, with the date of Pope John's letter, p. 298:—"Beatum"—"bo-"nus Odo," p. 299; "Eo tempore" —"rivum," p. 305—"Interea rex," p. 306—"concedentibus," p. 308; "Quadam deinde," p. 315—"desi-"derio," p. 317; "multa sunt— "transierat," p. 317. The story of Edgar's Sunday hunt is given from Eadmer, "Alio quodam"—"canit," p. 207; "dies igitur," p. 217, to "dilapsi sunt," p. 218; "Dunstanus "itaque," p. 219, to "haberes," p. 219; "mox autem," p. 219, to "exspectabat," p. 221. Then, "mente sobria," p. 320, to "timen-"tibus se," p. 320; from William. "Tunc subito" to "præmium," Eadmer, p. 221. "Transiit autem" —"immensæ," W. Malmesb. p. 321. "Sepultus".—"ascendebatur," Eadmer, p. 221:—"Cui est honor et "gloria in sæcula sæculorum. "Amen."

68. It is an abridgment of Eadmer's work, and contains nothing from any other source. A collation of both these MSS. will be found in the notes.[1] This is an abridgment.

A late copy of the book on the miracles is annexed to William of Malmesbury's life of Dunstan in MS. Rawlinson, Misc. 263, an account of which will be found further on.

The Life by Eadmer was printed by Surius, in his collection of the Acta Sanctorum, first in 1573, and re- Surius's edition.

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[1] The Lansdowne Life is divided into twenty-three chapters:—

1. Beatus—amissum, p. 165. Dehinc—reversi sunt, p. 166.

2. Proficiebat utique beatus Dunstanus in scientia et moribus, cujus summum studium, p. 168—devitaret. Sciens, p. 169—concedi, p. 170: followed by an abridgment of c. 6.

3. Post aliquantos, p. 173—sortitus est, p. 175.

4. Sublato, p. 180—persolvere fecit, p. 181.

5. Inde ad hospitium, p. 181—sumpsisse, p. 182.

6. Contigit, p. 183—testati sunt, p. 184.

7. Post hæc rege E. occiso, p. 184 very much abridged, to admonuit, p. 187.

8. Post hunc, p. 187—esse vera, p. 189, very much abridged.

9. Inter beati, p. 189—coram Deo advertit, p. 195, abridged.

10. The vision of Edwy's soul, p. 196, abridged, to Cantuariensis effectus, p. 197. The copyist has then grown weary: "Quis igitur in "cunctis quæ religioni competunt "Dunstanus fuerit, videlicet, cujus "virtutis ad omnes omnium per-"sonarum injustitias deprimendas, "ad bona quæque opera fovenda et "munienda extiterit, qui novit his-"torias et legerit vitas sanctorum "temporis sui cognoscit. Ideo non "opus esse arbitror ut me brevitati "studentem in illis scribendis fati-"get grandis labor. Nonnulla "tamen de miraculis quæ archiepi-"scopus gessit, breviter subnecten-"tur."

11. Abridgment of c. 27 of Eadmer.

12. Per idem—quiescent, p. 205, ut pluribus omissis in sequentibus patebit exemplis.

13. Alio quodam—canit, p. 207.

14. Quadam nocte, p. 208—modulatæ sunt, p. 209.

15. Ordo clericalis, p. 211—eliminatis, p. 212.

16. Quod citato gressu, p. 212—nemo fuit, p. 213.

17. Illis autem, p. 213—suarum, p. 214.

18. Inter hæc, p. 214—asseruit, p. 215.

19. Post hæc dies, p. 217—dilapsi sunt, p. 218.

21. (sic) Dunstanus itaque, p. 219—ascendebatur, p. 221.

22. The account of the translation by Lanfranc and cure of the deaf woman, from the Book of Miracles, p. 232, to the word effecti, p. 233.

23. Accedit post hæc, an abridgment of the story of Egelward, p. 234, as far as the word "examinatio," p. 238, and there the Vita ends.

Edition of Eadmer's Life.

printed in 1576–1581, in 1581 at Venice, and in 1618 at Cologne. In the Venice edition it fills folios 99 v° to 106 v°. The editor added a compendium of the miracles, retaining for the most part the language of the original, but very much abridged. He ascribed the whole, as has been already mentioned, to an imaginary Osbert.

Portions published by Mabillon;

Mabillon, in his appendices to the life by Osbern, reprinted from Surius such portions of the life by Eadmer as furnished new information, and published from a MS. at Compiegne, which had no author's name, a considerable part of the book on the miracles. These will be found at pp. 684–695 of the Venice edition, pp. 689–712 of the original edition of 1685.

by the Bollandists;

The Bollandists in 1685 also gave large illustrative extracts from Surius (AA. SS. Maii, vol. iv. pp. 359 sq.). They had a copy of it in a fine MS. Legendary of the Saints of May and June. In the year 1688 they printed, from a MS. of their own and from Mabillon, the extracts from the miracles; AA. SS. Maii, vii. pp. 812–816.

and by Henry Warton.

Henry Wharton in 1691 printed, in the second volume of the Anglia Sacra, pp. 211–221, large extracts from the Corpus MS., including the prologue, which was then first published. Wharton was able from his knowledge of this MS. to assign the authorship to Eadmer. These portions were reprinted by Migne with other works of Eadmer, as an appendix to Anselm, in vol. 159 of the Patrologia.

Q. The MS. of William of Malmesbury.

5. The fifth Life, that by William of Malmesbury, is found only in one MS.

Q. This is the Rawlinson MS., Misc. 263, in the Bodleian Library. It was given to Thomas Hearne by James West, M.A., of Balliol College,[1] and was bought by Dr. Rawlinson after Hearne's death. It contains no notes of

[1] "To Mr. Thomas Hearne, of "Edmund Hall in Oxford, Jan. 1, "1726. Felices multos tibi Juppi- "ter augeat annos, sic optat sic "precatur vester J. W.—Suum "cuique: Tho. Hearne, Feb. 7, "1726; ex dono amici ornatissimi "Jacobi West. A. M. e Coll. "Ball."

its earlier history. The MS. is written in single column throughout, 23 lines to the page, with initial letters of red and blue. It contains 83 folios, of which the first 33, forming the first book of the life, are in a bad hand of the latter part of the fourteenth or fifteenth century; folios 34–65, forming the second book, are in a small cursive hand of the period of the Reformation, and have 18 or 19 lines to the page: the remainder, which is Eadmer's book of the miracles, is in the same hand and fills the rest of the volume. It is a very curious book, and the character of the modern writing can scarcely be described so as to be intelligible to a person who has not seen it. I am quite unable to conjecture which of our sixteenth century scholars has transcribed it, or where he found his text. It is not however, certainly, the writing of Hearne, as has been supposed.[1] This life is now printed for the first time.

The MS. Rawlinson, Misc. 265.

It may be as well to say here what little need be said of the other MSS. used for the latter portions of this volume.

The text of Capgrave's Life of Dunstan is from a fine MS. of his collection, now MS. Tanner 15, in the Bodleian. It has been carefully collated with the edition printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and with another MS. in the Bodleian, Bodley 240, of the fifteenth century, the writer of which has so well counterfeited an earlier hand, that at first sight I was inclined to refer it to the twelfth. The collation gives no various readings of any value, the printed text being on the whole the best of the three.

Text of Capgrave's Life.

The letters of Dunstan's contemporaries which form the most valuable portion of Part VII. of this volume, are all found in the unlucky Cotton MS. Tiberius A. 15;[2] and seven of them in the MS. Vespasian A. 14.

The MSS. for Part VII.

The Tiberius MS. is a collection of Alcuin's letters,

[1] Hardy, Catal. Materials, i. 605.

[2] The present volume contains all the letters comprised in this MS., additional to those of Alcuin, except one of S. Augustine, and two, printed by Canisius, of Halitgar to Ebbo and Ebbo to Halitgar.

The Cotton MS. Tiberius A. 15.

to which those here printed are appended, arranged and copied, as it seems to me, early in the eleventh century. In this opinion I am confirmed by Sir Thomas Hardy's authority,[1] but the recent editors of Alcuin's letters, MM. Dümmler and Wattenbach, mark it "sæc. XII." It has furnished twenty new letters to the collection formed by Dr. Jaffé, and published in 1873.[2] It was also used very largely by myself in the third volume of the "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," published in 1871.[3] It has nearly perished by fire and water; many whole pages can only be read by catching the light on the hollows in which the ink has once been. I cannot venture to affirm that I have recovered the exact text in many places; but I hope that whoever, coming after me, proves more successful, will ascribe my failure to a lack of power, rather than to a want of pains. Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson have helped me in the task, and I am sincerely grateful to them.

The Cotton MS. Vesp. A. 14.

The MS. Vespasian A. 14 is a very miscellaneous volume, great part of it consisting of theological scraps, put together under the patronage of Wulfstan, archbishop of York, early in the eleventh century.[4] Some part of it,

[1] Hardy, Cat. Mat. i. 504.
[2] Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 134.
[3] Councils, &c., iii. pp. 495, 498–500, 520, 615, &c.
[4] The following lines, which fix the date of a great part of the volume, are worth preserving:—

Qui legis hunc titulum, Domino da vota Tonanti
Archipontifice pro Wlfstano venerando.

Floret in hoc opere pia mentis præsulis archi
Wlfstani cui det Dominus pia regna polorum,
Et sibi commissos tueatur ab hoste maligno.

Pontificis bonitas manet hoc memoranda ierarchi
Wlfstani supero qui sit conscriptus in albo.

Est laus Wlfstano mea pulchritudo benigno
Pontifici cui sit Dominus sine fine serenus.

Comere me comiter jussit ita præsulis archi
Wulfstani pietas, data sit cui arce corona.

Præsule Wlfstano hoc opus est consente paratum,
Pollice quod docto impressit subtilis aliptes.

however, is much earlier, and some later. This also was used for Dr. Jaffé's Monumenta Alcuiniana.[1] That eminent scholar also transcribed six of the later letters contained in it; and for his copies I have to thank very sincerely the kind liberality of his editors, who transmitted them to me through Dr. Pauli, and at his suggestion.[2] The MS. had been already used by me in preparing the "Councils" and some of the letters, as well of those contained in the Tiberius MS., I had copied as long ago as 1859, in preparation for an edition of Alcuin to be edited for the Surtees Society, a design which the publication of Dr. Jaffé's collection has now quite superseded. Dr. Jaffé's Transcripts.

The MS. C.C.C. 161, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which furnished the "Sermo de Maxima laude Sancti Dunstani," pp. 454–457, is a fine "Legenda "Sanctorum" written in double columns, late in the twelfth century. It contains lives of most of the early English saints, and of four saintly abbots of Cluny, Odo, Maiolus, Odilo, and Hugh.[3] The Sermon on S. Dunstan.

The Cottonian MS. Tiberius B. 5, is a precious treasury of Anglo-Saxon relics, far too extensive to be described here. It was used by the editors of the Monumenta Historica Britannica for the Fasti appended to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester;[4] and has furnished to the present work the Itinerary of archbishop Sigeric, and the list of the popes, and of the abbots of Glastonbury, which will be found at pp. 391 and lxxxii. The Itinerary of Sigeric.

The MS. Nero A. 2, furnishes a little prayer to S.

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[1] Mon. Alc. p. 134.

[2] These copies reached me by post the very morning on which I was starting for Cambridge, to borrow the Gale MS., which I believed to contain copies from the Tiberius MS. As I had had no communication with the German scholars on the subject, the coincidence was curious, and if it had occurred in Dunstan's own times might have passed for something more. Unfortunately the Gale MS. at Trinity which contains transcripts of the Alcuin letters does not contain the Dunstan ones.

[3] Nasmith's Catalogue, p. 229.

[4] Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 616. Wanley, ap. Hickes, Thesaurus, iii. 215.

Dunstan, printed at p. 440. This is a very curious volume put together by Sir Robert Cotton from fragments of the earliest MSS. in his possession, and well deserves careful analysis.

Sketch of the history of the cycle.

II. A complete investigation of the literary history of the cycle is not called for here; and to attempt it would be merely to recount in detail the several parallelisms and divergencies of the first five authors, which are noted in the margin of this edition. On the other hand, it is scarcely sufficient to say merely that each of the five writers, whilst he added somewhat of his own or of independent tradition, was indebted for the main string and most of the marked details of his narrative to the works of his predecessors. I will therefore briefly state the chief conclusions to which I have come after a careful study of the books before us, on the growth of what, without any intention of disparagement, I shall venture to call, in the ancient sense of the word, the Dunstan legend.

Its origin not at Glastonbury.

The origin of the cycle must not be looked for at Glastonbury, but partly at Winchester and chiefly at Canterbury. The priest B., Adelard, Osbern, and Eadmer, wrote at Canterbury or for the Canterbury clergy. William of Malmesbury, alone of the five, wrote for the monks of Glastonbury. All that part then of the original story which concerns Glastonbury must be supposed to rest upon contemporary belief, and probably on the statements of Dunstan himself, who, as we learn from Abbo,[1] was accustomed to recount to his scholars stories of the kind, bearing upon the history of the nation.

The priest B. had, as he tells us in his Prologue, learned

[1] Pp. 378, 379: "tua sanctitas ex "antiquitatis memoria collectam "historialiter me præsente retulis- "set . . . sicut tuus mos est, fra- "tribus quos pabulo divini verbi "Latina et patria lingua pascere "non desinis."

much of what he relates from Dunstan's own mouth,[1] much from the scholars whom he had educated from their childhood. We can then, without any great stretch of imagination, see the white-haired old bishop sitting with the children of his household, his counsellors and guests, by the fire in winter, and telling the little ones the story of his childhood as he told the elders the history of S. Edmund, king and martyr, which had been told him when a boy by the king's armour-bearer. To this direct source, it may well be, we owe our knowledge of the names of his parents Herstan and Cynethrythis, his brother Wulfric, and his kinsmen Elfege and Kinesige; the legend of the unfailing barrel of mead,[2] which marked the occasion of King Athelstan's visit to his niece at Glastonbury; the mention of the Irish teachers; the narrow escape from falling stones at Winchester and at Glastonbury; the story of King Edmund's chase in Cheddar, and all that is of local and personal interest in the early part of the story. In particular we must assign to Dunstan himself most of the marvellous tales of the first biographer: the child's dream at his first visit to Glastonbury, his walking in his sleep to church and climbing the mason's ladder; his dream of his friend Wulfred; his vision of the mystic dove at Ethelfleda's death; the mysterious music of his harp as it hung against the wall; and the noble words which formed themselves in his mind as he heard it. The several temptations by the devil are also probably of Dunstan's telling; one took place on his own showing

The work of the Saxon priest.

Probably the story was told by Dunstan himself.

Especially the marvellous portions.

[1] "vel videndo, vel audiendo licet "intellectu torpenti ab ipso didicerам, vel etiam ex cjus alumnis "quos a tenella juventutis ætate ad "viros usque perfectos, doctrinarum "pabulis decenter instructos ipse"met educando deduxit," p. 5.

[2] This story, we may observe, is a digression, not told in connexion with any part of Dunstan's history, and may have been made up before he was born. It is told also of a visit of Athelstan to Abingdon, in the life of S. Ethelwold by Wulfstan, Mabillon, AA. SS. sæc. V. pp. 600, 601; and in the life by Elfric, in Chron. Abend. ed. Stevenson, ii. 258.

Dunstan's temptations probably were in dreams.

in a dream; he had fallen asleep before S. George's altar,[1] and the enemy looked over his shoulder in the shape of a bear; he awoke with the words of the psalm on his lips, "Let God arise and let his enemies be "scattered." Another, when the devil took the form of a bear, a dog, and a fox, was perhaps told by Dunstan as a dream also, but has taken in the narrative of the biographer the form of a waking vision.[2] The same is probably true of the dream that Dunstan had in Flanders touching his enemies at Glastonbury,[3] his vision of his mother's marriage,[4] and of the choir of virgins at S. Augustine's,[5] and possibly the warnings that came to him, at different times, of the death of his friends.[6]

They reflect his own mind.

All these stories bear the impress of the same mind, a mind slightly morbid and very sensitive, but pure and devout, void of grossness and grotesqueness. They seem to be stories for the children, told by one who had a strong belief in dreams, and to be magnified and made important in the repetition chiefly on account of the greatness of the narrator. On public events of his own time we may well understand the archbishop to have been far more reticent; hence the silence of the biographer on the history of Edgar, and his mistakes or misrepresentations, for such we shall see them probably to have been, of the history of Edwy. Midway between these two classes of stories, one of which Dunstan must have told, whilst the other he could scarcely have told as we have them, come two or three half private half public reminiscences, such as the warning of the death of Edred,[7] and the appearance of the swarthy stranger before the murder of Edmund.[8] In these cases we shall probably not venture to guess whether the tale

The silence of the first writer on public matters.

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[1] P. 27: "nec, ut ita dicam, peni- "tus vigilanti neque penitus dor- "mienti."

"quadam nocte," p. 26.

Pp. 34, 35.

[4] Pp. 41, 42.

[5] Pp. 48, 49.

[6] Pp. 45, 46, 47.

[7] P. 31.

[8] P. 45.

is due to the somewhat excitable imagination of the saint, or to the exaggeration of common rumours at the time. The most wonderful story of all, the miraculous lifting up of Dunstan in his bed just before his death, is not to be assigned to the authority either of the archbishop himself, or of the first biographer.[1] As it does not occur in the S. Gall MS., as there is no hint of it in the earlier part of the book, and as Adelard was clearly ignorant of it, I think that we may safely regard it as a later insertion. If, however, it be referred to the author of the rest of the book, as he does not relate it as an eye-witness, its truth or falsehood does not affect his personal veracity. The chief statement, to which the priest B. deposes on his own knowledge,[2] is the account of Dunstan's manner of life, his constant devotion, his literary labours, the great success of his work in the enlightenment of England, and that gift of tears, which is so curiously unintelligible at the present day, but on which we have the unquestionable testimony of Abbo of Fleury in his letter to Dunstan himself.[3]

The most wonderful story not found in the best MS.

Such being the sources, and such the recorder of the history, we shall not be far wrong in attributing to this life of Dunstan a value as illustrative rather of character than of external history. It has what may be called a "subjective" value; its marvels are not miracles but visions and impressions. Its bearing on objective history is mediate. Such in his inner life, in rest and meditation, in his talk with the children, in his recollections of his own childhood, was the man who for thirty years was the mainstay of the safety and glory of the English. From this point of view, the work of the Saxon priest is one of the most valuable monuments of our too scanty history. I cannot agree

Special value of the first biography.

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[1] Pp. 51, 52.
[2] Pp. 49, 50.
[3] P. 379.

with the critics who look on it as a mere farrago of "monkish fables."[1]

Character of Adelard's Life.

The work of Adelard is in strong contrast. The idea that this book is a mere abridgment of the former has led to a general misunderstanding of the relations of the two. It is from Adelard, in point of fact, that the most startling of the "objective" marvels of Dunstan's career are derived. Not that he invented them, perhaps, but that the legend had, in the seven or eight years that intervened between the two, had time to grow, and had grown luxuriantly. Dunstan had already become a legendary hero. Adelard then is the authority for the supernatural event that heralded the birth of the saint; he first tells how, at the feast of the Purification at Glastonbury, when the tapers of all the congregation were suddenly and miraculously extinguished, the taper of the expectant mother was relighted, and from it all the rest;[2] in the first life, the delirious boy on his midnight walk had held a stick, as if he were keeping off mad dogs,[3] but with Adelard the possible dogs become ghostly messengers of the evil one. It is Adelard who tells first of the divine warning given at the birth of Edgar,[4] of the falling beam arrested by the sign of the cross.[5] The temptation by the bear which, accord-

Not an Abridgment.

The source of most of the marvels.

[1] It is important to notice the mention made of this Life by the biographer of Oswald, who was also contemporary with Elfric: "Post "hæc eximius pater Dunstanus et "decus omnis patriæ, ex hac luce "subtractus, ad æternæ lucis gaudia "ovanter est perductus. Qualiter "cærulos æstuantis undæ fervores "exsuperaverit, et quomodo pue-"ritiam suæ pubertatis misericors "totius mundi Salvator servaverit "atque juventutis præconium sub-"limaverit, vel florentibus compsit "actibus, sive quomodo senectam "suæ sanctæ senectutis finierit, "liber ejusdem vitæ descriptus "luce clarius demonstrat." Nero. E. 1. fo. 16. The writer then gives the temptation by the bear, the choir of virgins, and the Kyrie eleison. To the same source we are indebted for the poems of Abbo given in this volume.

[2] P. 54.

[3] "a canibus rabidis quasi se de-"fenderet, ibat," p. 8; compare Adelard, p. 55.

[4] P. 56.

[5] P. 59.

ing to the first writer, attacked Dunstan in a dream, now becomes an incarnation of the devil.[1] Adelard, too, first gives the vision of cherubim seen by Elfgar the week before Dunstan's death.[2] A similar idea of amplifying and glorifying more ordinary events may be traced in this writer, as if it were necessary to surround the simplest details of the saint's life with a halo of sanctity. Dunstan's dream of the three apostles,[3] simple enough in itself, is applied, although not with the fulness of interpretation developed by the later writers, to his future elevation to Canterbury. The part taken by S. Andrew in the original dream, which probably accounted for Dunstan's devotion to the gentlest of the apostles, is transferred to S. Peter; and S. Andrew is represented as ministering bodily consolation to Dunstan in exile. The account of his appointment to a bishopric is related so as to show that Odo had a special divine intimation that he was to succeed him;[4] and Dunstan in like manner has a divine intimation that he must consecrate Elfege to Winchester.[5]

Exaggerated tone of Adelard's narrative.

Some of the minor variations in Adelard's story are noteworthy; Elfege the Bald, bishop of Winchester, is mentioned as having made Dunstan monk and priest,[6] but Athelm, the archbishop of Canterbury, is made, instead of Elfege, the kinsman and early patron.[7] Dunstan has his first offer of a bishopric on the death of Ethelgar of Crediton, in the first life;[8] Adelard supposes the vacancy to be made by the death of Elfege, and the see to be Winchester.[9]

Minor variations in Adelard's story.

Adelard's work, however, has its value over and above its illustrations of the growth of legend. Scarcely twenty years had elapsed since Dunstan's death, and

Its value.

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[1] Compare the priest B., p. 27, with Adelard, p. 59.
[2] P. 64.
[3] P. 57.
[4] P. 60.
[5] P. 61.
[6] P. 56.
[7] P. 55.
[8] P. 29.
[9] P. 56.

Adelard's account of Dunstan's death.

some real reminiscences of his acts must have remained. I have no doubt that the record of his last words is derived from authentic tradition. The story is beautifully and most simply told. "On the morning of the "Sabbath, when the matin hymns were now finished, "he bids the holy congregation of the brethren come "to him. To whom again commending his spirit, he "received from the heavenly table the viaticum of the "sacraments of Christ which had been celebrated in his "presence; and giving thanks to God for it he began "to sing, 'The merciful and gracious Lord hath so done "'his marvellous works that they ought to be had in "'remembrance. He hath given meat unto them that "'fear him—' And with these words in his mouth, "rendering his spirit into his Maker's hands, he rested "in peace. Oh too happy whom the Lord found thus "watching."[1]

His story of Dunstan's rejection of a papal letter.

Again, the story of the nobleman who had obtained a papal letter for an unlawful marriage,[2] seems to bear the stamp of truth: it was at least very unlikely to have been gratuitously invented, and yet it is in full accord with the state of the Roman church at the time and with Dunstan's zealous vindication of the law of marriage. Finally, we owe to Adelard the definite identification of Arnulf, the count of Flanders, as Dunstan's patron in his banishment; and of the monastery of Blandinium, the writer's own home, as his temporary asylum.[3] Both of these facts are only hinted at in the most general terms by the first biographer.

His identification of Arnulf.

Period of Osbern's writing.

At least seventy years elapsed between the date of Adelard and that of Osbern, and they were for the most part such years of trouble and humiliation as to add still more glory to the memory of the last rulers under whom England had been at peace and powerful. The

[1] P. 66.
[2] P. 67.
[3] Pp. 59, 60.

misrule of Ethelred, the oppressions of the early years of Canute, and the tyranny of his sons, the political turmoil of the great provincial struggles under Edward, and after that the apparently hopeless humiliation of England under the Conqueror, all helped to invest Dunstan and Edgar with a character which they had scarcely possessed in their lives. The English feeling of the time, which is sensibly apparent in Osbern, Eadmer, and William of Malmesbury, was one of somewhat querulous helplessness. The new rulers of the state, William the Conqueror and his son Henry, although they were willing to fortify their throne against their dangerous barons, by courting the support of the native people, had not, nor indeed could be expected to have, much sympathy with the national regrets. Even Lanfranc and Anselm were not at first sight able to recognize the merits of the English saints, whose rough names were unfamiliar to their ears, whose principles of church government were so widely different from their own, and whose doctrinal teaching even was behind the developed dogma of their age. The burning of the monastery of Christ Church, in the winter of 1067, probably involved the entire destruction of the ancient library, and it became necessary to replace the lost books either with new works or with new copies of the old. The monastic reform promoted by Lanfranc worked its way at Canterbury with great success, owing in some measure to the zeal and consistency of the archbishop himself; and the new books produced under his direction reflected the circumstances of the time. Osbern, a monk of English birth, a musician and a scholar, took up zealously the new monastic line. His affections are divided between his devotion to Dunstan and his love for Lanfranc; and the picture accordingly which he draws of Dunstan is toned to the colouring of the changed times. Dunstan is the prophet of the evil days, the intercessor for better times to come, the great

Growth of Dunstan's fame.

National despondency.

Regard of Lanfranc and Anselm for the English saints.

Osbern a monk of Canterbury, and friend of Lanfranc.

Osbern's idea of Dunstan.

monastic reformer. In this there is, I imagine, no conscious misrepresentation. Osbern views the old facts through a new medium; he combines the forms of legend which he found in the two former writers, and adds a record of the posthumous miracles and later grown traditions of the saint.

He combines the earlier narratives.

By Osbern the narrative of the Saxon priest and the panegyric of Adelard are welded together with considerable skill. From the latter he borrows the miraculous illumination at the feast of the Purification; from the former the vision of the buildings at Glastonbury, which, however, he ascribes to the parents instead of the son.[1] The account of Dunstan's education is a blending of the two legends. The sleepwalk is described, with the addition of the direct ministration of angels.[2] Dunstan's first patron is archbishop Athelm, as he had learned from Adelard; his second is Elfege, as he had learned from the priest B. From the latter he takes the story of the harp, the expulsion from Athelstan's palace, the reception of the tonsure, the miracle of the mead, the deathbed scene of the great lady, the vision of Wulfred, the king's hunt in Cheddar, the nomination to Glastonbury, the visit to Bath, where he had a divine warning of the death of his scholar, the vision before the death of Edmund, Edred's attempt to promote him, the divine warning of Edred's death, the misrule of Edwy, the scene on the coronation day, the flight to Flanders, the revolution in Mercia, Dunstan's return and promotion, his manner of life as a bishop, his vision of his mother's marriage and of the choir of virgins, and the last days of his life, including the miraculous elevation of the couch, which he must have taken from the MS. at S. Augustine's.[3] From Adelard he takes the divine warning at

[1] P. 73.

[2] P. 76, "angelicis manibus:" in the first life the boy simply walks in sleep or delirium: in the second he is beset by the devil's dogs: in the third he is borne by angels.

[3] See pp. 51, 52.

the birth of Edgar, the interpretation of the vision of the three apostles, the story of the beam, the election of Edward the Martyr, the promotion of Elfege, the vision of Elfgar, the burial of Dunstan, and his prophecy of coming troubles. In all this there is nothing absolutely new, but everything is told in the grand style, and appropriate speeches are constantly put in the mouths of the actors, for which there is no authority in the earlier lives.

His improvements of the early story.

Osbern's additions, whether derived from tradition, or the product of an imagination intent on the contemplation of what ought to have happened, are mainly these: the description of the cell at Glastonbury, which he had himself seen[1] and measured; the famous story of Dunstan seizing the devil by the nose,[2] the vision of Edwy's soul carried off by devils, the hamstringing of Ethelgifu, the bringing water out of the rock, the whole story of Edgar's sin and penance, and the monastic revival that followed, with the struggle between the monks and clerks at Winchester and Calne, the prophecy at Ethelred's coronation, the warning of the death of the two bishops, and the story of the siege of Rochester, where Dunstan bribed Ethelred with a gift of a hundred pounds. Of these particulars, the only one which can with certainty be ascribed to another source is the story of the synod at Calne, which is found in the Chronicles.[3] The devastation of the diocese of Rochester in 986,[4] and the coronation of Edgar at Bath,[5] are also told in the Chronicles, but without any of the circumstances described

His additions to the previous writers.

Some particulars added from the chronicles.

[1] P. 83.

[2] P. 84. This story is so famous that one can hardly doubt that it had some foundation. The version in which the devil took the form of a woman is comparatively modern. It seems not unlikely that Dunstan may have taken some one by the nose, and that the identification was an afterthought. Eadmer in this story improves on Osbern, making the devil himself cry out, "Væ! quid ille calvus diabolus "fecit!" Cf. pp. 85, 174.

[3] Chron. S. ed. Thorpe, p. 231. The Council of Winchester also is mentioned, but without the miracle, in the *Regularis Concordia*.

[4] Chr. S. p. 238.

[5] Chr. S. pp. 224, 225.

Tradition of Ethelred's coronation.

by Osbern. The prophecy at Ethelred's coronation, which Osbern gives as traditional, "ut fertur,"[1] is found also in nearly the same words in Florence of Worcester, who does not elsewhere quote Osbern; it is, therefore, probably a fragment of independent tradition.

Osbern's variations from the earlier writers.

Lastly, we may note some minor particulars in which Osbern departs from his authorities, in a way which shows that he either was a careless copyist, or had other information. The great lady of Glastonbury whom the priest B. calls Ethelfleda, Osbern names Elfgifu.[2] The lady Ethelwynn is merely "matrona quædam."[3] The name of Wulfred,[4] Dunstan's early friend, is suppressed, although the story which belongs to him is given in full. The words of the anthem played on the harp are varied, "gaudebunt"[5] being substituted in all but one late MS. for "regnabunt;" and the hymn which Dunstan learned in his dream of the marriage feast is, except the opening words, altogether different.[6]

Osbern's account of Dunstan's miracles is new.

The whole of Osbern's second book, that on the miracles, is new. We learn from the little prayer printed at p. 440, that early in the eleventh century Dunstan had gained the reputation of a worker in miracles; most, however, of those recorded by Osbern seem to be of much later date. For the mass of these he professes to have written authority. "They are selected," he says, "from the "books of miracles which are not now extant."[7] Some of the later wonders he had seen himself; some few he had heard from others. The interest of this part of the work is, however, quite apart from the history of Dunstan, and

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[1] Pp. 114, 115. Flor. Wig. A.D. 1016.

[2] P. 85.

[3] P. 80. Cf. pp. 20, 21.

[4] P. 89. Cf. pp. 15, 16.

[5] P. 80.

[6] P. 118.

[7] P. 128. Osbern gives at p. 160 a slight sketch of some of the wonders contained in the lost books; from which it appears that Eadmer used them. Eadmer certainly has several stories which Osbern declines to tell as beyond ordinary belief.

the illustrations which it supplies to later history cannot be considered here.

Eadmer, the friend of Anselm.

Osbern's work had not been written many years when it came under review by Eadmer, who represents the school of Anselm much as Osbern did that of Lanfranc. Both are thoroughly English: Osbern, like his master, is a maintainer of discipline; Eadmer, like Anselm, is zealous of doctrine.[1] It may be added that Eadmer's Latin style is much more chastened and succinct than that of his predecessor.

He wrote partly to correct the mistakes of Osbern.

Eadmer undertook to write this book, because that of Osbern contained some grievous faults: he had mistaken the dedication of the cathedral church of Worcester, and had misrepresented the character of the mother of S. Edward, making her out to be a nun, whereas she was only accidentally veiled. Both of these points Eadmer was enabled to correct by the information of his friends at Worcester. Besides these inquiries, he had studied the original books, the Saxon priest and Adelard. The two mistakes specified may seem to give slight occasion for the rewriting of the whole book, and we can scarcely doubt that Eadmer's principal aim was to rival the fame of his predecessor. Two or three strokes of the pen would, as we have seen in our view of the MSS., have reduced Osbern's text to a conformity with Eadmer's views; but this would not have contented him. He was, we should infer, a very young man, and he certainly wrote very much simpler Latin. Yet the work of Eadmer follows, almost with servility, the lines of Osbern, even in the points in which he diverged from the earlier writers, and their few variations may be summed up in very few words. He retrenches and abridges the speeches which are the most audacious efforts of Osbern's

Possibly he wrote as a rival of Osbern.

Yet he follows him closely.

[1] The most important passages in proof of this will be found in Eadmer's Life of Odo, on the subject of the Eucharist.

Eadmer's treatment of Osbern's narrative.

invention; he gives the story of the death of the monk Elfsige,[1] which Osbern had omitted; he makes Dunstan break his stick on the back of the devil, who, having appeared in a dream in the first life, had visited the saint bodily in the second,[2] and tells how he placed a tooth of S. Andrew in the new staff; he inserts Dunstan's dream at Blandinium from the first life,[3] and enlarges on Adelard's story of the nobleman who had obtained a papal dispensation, a story which Osbern may have omitted as being on tender ground for his patron, who had obtained a similar dispensation for William and Matilda.[4] He gives another story which Osbern knew, but would not tell, Dunstan's refusal to say mass until the coiners had been mutilated,[5] a timely tale enough whilst Henry I. was reforming the coinage; and another which Osbern slurred over, how the saint hung his chasuble on a sunbeam.[6] He returns to the first version of the hymn learned in the dream.[7] He gives the story of Edgar's Sunday hunting,[8] and the orientation of Mayfield church by a push of the saint's shoulder.[9] In his account of the institution of monks at Winchester he has borrowed some details from the biographers of S. Ethelwold. He gives a new account of Dunstan's last words; and five new miracles, one of which, the pilgrimage of the monk Egelwin, was known to Osbern;[10] one, that of Saprington, which had been recorded after Osbern wrote;[11] and one, or a series, of cures effected by water in which the saint's staff had been dipped. It is safe to add that if Eadmer had never written anything more valuable, his name would in all probability have been forgotten.

His additions, and variations.

His additional miracles.

[1] P. 189.

[2] Compare the several stages of the story, at pp. 27, 59, 189, 190.

[3] P. 193.

[4] Osbern hints at the story, p. 106: Eadmer works it out in detail, pp. 200, 201.

[5] Pp. 202, 203. Cf. Osbern, p. 106.

[6] Cf. pp. 160, 204.

[7] P. 206.

[8] P. 207.

[9] P. 204.

[10] Cf. pp. 160, 245.

[11] Pp. 144, 247.

William of Malmesbury comes before us, in relation to Dunstan's history, in a threefold capacity; as the historian, the champion of Glastonbury, and the critic on Osbern. In the first point of view, writing long after he had published his "Gesta Regum," he now and then corrects or modifies statements which he has made in that work. These passages, so far as they have any real importance, may be pointed out by-and-by. The advocacy of the historic claims of Glastonbury is a branch of the criticism on Osbern. The life by Eadmer there is no reason to suppose that William ever saw; he nowhere quotes it or refers to it; and as we know from both his great works that he entertained a high respect for the writer, both as a man and as a historian, we can scarcely doubt that, had he known the book, he would have mentioned it, either for praise or for blame. Yet several of the faults which Eadmer had pointed out and corrected, were also pointed out and corrected by William.

William Malmesbury, as historian, advocate, and critic.

With the exception, however, of Eadmer, William had all the previous writers before his eyes, and keeps closer to the first life than either Osbern or Eadmer. His criticism on Osbern touches four chief points. His account of Dunstan's mother is clothed in language which verges on heresy:[1] his pompous account of Dunstan's mathematical knowledge is attacked as bombastic and pedantic;[2] everywhere the antiquity and primitive monachism of Glastonbury are either denied or lost sight of;[3] and the history of King Edgar is written without regard to historic evidence or decent loyalty.[4] Again and again these points are touched on; Osbern's artificial speeches are rejected scornfully;[5] his laudations of Dunstan are viewed as merely intended to embellish the style or increase the bulk of the work: "we well under-" stand that of our praise, especially of artificial false " praise, Dunstan stands not in need." The authority

His criticism of Osbern.

[1] Pp. 251, 322–324.
[2] P. 251.
[3] Pp. 251, 258, 270, 271, 301.
[4] P. 252.
[5] Pp. 287, 288.

His orthodoxy.

of S. Augustine is brought to bear on the "sacrum "puerperium" of Kynedritha in a way which, considering the unintentional nature of the error, is a little out of proportion.[1]

His additions from other sources, and attempts to harmonize.

Setting aside the points of controversy, William of Malmesbury's book is not an unfavourable specimen of his powers. He brings additional matter from the lives of other saints, especially those of Odo, Oswald, Ethelwold, and Edith,[2] and weaves in the details with considerable skill. He attempts to harmonize the stories of the Saxon priest, Adelard, and Osbern, thinking it probable that their differences are only apparent: they may differ as to arrangement whilst they agree as to fact, and what one has omitted the other may well have supplied without any suspicion of having invented it.[3] Besides the constant assertions of the importance of Glastonbury, there is little that the writer states on his own responsibility. He tells the story of Edgar's early intention to revive monasticism, from the English commentary on the rule of S. Benedict, the Regularis Concordia, which is still extant.[4] The letter of pope John XII. to Dunstan he gives from a copy which he also used in the composition of the "Gesta Pontificum,"[5] and which he may have derived from that Pontifical of Sherborne, his own diocese, which is now in the National Library of Paris, although he does not reproduce it with much exactness. Dunstan's gifts to Malmesbury, the bells, the organs, the shrine of S. Aldhelm, he describes from the closest personal knowledge, but nearly in the same language which he had used in his other books;[6] his accounts of Elfric of Crediton,[7] Ethelwold of Winchester,[8] Oswald of Wor-

His reference to the Regularis Concordia;

the letter of the Pope;

the relics at Malmesbury.

[1] P. 322.

[2] See at p. 294 an extract from Eadmer's Life of Odo; pp. 262, 299, from Wulfstan's Life of Ethelwold; p. 310, from Gotselin's Life of S. Edith. The story of Elfsige insulting the tomb of Odo at p. 294 is taken from the life of Oswald.

[3] P. 289.

[4] P. 290.

[5] Pp. 296–298.

[6] Pp. 301, 302.

[7] P. 302.

[8] P. 303.

cester,[1] and Wulfsige of Westminster,[2] are the result of his own reading, and repeat in some degree his own inaccurate statements. His account of the death of Edward the Martyr is a paraphrase of what he had said in the "Gesta Regum." The story of Alwold and the foxes is the only direct addition to the legend. The most remarkable passage in the book is the amplification of the exposition of Osbern on Dunstan's prophecy to Ethelred,[3] a passage which shows that William was by no means devoid of that English feeling which is so strong in Osbern and Eadmer, and which he himself, when writing for the Norman courtiers, is generally so careful to keep in check. His additions.

Capgrave's sketch, abridged as it is partly from Osbern and partly from John of Tynemouth, has no great interest either historical or literary. The collation seems to show that he had used Osbern, but that he knew the life by Eadmer only through the "Historia Aurea." Some few indications may be traced that seem to show a knowledge of Eadmer's book on the miracles. Capgrave's life.

We ask, finally, what is the relation of these biographies to the Chronicles, the more weighty and direct evidences of our national history. Florence of Worcester, the first of these, had both the Saxon priest and Adelard; and, from them only, adds to the very scanty details of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle what he says of Dunstan.[4] The coincidence between his account of Relation of the Chroniclers to the biographers. Florence of Worcester.

[1] Pp. 303, 304.

[2] P. 304. There is a MS. Life of this bishop in the Lansdowne MS. 436, the Romsey Legenda; but it seems to be utterly devoid of credit, and at variance with ascertained chronology. The utmost that can be inferred from it is that Wulfsige was traditionally regarded as the monastic reformer at Sherborne.

[3] Pp. 321, 322.

[4] The following references mark direct extracts made by Florence: A.D. 924, Dunstan's birth, from B.; A.D. 942, his appointment at Glastonbury, 943, the birth of Edgar, from Adelard; A.D. 946, the succession of Edred, from B.; A.D. 951, the death of Elfege, from Adelard; A.D. 953, the succession at Crediton, from B.; A.D. 955, the

Florence of Worcester.

Henry of Huntingdon.

Ordericus Vitalis.

Ralph de Diceto.

The S. Alban's historians.

Higden.

John of Tynemouth.

Dunstan's prophecy and that given by Osbern, may be, as we have seen, accounted for on another theory beside that of direct quotation. Henry of Huntingdon, using the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as his chief authority, mentions Dunstan only three times, in connexion with the synod of Calne, his prophecy about Ethelred, and his death. Ordericus Vitalis seems to have had no direct acquaintance with the Lives, noticing the saint only in connexion with the monastic revival. William of Malmesbury has been already accounted for. The information of Ralph de Diceto is chiefly if not entirely from William of Malmesbury. Gervase of Canterbury abridges Osbern,[1] making additions from the "Gesta Regum" and "Gesta Pontificum." The S. Alban's historians knew the work of the Saxon priest. John of Wallingford gives considerable extracts from it, as well as from Adelard;[2] Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover used not only the Saxon priest but Adelard, Osbern, and the "Gesta Pontificum;"[3] and the same is true of the work known under the name of Matthew of Westminster. Ranulf Higden used chiefly Osbern and William of Malmesbury, but quotes Adelard, possibly through the medium of Florence of Worcester.[4] John of Tynemouth used both Osbern and Eadmer, quoting the former verbatim, the latter with variations that seem to imply some manipulation of his own.[5] Capgrave, as we have seen, used Osbern and John of

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death of Edred, and 956, the exile of Dunstan, from Adelard; A.D. 957, the division of the kingdom, and 958, the character of Byrhthelm, from B.; A.D. 959, Dunstan's promotion, from B.

[1] Ed. Twysden, cc. 1645–1648.

[2] Ed. Gale, p. 541, the death of Edmund; p. 542, illness and death of Edred, from B.; p. 543, account of Blandinium, from Adelard.

[3] See extracts from B. in Matthew Paris, under the years 929, 940, 955, 957, 959; from Adelard, A.D. 946; from Osbern, A.D. 946, 979; from William of Malmesbury, A.D. 958.

[4] R. Higden, ed. Gale, pp. 264–270.

[5] See below in the collations of Capgrave's Life, pp. 336 sq.

Tynemouth. The writer of the book of Hyde followed Higden; Rudborne used the same materials with expansions or forgeries of his own. Polydore Vergil held by the historians rather than the biographers; Harpsfield followed Osbern, Eadmer's Miracles, and John of Tynemouth.[1] Archbishop Parker used all the authorities already enumerated, and Ussher did the same. From the date of the publication of the Saxon priest by the Bollandists, all writers of church history have had the most ancient life before them. The works of Adelard and William of Malmesbury are now first printed, and that of Eadmer for the first time in integrity.

The book of Hyde, and later writers.

III. The determination of the chronology, and the identification of the places and persons that come into Dunstan's history, is a very limited but not a very easy task. The authorities are vague on each point, and their evidence, even where it is exact, is not very weighty. Yet some of the most curious problems of our early history, especially the history of the reign of Edwy, are inseparably connected with this inquiry. The dates and names are so few, however, that it is scarcely worth while to subdivide them; and they may be best discussed in the natural order of the events of the saint's life.

Questions of chronology and identification.

Dunstan is said to have "sprung to light" in the reign of Athelstan. We may question whether the word "oritur"[2] refers to his birth or to his coming before the eye of history, in what year of Athelstan's reign the event took place, and in what year Athelstan began to reign. All our authorities agree in referring the word to Dunstan's birth. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, which Osbern follows, fix the first year of Athelstan as the date, and for that first year we have to choose between 924 and 925, the former date being given in four MSS. of the Chronicle, and by Florence of Worcester, the

Date of Dunstan's birth.

[1] Harpsfield, Hist. Eccl. pp. 193–197.

[2] See B. p. 6; Flor. Wig. A.D. 924; Chr. S .A.D. 924, 925.

Date of Dunstan's birth.

latter by two MSS. of the Chronicle. Unfortunately the exact date of the death of Edward the Elder is unknown, but, as Athelstan in his charters speaks of 929 [1] as his sixth year, his first must at all events have begun in 924. Alford places Dunstan's birth in the spring of 925, arguing that if his mother were pregnant in February, as must be supposed to have been the case if Adelard's miracle of the candles has any semblance of truth, and if Athelstan's accession took place about the middle of the year 924, the child must have been born in 925.[2] And this computation is borne out by an entry in an ancient Anglo-Saxon Paschal Table, preserved in the Cotton MS., Caligula A. 15, under the year 925, "on "thison geare wæs sce Dunstan geboren." The matter is not in itself of great importance, but it is complicated with questions touching the date of archbishop Athelm, and the age at which Dunstan took holy orders.

His parents.

Dunstan's parents were, as the Saxon priest tells us, Heorstan and Kynedritha;[3] his near kinsmen were among the "palatini"[4] or members of the court and household

[1] Alford had seen a charter in which 925 is called the first year of Athelstan, Annales, III. 242:—A.D. 929 is the sixth year in Kemble, C. D., Nos. 347, 348. A.D. 931, Nov. 12, is in the seventh year, ibid. 353; A.D. 934, May 28, is in the tenth year, ibid. 364; A.D. 931, Mar. 23, is in the seventh year, ibid. 1102; and July 31 also, ibid. 1103; A.D. 932, Aug. 28, is in the eighth year, ibid. 1007. If these dates are calculated on one principle, his reign must have begun after Nov. 12, 924; but I should not venture to take this for granted. The reign of Athelstan lasted, according to the MS. Tiberius A. 3, fourteen years and seven weeks and three days, which, calculated back from Oct. 27, 940, the day of his death, would fix his coronation about the first week in September, 926. The Chronicle gives him a reign of fourteen years and ten weeks, which may have been calculated from his father's death, and would fix that event about August 10:—if for fourteen we read sixteen, Edward's death would be determined on or about Aug. 20, 924; if not, Athelstan must have been crowned two years after his reign began, which is improbable. Perhaps the day may yet turn up in some monastic kalendar. It is, however, very curious that all the ancient regnal lists give him a reign of only fourteen years.

[2] Annales, iii. 242.

[3] P. 6.

[4] P. 11.

of Athelstan; Elfege the Bald, bishop of Winchester, and bishop Kinesige of Lichfield,[1] were also near relations. Dunstan had a brother named Wulfric.[2] The great lady Ethelfleda was also connected with him by the ties of relationship,[3] and she was of royal descent, being Athelstan's niece.[4] These circumstances certainly give some foundation for the statement of Dunstan's nobility, made by the later biographers, who, however, have a strong tendency to define what the earlier writer has left indefinite. Adelard goes further, making archbishop Athelm his uncle.[5] Osbern and Eadmer make his parents noble, and turn the lady Ethelfleda into Elfgifu or Æthelgifu.[6] They also ignore the existence of Wulfric, making Dunstan an only son.[7]

His connexion with the royal house.

His other relations.

The probability is in favour of Dunstan's noble birth. Of Heorstan nothing more is known, but Kynedritha is very probably the same as Keondrud, a lady whose name is found among those members of Athelstan's court who were made partakers of the prayers of the monks of S. Gall, when in the year 929 they were visited by bishop Kynewald of Worcester.[8] Wulfric, who

Kynedritha.

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[1] Pp. 13, 32.
[2] P. 18.
[3] "causa religionis, simul etiam "religionis," p. 17.
[4] P. 18, "salutata nepti."
[5] P. 55, "patruo scilicet suo."
[6] Pp. 85, 175.
[7] Pp. 89, 178.

[8] The form is printed by Goldastus in the Scriptores Rerum Alemannicarum, vol. ii. part II. p. 153, and also in the Appendix to the Report on the Fœdera. It is so closely connected with Dunstan's period that it is worth while to give it entire:—

"Anno ab Incarnatione Domini 928, indictione ii. (lege 929) Keonwald "venerabilis episcopus profectus ab Anglis, omnibus monasteriis per "totam Germaniam, cum oblatione de argento non modica, et in id ipsum "rege Anglorum eadem sibi tradita, visitatis, in idibus Octobris venit ad "monasterium Sancti Galli; quique gratissime a fratribus susceptus et "ejusdem patroni nostri festivitatem cum illis celebrando, quatuor ibidem "dies demoratus est. Secundo autem, postquam monasterium ingressus "est, hoc est in ipso depositionis S. Galli die, basilicam intravit et pecu-"niam secum copiosam attulit, de qua partem altario imposuit, partem "etiam utilitati fratrum donavit. Posthæc eo in conventum nostrum in-"ducto, omnis congregatio concessit ei annonam unius fratris, et tandem

Wulfric. is described as managing the secular affairs of Glastonbury under the title of præpositus or reeve,[1] may also with some probability be identified with Wulfric, the "comes" or "gesith" of the kings Edmund and Edred, to whom many grants of land were made which ultimately became the property of Glastonbury. The estates thus bestowed were situated at Idemestone, Nellington, Grutelington, Langleath, and other places not far from Glastonbury, and the gifts may possibly have been made with the intention of their being appropriated to the monastery; they begin as early as 940, when Dunstan could scarcely have become abbot, and Wulfric the recipient must have been an elder brother, if he were brother at all. Another glimpse of him may be caught in a curious MS. of the Irish collection of canons, now among the Hatton MSS. in the Bodleian, entitled "Liber "Sancti Dunstani," which belongs to the date, possibly to the school or hand of Dunstan. The scribe has drawn

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"orationem quam pro quolibet de nostris, sive vivente, sive vita decedente, "facere solemus pro illo facturam perpetualiter promisit. Hæc sunt "autem nomina quæ conscribi jussit vel rogavit: rex Anglorum Adal-"stean, Kenowald episcopus, Wigharth, Kenwor, Conrat, Keonolaf, Wun-"dych, Keondrud." A longer list appears in the general catalogue of the Fratres Conscripti (Goldast. p. 156):—

"Hic regis Angliæ et comitum suorum nomina denotata sunt;

Adalsten, Rex.	Wolfhelmus, archiepisc.		Elwinus, episc.	Eotkarus, episc.
Winsige, episc.	Sigihelm, episcopus.		Oda, episcopus.	Fridosten, epis.
Kenod, abba.	Albrich, abba.		Cudret.	Erdulf.
Fridolef.	Wulfun.	Ortgar.	Osfred.	Elfsie.
Adalwerd.	Elwin.	Adalwin.	Berectwin.	Wulfilt.
Wighart.	Conrat.	Kenwin.	Wundrud.	Kenowald, episc.
Kenolaf.	Keondrud."			

cum ceteris.

The bishops are Wulfhelm of Canterbury; Elfwin of Lichfield; Edgar of Hereford; Winsige of Dorchester; Sigelm of Sherborne; Odo of Ramsbury; Frithstan of Winchester; and Kynewold of Worcester. Of the abbots, Kenod belongs to Evesham or Abingdon, and Cudret to Glastonbury. Elfric, abbot (Albrich); Osferth, ealdorman; Wulfhun, bishop; Wihtgar, minister; and others may be identified with the witnesses of Athelstan's charters.

[1] P. 18.

[2] See the charters in Kemble, Nos. 381, 382, 398; MS. Bodl. Wood, I. folios 233, 234, 238.

in one place the head of a boy, in rubric, with the name "Wulfric Cild."

The lady Ethelfleda bears a name too common among the Anglo-Saxons to furnish any basis for identification, and the fact that she is called Athelstan's niece scarcely helps the inquiry. A certain lady, Ælfleda, has, like Wulfric, grants of land from Athelstan and Edmund,[1] which came to the same monastery. This lady is not to be identified with Ethelfleda of Mercia, Athelstan's aunt, who died in 922 at the latest, nor with Ethelfleda of Damerham, the second wife of king Edmund; nor with Eadfleda, Athelstan's sister. Ethelfleda of Romsey, abbess, virgin, and patron saint, cannot, if her recorded history be true, have been the widowed friend of Dunstan. The main part, however, of the history of the abbess of Romsey is apocryphal, and the dates assigned to her are inconsistent with one another. It is therefore possible that she was the person whom we are seeking. She is said to have been the daughter of an ealdorman Ethelwold and his wife Brihtwina.[2] If this ealdorman be identical with Elfweard, Athelstan's brother, who died in 924, his daughter would be the king's niece; but this is barely probable. The fact that Osbern and Eadmer give her the name of Ethelgifu or Elfgifu, would show that in their time no such identity was recognized, nor can the latter name with any probability be regarded as the true one, although the practice assigned to her, of ministering of her goods to the kings and the seed royal, does curiously coincide with the office which has been with great probability ascribed to that more famous Ethelgifu,[3] who exercised so baneful an influence on

Ethelfleda.

Called also Ethelgifu.

[1] MS. Wood, I. folios 223, 240; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. No. 389, where she is called "religiosa fœmina."

[2] Her life is in Capgrave, abridged from the MS. Lansd. 436. See Hardy, Catalogue, &c. i. 568.

[3] Robertson, Historical Essays, pp. 200, sq.

the career of king Edwy. We know Ethelfleda only on the testimony of the Saxon priest, who, however, distinctly asserts her relationship with both Dunstan and Athelstan.

Relations between Athelm and Dunstan.

Our earliest authority does not determine the degree of relationship between Elfege, Kinesige, and Dunstan, but Adelard makes Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, the brother of Heorstan. In this by itself there is nothing improbable; Athelm had been bishop of Wells, and was very likely to have been connected with the royal family, as one at least of his successors was; his name occurs also in the list of bishops given by William of Malmesbury, as having been monks of Glastonbury.[1] Adelard, however, is so manifestly mistaken in making him the patron as well as uncle of Dunstan, that no weight can be attached to his evidence. Athelm died either when Dunstan was a baby, or before he was born.[2]

Question as to Wulfhelm.

Wulfhelm who succeeded him had likewise been bishop of Wells, and among the Dunstan letters there is found a copy of verses addressed to him, which may point to some connexion between the two, but he is nowhere said to have been connected with Glastonbury, or to have been a patron of Dunstan.

Dunstan born at or near Glastonbury.

Glastonbury, or its immediate neighbourhood, was the place of the saint's birth and early teaching; he was a pupil of the Irish pilgrims, who had taken up their abode at the resting place of the younger Patrick.[3] Whilst

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[1] Ant. Glast. ap. Gale, p. 324.

[2] There are no genuine charters to which the name of Athelm is attached. The name of Wulfhelm his successor appears in 923 and onwards. The statement of Florence (A.D. 924) that Athelm crowned Athelstan is derived from Adelard, p. 55. If the evidence of charters as to Wulfhelm in 923 be rejected, still it is certain that Athelm was dead long before Dunstan could have gone to court. See Chr. S. A.D. 924, 925, from which it would seem that Athelm and Edward the Elder died the same year.

[3] P. 10. The Arras MS. says the younger Patrick, the other two MSS. the elder Patrick. This is a

quite a boy he lived also in the palace of Athelstan, at no great distance from Glastonbury, it would seem, as he had already received the tonsure, and was serving in the church of S. Mary in which he had been baptized. After his expulsion from Athelstan's court, he stayed a long time at Winchester with Elfege, who prevailed on him to become a monk. After this we again find him at Glastonbury in attendance on the lady Ethelfleda, who had built herself a house there, and who left her estates to be disposed of by him. He next appears in attendance on king Edmund at Cheddar, and, after a short disgrace, is made by him abbot of Glastonbury, in which office he continues until he is made bishop. Dunstan's early life.

For this part of Dunstan's life we have very few dates. Athelstan died in the year 940, when Dunstan would be about sixteen, no doubt a clever somewhat precocious boy, whose dreams and prayers might very likely expose him to the rough treatment of his playfellows. His appointment to Glastonbury is placed by the Canterbury copy of the Chronicle in the year 943, and by Florence of Worcester, whose authority, if independent of that copy, is preferable, under the date 942, but only as one of the remarkable acts of king Edmund. The direct evidence being so slight, we may rest on the authority of the charters, in which Dunstan as abbot appears among the witnesses only in 946, the year of Edmund's death. The only charter of earlier date in which he is Date of Dunstan's appointment to Glastonbury.

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trace of the growth of the legend that connects Patrick with Glastonbury, and may be the germ of the tradition. Whether the later MSS. altered *junior* into *senior* in the idea of enhancing the greatness of Glastonbury, or whether the writers knew of the existence of Sæn-Patric, Patricius senior, who is said to have been bishop second in succession after the great Patrick, and who might safely be called either senior or junior, I cannot take on myself to decide. By William of Malmesbury's time Glastonbury claimed not only the great Patrick but his successor Benignus.

Date of Dunstan's appointment to Glastonbury.

mentioned is one of the year 940, which is apparently admitted by Kemble as genuine, and which is a grant made to him as abbot, of land at Christian Malford.[1] But although this document has no overt evidence of fabrication, it is found only in a copy, like the other Glastonbury charters, and either the name of Dunstan or the title of abbot may have been an insertion of the copyist. Dunstan, as one of the sons of the nobles, might have had a grant of folkland at sixteen, the age at which the young warrior received his arms; but it is very improbable that if he had then become abbot, and that in a church so near the royal court, his name should not appear in the charters for six years longer.[2] I think, however, that the date cannot be thrown later than 946, and I see in the chronology no difficulties that need hinder the belief in the story of Edmund's hunt in Cheddar as substantially true.

Condition of Glastonbury.

A more important point, perhaps, and certainly a more interesting one, is the condition of Glastonbury at this time; and although it cannot be touched on here except in the most cursory manner, it cannot be dismissed with a word. The Saxon priest represents it as an ancient sanctuary, a retired spot possessing a church to which a more than human origin was ascribed,[3] a holy place to which Athelstan resorted for the purpose of prayer,[4] a place of pilgrimage[5] colonized by Irishmen, who had gathered at the tomb of Patrick. As the place of Dunstan's birth, education, and promotion, Glastonbury had

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[1] Kemble, Cod. Dipl. No. 384.

[2] Dunstan attests only one charter of Edmund: No. 406, marked by Kemble as suspicious, a grant to Ethelnoth, in the Glastonbury Cartulary: "ego Dunstan abbas "nolens sed regalibus obediens "verbis hanc cartulam scribere "jussi." Mr. Robertson regards as his first historical appearance, his attestation to a charter of Edred in 946, K.C.D. 411.

[3] P. 7.

[4] Pp. 17, 18.

[5] Pp. 9, 10.

a later history, much of which is coloured by its connexion with the Canterbury saint; it became a rich abbey, and laid claim to an early history and remote antiquity; not content with claiming the senior as well as the junior Patrick, it adopted Joseph of Arimathea as its first founder, and produced evidence of its existence and sanctity under kings and in times long anterior to the West Saxon rule; not only Edmund the Magnificent ruler of Britain, and Edgar the Peaceful, and Edmund Ironside, but king Arthur himself slept there. Such claims doubtless provoked criticism, and criticism forced on the monks the need of a forged history to assert, and of forged monuments to support them. And the fabrication of such evidences must have gone on at Glastonbury on a scale proportioned to these claims. Westminster claimed the apostle Peter as its founder, but that by a miracle. S. Alban's rejoiced in the protomartyr of Britain, but contented itself with Offa as the restorer rather than the founder of its greatness. But Glastonbury would have a history without a miracle, and a continuous existence which needed no restoration. William of Malmesbury, it would almost seem, undertook to erect the story out of materials which he distrusted, but this did not content his employers, and they interpolated his work to a degree which makes it impossible to rely with confidence upon any part of it.

Antiquity claimed for Glastonbury in later times.

Fabricated evidence.

The later developments, however, of Glastonbury history need not make us shut our eyes to such early evidence as is afforded by the Saxon priest. Further, we have in a MS. of the same date, or even a few years earlier, a list of the abbots of Glastonbury, which runs up to the age of Ina.[1] Ethelwerd mentions the cœnobium

True evidence on the point.

[1] It is very useful, in order to get an idea of the Glastonbury workmanship, to compare the list of abbots given in the Tiberius MS. with that given by William of Malmesbury, and the few dates ascertainable from

Early notices of Glastonbury.

of Glastonbury as the burial place of the ealdorman Eanulf;[1] its early history is indeed unnoticed by Bede, or by the authors of the chronicle, but its existence as a monasterium is proved by an incontrovertible authority, the letters of S. Boniface, and the life of the same great West Saxon saint written by his countryman and disciple S. Willibald.[2] And this mention by S. Boniface carries us back to the days of Ina, who according to William of Malmesbury, writing apart from Glastonbury influences, was the founder, and to the early abbots of

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early historians and charters, with the elaborate array of years which he produces, possibly in some degree, from the same materials.

Tiberius B. 5.		W. Malmesb. Ant. Glaston.	
1. Hæmgils.		After five British abbots, Patrick, Benignus, Worgret, Lademund, and Bregored:—	
2. Wealhstod	Bp. Hereford in 731 (Bede).		
3. Coengils.			
4. Beorhtwald	Contemporary with S. Boniface, epist.	1. Beorthwald	670–680; abp. Canterbury.
5. Cealdhun.			
6. Muca	At the Council of Clovesho in 805.	2. Hemgisel	680–705.
		3. Beorwald	705–712.
7. Wiccea.		4. Aldbeorth	712–719.
8. Bosa.		5. Atfrith	719–729.
9. Stitheard.		6. Kemgisel	729–743.
10. Herefyrth.		7. Guba	743–744.
11. Hunbeorht.		8. Ticca	744–752.
12. Andhun.		9. Cuma	752–754.
13. Guthlac.		10. Walthun	754–786.
14. Cuthred	Confr. S. Gall. above, p. lxxv.	11. Tumberth	786–795.
		12. Beadulf	795–802.
15. Ecgwulf.		13. Muca	802–824.
16. Dunstan	A.D. 940 or 946–958.	14. Guthlac	824–850.
17. Elfric.		15. Ealmund	850–866.
18. Sigegar	Bp. of Wells in 975.	16. Herefyrth	866–880.
19. Ælfweard	975 onwards.	17. Stiwerd	880–905.
		18. Ealdhun	905–927.
		19. Elfric	927.
		20. Dunstan	940.
		21. Elfward	962.
		22. Sigar	973.

The order and dates of Malmesbury's list seem to be quite at random; yet there is enough likeness between the two lists to show that he had older materials to work upon.

[1] Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 513.

[2] There is a letter of Brihtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, to Forthere, bishop of Sherborne, referring to abbot Beorwald (Mon. Moguntina, ed. Jaffé, p. 48); this Beorwald is called by Willibald abbot of Glastonbury "cœnobium . . quod "antiquorum nuncupatur vocabulo "Glestingaburg" (ibid. 489); and there is a letter from the priest Wiehtberht to "patribus et fratribus "in monasterio Glestingaburg con-"stitutis" (ibid. 246); written during the life of Boniface.

the ancient list just mentioned. And the certainty of this much of the early history gives probability to many of the charters, the place of which in the Glastonbury Cartulary would afford by itself very little presumption of their credibility.

Possible genuineness of the early charters.

On such evidence we may assume that there was an ancient ecclesiastical settlement at Glastonbury, dating from the seventh century at the latest, which had shared the changes and experienced the fate that had befallen most of the establishments of the centuries of the conversion; the churches and other buildings standing, the libraries perhaps in a few cases continuing entire,[1] but the monastic life extinct, the name preserved only as giving a title to the ownership of the lands, and the abbots and monks, if there were any that called themselves so, being really secular priests and clerks.[2] The Irish pilgrims who instructed Dunstan may or may not have been members or officers of this establishment, but

Condition of the monastery.

The Irish pilgrims.

[1] Asser's account of the state of the monastic institute in Alfred's time was true of the next half century: "per multa retroacta annorum "curricula monasticæ vitæ desiderium ab illa tota gente, necnon "et a multis aliis gentibus funditus "desierat, quamvis perplurima "adhuc monasteria in illa regione "constructa permaneant, nullo tamen regulam illius vitæ ordinabiliter tenente, nescio quare, aut "pro alienigenarum infestationibus "... aut etiam pro nimia illius "gentis in omni genere divitiarum "abundantia," &c. M. H. B. 493. According to Alfred himself the books remained, but there was no one who could use them. Pref. to S. Gregory's Pastoral Care.

[2] Elfric the biographer of Ethelwold, the earliest describer of this state of things, draws a sad picture of the old Minster at Winchester, and although it may be exaggerated it is the testimony of an eye-witness: "malemorigerati clerici, elatione "et insolentia ac luxuria præventi, "adeo ut nonnulli eorum dedignarentur missas suo ordine celebrare, repudiantes uxores, quas "illicite duxerant; et alias accipientes, gulæ et ebrietati jugiter "dediti." Hist. Abend. ii. 260. The biographer of Oswald, after telling us that Oswald bought himself "monasterium quod est in "Wintonia positum ... donando "digno pretio," proceeds, "in diebus "illis non monastici viri nec ipsius "sanctæ institutionis regulæ erant "in regione Anglorum, sed erant "religiosi et dignissimi clerici, qui "tamen thesauros suos quos avidis "adquirebant cordibus non ad "ecclesiæ honorem sed suis dare "solebant uxoribus," folio 4.

Low state of monachism at the time.

the right of patronage was clearly in the hands of the king, and the state of monastic rule, discipline, and pretension was so attenuated, that the contemporaries of Dunstan regarded him as a founder rather than a reformer. Monachism there was in England, although it was not after the rule of S. Benedict, and a monk Dunstan had already become; but that Dunstan's monachism had little or nothing in common with the state of things existing at Glastonbury at the time, appears from the words which the biographer puts in the mouth of Edmund: "Be thou of this seat the lord and potent occupant, and "whatsoever from thine own means shall be lacking for "the increase of divine service, or for the completeness "of the sacred rule, that I will supply devoutly by my "royal bounty."[1] It is clear that the abbacy must have been vacant and the lands of the monastery in the king's hands, much as was the case at Abingdon at the same time. The words of the biographer of S. Ethelwold might be applied to the one as to well as the other; it "was a place in which a little monastery had been kept "up from ancient days, but it was then desolate and "neglected, consisting of mean buildings and possessing "only a few (in the case of Abingdon, forty) hides; the "rest of the land of the place the king possessed by his "royal right."[2] That is, there was still a monastic establishment, but it had become ruinous and impoverished. It was in name an abbey, but really served by clerks, or altogether neglected. The renewal of discipline was really a foundation rather than a revival.

Condition of Abingdon.

The name of the abbot who had vacated the seat taken by Dunstan, as given by William of Malmesbury,

[1] P. 25. Osbern's expansion of the speech is also worth noting, p. 92. For it is impossible to suspect either the Saxon priest or Osbern of a desire to undervalue the antiquity of Glastonbury as compared with Canterbury. Compare Robertson, Hist. Essays, p. 190.

[2] Elfric's Life of Ethelwold, Hist. Abend. ii. 257.

is Elfric, the successor of Aldhun, under whom he says Dunstan had been educated. In the ancient list, however, Dunstan's immediate predecessor is named Ecgwulf;[1] and the next in order, counting backwards, is Cuthred, whom I am inclined to identify with that "Cudret" who appears among the courtiers of Athelstan in the compact with the monks of St. Gall.[2] Dunstan's predecessor.

It might be difficult to define the monastic character that Dunstan had assumed; but it differed as much from the system which it superseded as it did from the more perfect form into which it ultimately grew. No doubt the name and dress of the monk was resumed. Wulfred, Dunstan's early friend, is called a deacon,[3] but the companions of his retirement whilst he is abbot are called monks.[4] He himself in the famous drawing, which with very much probability is ascribed to his own hand, appears in the dress of a monk.[5] Yet the establishment at Glastonbury under him is much more of a school than a convent: the words "scholasticus" and "discipulus" come more naturally than "monachus." In this again there is nothing peculiar to Glastonbury; exactly the same processes are traceable at Abingdon. I conclude that there had taken place, probably under the influence of Elfege the Bald, a strong tendency towards pure Benedictinism: that tendency was represented by Dunstan and Ethelwold in their early efforts, but it was not crowned with success, or brought into perfect accord with the Benedictine discipline, until Dunstan had seen the old rule in working at Blandinium, and Oswald and Ethelwold had brought instructors from Fleury. The difference between the laxer rule of Dunstan and the stricter discipline of the other two, may be partly attributed to the difference of their foreign relations, partly Dunstan's early monachism.

[1] See above, p. lxxxii., note.
[2] See above, p. lxxv, note.
[3] P. 15.
[4] P. 28.
[5] MS. Bodl. See below, p. cx.

Dunstan's discipline milder than that of Oswald and Ethelwold.

also to the fact that Dunstan being a statesman, and, after the accession of Edgar, in a position of supreme importance, was obliged, whatever his own wishes may have been, to avoid a policy of persecution. In the biographies of Ethelwold and Oswald, Dunstan plays a part quite secondary to theirs in the expulsion of the clerks from the monasteries; and in his own churches, Canterbury, London, and Worcester, he attempted no such measure: it is possible that he acted as a check rather than a spur on the zeal of Edgar. At the same time it cannot be supposed that the clerks were expelled without his permission; and although the stories of his active participation, detailed by Osbern and Eadmer, were borrowed and adapted from the career of Ethelwold, there is evidence enough in the first life to show that he sympathized with the movement, and that his own life and personal influence were guided by an ascetic spirit.

Dunstan at the court of Edred.

Edmund reigned but a short time after Dunstan's appointment as abbot, dying on the 26th of May 946.[1] Edred, who succeeded him, reigned until November 23, 955.[2] The former king was eighteen when he began to reign, twenty-four when he died. Edred must have been within a year of the same age as Dunstan. These dates help to reconcile us to the fact that Dunstan became abbot at twenty-two. They serve to account for his close intimacy with Edred; they had been playfellows probably at the court of Athelstan. Edred was a sickly young man; the Saxon priest has drawn a picture of his ill health too graphic to be an invention of his own.[3] His mother Eadgifu was his chief adviser, and next to her Dunstan, who acted as treasurer of the royal estates, and perhaps in an official position somewhat like that of the later chancellors. His time was divided between his abbey at Glastonbury, where

[1] Chr. Sax. A D. 946.
[2] Ibid. A.D. 955.
[3] P. 31.

he was teaching and building, and his attendance on the king, who seems to have kept court, not in the western shires like Athelstan and Edmund, but chiefly at Winchester. His reign was on the whole a successful one; for, whether by his own energy, by Dunstan's policy, or by the divisions of his enemies, he acquired finally the allegiance of Northumbria. It was, no doubt, during a visit paid with Edred to the north, that Dunstan saw the remains of S. Cuthbert.[1]

Court at Winchester.

It is to these years, no doubt, that Dunstan's period of active teaching is to be referred. It was Edred who by his mother's advice placed Ethelwold as abbot at Abingdon; and this is the time of Oswald's mission to Fleury.[2] The part taken by archbishop Odo in the government of the country has been obscured by the glory of the younger men, and by the fact that his life was not written until a century and a half after his death. It is, however, certain that he did nothing to thwart the policy of Dunstan, and enough of his ecclesiastical legislation remains to show that, in a determination to enforce the observance of both monastic vows and the laws of marriage, he came in no degree behind his more famous successor.[3]

Edred and Odo in relation to monachism.

In 953, the death of Ethelgar, bishop of Crediton, gave Edred and Eadgifu an opportunity of promoting Dunstan to the episcopate. It may or may not be true that, as Adelard relates,[4] a like offer was made to him on the death of Elfege the Bald in 951. He was not yet of canonical age for consecration, and he refused the bishopric, alleging as the reason, if we are to credit the later writers, his unwillingness to leave the court as long as Edred lived. There can, I think, be no doubt about this part of the story, or about the dream which followed his refusal. Elfwold was appointed at

Proposal to make Dunstan a bishop.

[1] See p. 379.

[2] Elfric's Life of Ethelwold, Chron. Abend. ii. 257; Hist. Ramsey, Gale, p. 391.

[3] See his Constitutions, published in the reign of Edmund, in Wilkins, Concilia, i. 212, sq.

[4] P. 56.

his recommendation to Crediton, and as bishop of Crediton Elfwold attests the charters of Edred from 953 onwards.[1]

Date of Edred's death.

Edred's death must have been sudden; he was at Frome;[2] Dunstan who was at Glastonbury was summoned to attend him, but the king died before he arrived, and the crown fell to Edwy, the elder of the two sons of Edmund by his first wife Elfgifu.[3] Edred's reign is said in the table of the kings to have lasted nine years and six weeks;[4] a computation which agrees but imperfectly with the dates given by Florence of Worcester for his coronation and death, the former event being placed on the 16th of August 946, and the latter on the feast of S. Clement, November 23, 955.[5] The rougher computation of the Chronicle, nine years and a half, dating from the death of Edmund,[6] is nearer the mark.

Date of Edwy's coronation.

As Edwy reigned three years, thirty-five weeks, and five days,[7] and died on the 1st of October 959, his coronation feast must have taken place on the first or second Sunday after the Epiphany, 956. He could scarcely at this time have been more than fifteen years old. Dunstan was still at court, and on him and his kinsman Kinesige[8] was thrown the disagreeable task of

[1] P. 30.

[2] Chron. Sax. A.D. 955.

[3] Chron. Sax. A.D. 955; Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 662.

[4] MS. Tiberius, A. 3; Chr. S. ed. Thorpe, i. 233.

[5] So also Ethelwerd, M. H. B. p. 520.

[6] Ethelwerd says the same, p. 220.

[7] "Four years less seven weeks," MS. Tiberius, B. 5; Rel. Ant. ii. 171; "quadriennio" Ethelwerd, p. 520; "three years, thirty-six weeks, "less two days," MS. Tiberius, A. 3; Thorpe, Chr. S. p. 233.

[8] Kinesige appears first in a charter of Athelstan to Abingdon, Kemble, C.D. 1129, as bishop of Berkshire. Berkshire was properly in the diocese of Ramsbury, of which Odo was bishop at the time. In the lists of bishops (M. H. B. 624) he is bishop of Lichfield; he may have been administering Berkshire for Odo at the date of the earlier charter. He attests charters from 931 to 934, and from 949–963; but possibly enough there were two persons of the name.

bringing back the careless and obstinate boy, from the chamber of Ethelgifu and her daughter, to the solemn banquet. On this event much has been written, and an amount of criticism spent, altogether out of proportion to the materials for its history.[1] The narration of the Saxon priest is the primary authority; written forty years after the event, and not by an eye-witness, it bears marks of having been coloured by popular tradition. The distinction which I have drawn above, as to the narrative of our author, where it concerns Dunstan's private history, and where it touches on public events, may be applied here. The monstrous lust of such a mere child as Edwy was could not have been a main feature of a story told by Dunstan himself, who knew the truth, and who, although he had been persecuted by Ethelgifu, had no temptation to pervert facts. The offence given to Dunstan may easily be accounted for by the relationship of Edwy and Ethelgifu, and the bulk of our historians have so construed it.

Story of the coronation feast.

Dunstan's flight to Flanders must have followed early in the year 956; the charters of Edwy, which are attested by him,[2] may some of them be referred possibly to the day of the coronation. Edgar continued much longer at his brother's side, at least until the summer of 957.[3] The rebellion of the Northumbrians and Mercians cannot be thrown later than the spring of 958.

Dunstan in exile.

Edgar still at court.

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[1] On this subject may be read with advantage Mr. Allen's Essay, appended to his work on the Prerogative, p. 220, and Hallam's note in the History of the Middle Ages. The former is very speculative. Hallam's conclusion is in defiance of his argument.

[2] These are, a grant to Wilton, dated 955, Kemble, 436; one to Abingdon, dated 956, Kemble, 441; one dated 956 at Cirencester, in favour of Worcester, Kemble, 451; one to Ælric, in the Abingdon Cartulary, dated 956, Kemble, 1186, 1187.

[3] Edgar attests charters of his brother as late as May 9, 957, Kemble, 465. A charter to bishop Oscytel, which is attested by him, dated 958 (Kemble, 472), is shown by the indiction to belong to 956.

Edgar becomes king of Mercia.

In that year Edgar begins to issue charters as king.[1] The revolt is placed by Florence of Worcester in 957, and as bishop Kynewald of Worcester, whose death made room for Dunstan as bishop, disappears in that year from the charters, the recall of Dunstan probably followed immediately on the revolt. Edgar is reckoned to have reigned two years at the time of his brother's death.

Dunstan made a bishop.

Dunstan's return was followed by his promotion to the episcopate. Glastonbury was in the hands of Edwy, and for the time it appeared that he had no chance of recovering it. It was accordingly determined in a council of the witan attached to Edgar, that Dunstan should be made a bishop. This council was held at a place called in the various MSS. of the first life Bradanford or Brandanford.[2] If the latter reading be right, and it is the reading which Mabillon recognized in the Arras MS., and is clearly that of the Cottonian, the place was probably Brentford, the earlier form of which, Bregentnaford, was probably lost. If the other reading be the true one, Bradford in Wiltshire would seem to be the place meant; but if so, then Edwy's kingdom must have been much more circumscribed than we have any other reasons for supposing it to have been. The Wiltshire Bradford must, I think, have been in Edwy's hands, and the balance of probability is in favour of Brentford.

Council of Brandanford.

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[1] These of course are not numerous: one from the Peterborough Cartulary, dated 958, in which Edgar calls himself "rex Anglorum," is signed by Oskytel of Dorchester, Dunstan of Worcester, Kinsige of Lichfield, Athulf of Hereford, and Leofwine of Lindsey, Kemble, 471; another, dated 959, from the same Cartulary, has the signature of Dunstan as bishop of London, and Oskytel as archbishop of York (Kemble, 480), Edgar calling himself king of the Mercians.

[2] Pp. 36, 470. The account of this council given by Wilkins, Concilia, i. 224, is an extract from archbishop Parker's *Antiquitates*.

The story further reads as if the resolution of the witan merely was that Dunstan should be promoted. No see is mentioned, perhaps no see was vacant. We are not told that Dunstan was consecrated upon this recommendation, and Adelard probably records the truth when he describes him as consecrated by Odo to the see of Worcester. Yet it is quite possible that he was consecrated as an unattached bishop, as the Saxon priest describes, to attend personally on Edgar and give him the benefit of his counsel. Such an appointment would not have been entirely out of keeping with the system of diocesan episcopacy that had prevailed in Wessex, where from the time of Ethelwulf there had been occasionally shire-bishops with no fixed see. On this hypothesis might be explained the tradition preserved by Adelard that Odo consecrated Dunstan, "titulo ecclesiæ cui episcopus datus est conticito;"[1] the idea that he did so by divine instruction, that he might succeed him at Canterbury, being an after-thought.

The question as to Dunstan's consecration.

The tradition.

Whether or no this was the case, the death of Kynewald, bishop of Worcester, gave the new bishop a see. Kynewald's name appears for the last time in a charter of 957; and, in the few charters of 958 which were issued by Edgar during his brother's lifetime, Dunstan appears as bishop. If the festival kept on the 21st of October at Canterbury, as the ordination of S. Dunstan,[2] commemorates his episcopal consecration, it must, I think, be referred to the year 957. In 959 he received the see of London,[3] and held it together with Worcester until the settlement that followed Edwy's death. This arrangement may not improbably have been made

He is bishop of Worcester,

and of London.

[1] P. 60; cf. pp. 103, 104, 195, 292, for the amplification of the idea.

[2] From the Obituary or Martyrology of Canterbury, Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 54: "xii. Cal. Novembris, Captuariæ, ordinatio B. Dunstani archiepiscopi, cujus vita quam fuerit pontificatu digna etiam divina revelatione innotuit."

[3] P. 37.

Reason for the plurality.

either because Odo was dead, or because Canterbury, where a new bishop would have had to seek consecration, was in the hands of Edwy.

Date of Edwy's marriage,

Edwy's marriage must have taken place in 956, or early in 957; the charter of Abingdon, attested by Elfgifu the king's wife, and Ethelgifu the king's wife's mother, bearing also the attestation of bishop Kynewald.[1] It is not attested by Odo, who had no doubt been offended with the marriage. Edwy's charters in which Odo's name appears in 957 may have been granted most probably before that event: those of 958, after the forced reconciliation, following the separation of Edwy and Elfgifu, which is placed by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of Worcester[2] in that year.

The next point to be considered is one of the most complex in our early annals, but it is also one on which our Saxon priest is a primary authority: the

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[1] Hist. Abend. i. 218; Kemble, C. D. No. 1201. The charter is not quite simple. Edwy bestows Kennington on the priest Brihthelm, with the date 956, and the attestation of Odo, Edgar, Elfsige, Oswulf, Wulfsige, Kynewold, and Daniel; that is clearly before the revolt of the north, and probably before the marriage. After this Brihthelm, now a bishop, exchanges the Kennington estate for one at Crydanbridge with abbot Ethelwold of Abingdon; this exchange being without date, and attested by "Ælfgifu thæs cininges wif, and "Æthelgifu thæs cyninges wifes "modur," Elfsige, Oswulf, and Coenwald, bishops. This exchange is undated, but it must have taken place some time after the grant. Brihthelm had in the meanwhile become a bishop, Odo and Edgar were away from the court, and Elfgifu and her mother supreme for the time. All then that it proves is the fact of the marriage, and that it took place during the life of Kynewald, Dunstan's predecessor.

[2] Tiberius, B. 4, "Her on thissum "geare Oda arcebiscop totwæmde "Eadwi cyning and Ælfgyfe, for-"thæm the hi wæron to gesybbe." It is to be remembered that this is all the evidence we have on the subject except the tradition prevalent a hundred and fifty years after. The Saxon priest says nothing about the completion of the marriage, and the biographer of Oswald gives a different story, making Edwy an adulterer: "sub uxore propria alte-"rum adamavit quam et rapuit . . . "Antistes autem (Odo) . . . equum "ascendit et ad villam qua muller "mansitabat pervenit, eamque "rapuit et de regno perduxit." (Nero, E. 1. fo. 1).

circumstances that followed the death of Odo, and the appointment of Dunstan as his successor. Our author, who gives no dates, tells us that on Odo's death, Elfsin or Elfsige, bishop of Winchester, succeeded him; that Elfsige on his way to Rome crossed the Alps in deep snow, and caught the cold which killed him. His companions returned. Byrhthelm, the bishop of Dorset, was chosen in his place, and having shown himself incompetent to enforce discipline was sent back to his see by the king, who then with the advice of his witan appointed Dunstan.[1] We are not told who was king when Elfsige and Byrhthelm were appointed; the king who nominated Dunstan was of course Edgar. There is thus nothing in the original story that is fatal to the belief that Elfsige and Byrhthelm were the nominees of Edwy, and the humiliation of the latter prelate a result of the changes that followed Edwy's death. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, except in its latest and most questionable edition, does not mention either the death of Odo or the names of Elfsige and Byrhthelm; and Adelard also is silent on the whole transaction.

Question as to the date of Odo's death.

Succession of Elfsige and Byrhthelm.

Who promoted them?

When, however, we come to the time of Osbern and Florence, we find an immediate difficulty. Osbern attributes the appointment of Elfsige and Byrhthelm to Edgar:[2] Florence of Worcester, perhaps wavering in his own mind, places the election of Elfsige before, and that of Byrhthelm after, the accession of Edgar to the whole kingdom.[3] William of Malmesbury follows Osbern in ascribing the appointment of Elfsige to Edgar,[4] and although in the Life of Dunstan he adopts the same statements about Byrhthelm, does not mention him

Later statements at variance.

[1] Pp. 37, 38. The life of Oswald (Nero, E. 1), which is the original authority for the insult offered by Elfsige to Dunstan (pp. 294, 338) below, is also silent as to the king who appointed Elfsige.

[2] P. 107; the name of Edgar is not given, but the king who first pressed the election on Dunstan could not have been Edwy.

[3] Flor. Wig. A.D. 958, 959.

[4] P. 294.

The later writers refer the promotion of Elfsige to Edgar.

among the archbishops in the Gesta Pontificum. Eadmer, who might have been expected to be accurate, follows Osbern.[1] Such an array of writers, who possessed, in the records of their churches, authorities which have not come down to us, might be supposed to afford a conclusive comment on the original statement, strong enough certainly to refute an argument founded on the first reading of that statement.

Real scantiness of evidence.

Such, however, is the scantiness of all information added by these writers to the original stock preserved in the Chronicle, that we can scarcely give them credit for possessing or for using materials that have not come down to us. We have resource, therefore, to the information which we may find in charters and kalendars, and in a more precise examination of the chronology.

What time elapsed between the death of Odo and that of Edwy?

Edwy died on the 1st or 2nd of October 959.[2] Odo died on the 2nd of June;[3] but in what year? His name is found attached to an Abingdon charter dated May 17, 959, which has no decisive mark of forgery.[4] If he died in June 959, there is still time before the 1st of October for Elfsige to go as far as the Alps, thirty-three days journey, for his companions to return home, and Byrhthelm to be elected. And the existence of a charter of Edwy, dated 959, and attested by Byrhthelm as "Dorobernensis ecclesiæ episcopus," may be regarded as conclusively proving that he was appointed by that king.[5] On the other hand, such a succession of events

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[1] P. 198.

[2] Four MSS. of the Chronicle give the year 959; two 958; one Oct. 1, 958. Florence gives 959; the Kalendar printed by Hampson, gives the day Oct. 2; the charters afford ample proof that Edwy was alive in 959.

[3] Obituary of Canterbury, Angl. Sacr. i. 54.

[4] Kemble, Cod. Dipl. No. 1224, an Abingdon charter, attested not only by Odo but by Eadgiva the king's grandmother, Hist. Abend. i. 169–172. It is worth observing that of the two copies of this charter one (Claudius, c. 9) omits the name of Odo.

[5] This charter, which is not in Kemble, is in the book of Hyde (ed. Edwards), p. 177.

is so rapid as to be almost unprecedented Elfsige would hardly have found the Alps so blocked with snow in June that he should be really frozen to death; and Florence of Worcester distinctly places Odo's death in the year in which he separated Edwy and Elfgifu, that is in 958. It is important, too, to observe that one copy of the Abingdon charter omits the name of Odo. On the whole we may safely conclude that sufficient ground is found for setting aside the statements of Osbern as to the nomination of his two successors, and for interpreting the Saxon priest accordingly.

Odo died probably in 958.

A minor question is this: Byrhthelm is called by our first author the bishop of Dorset,[1] that is, of Sherborne; but the lists of the bishops of Sherborne contain no such name, that see having been occupied successively by Wulfsige, who, as we know from charters, disappears in 958, and Elfwold, who signs first in 961. It is true that between these years there is room for Byrhthelm, but the lists, which are nearly contemporary, do not admit him. On the other hand, we find prelates of this name at this period, in the sees of Wells, Winchester, and London. It is not by any means impossible that the bishop who was elected to Canterbury was the bishop of Wells, who is called *electus* in 956,[2] and who may either have held Sherborne after Wulfsige's death in 958, as well as Wells, just as Dunstan held London, or have been called bishop of Dorset in mistake for Somerset. We find his name, however, so often in the Abingdon charters, that it seems more natural to adopt the former supposition. The fact that we find two

What was Byrhthelm's see?

Wells or Sherborne, or both.

[1] P. 38.

[2] Kemble, C. D. n. 349: from a Bath Cartulary. Byrhthelm of Wells succeeded a bishop named Wulfhelm in 956: Wulfsige of Sherborne disappears from the charters in 958; and his successor Elfwold first appears in 961. I am strengthened in this conjecture by finding that Mr. Robertson, Hist. Essays, p. 194 note, also supposes Byrhthelm to have succeeded Wulfsige in 958.

More than one of the name.

bishops of the name constantly attesting together[1] hinders us from identifying this Byrhthelm with the occupants of the sees of London and Winchester; but it is obvious that if Canterbury were practically vacant as we have supposed from June 958 to October 959, any bishops appointed in the meantime must have either sought consecration elsewhere or have held sees in plurality. I think that on the whole it is most likely that Byrhthelm, who is called the king's kinsman,[2] was a competitor with Dunstan in more ways than one; he was probably Edwy's prime minister, as Dunstan was Edgar's, and Edgar's triumph was the decisive cause for his final defeat.

Dunstan becomes archbishop.

Dunstan then became Archbishop of Canterbury in 959; the entries in the Chronicle which place this event in 961[3] being late insertions, and at variance with the evidence of charters. The commemoration of his ordination on Oct. 21,[4] before mentioned, may possibly refer to his installation at Canterbury; and if this be the case, no time could have been lost after Edwy's death in removing Byrhthelm, a fact which is moreover proved by two charters of 959[5] which Dunstan witnesses.

Goes to Rome.

After the settlement of the kingdom he went to Rome for the pall. This he received from Pope John XII. probably in 960, in which year very few charters contain his name. In 961 he consecrated Elfstan and Oswald his successors in the sees of London and Worcester, probably also the new bishop of Sherborne. In 963 he consecrated Ethelwold, his old fellow pupil or disciple, to the see of Winchester,[6] and from that date

[1] e.g. Kemble, C. D. Nos. 1225.

[2] Kemble, C. D. 469.

[3] See Thorpe's edition, pp. 218, 219; where it will be seen that the passage is an interpolation in one MS., is altogether omitted in four, and at home only in the Canterbury MS. Dom. A. 8, which is the least valuable as an authority.

[4] Ang. Sac. i. 54; above, p. xci., note.[2]

[5] Kemble, C. D. Nos. 1221, 1225.

[6] Chr. S. A.D. 963.

begins the struggle of the monks and clerks which furnishes most of the historians of the reign with their chief subject of discussion. We must, however, dismiss this famous question with a very few remarks in addition to those already made.

Struggle between the monks and clerks.

All evidence seems to show that, whilst the monastic movement had taken its rise at Winchester, it had been received with the most fervour in Mercia. Dunstan received his impressions in its favour from Elfege the Bald. Ethelwold was a native of Winchester, and Oswald had been trained and held preferment in the same city. The revival of Glastonbury and Abingdon, under the patronage of Edred, was the limit of success in Wessex for a long time, and the four years of Edwy's rule were unfavourable to its extension. The statements of Osbern and Eadmer, that Edwy confiscated all monastic property,[1] are not borne out by the authority of the earlier writers, but Glastonbury had certainly been seized, and the condition of Winchester under Ethelwold seems to show that such monachism as had existed under Elfege was extinguished under his successor. We may safely infer that the monastic party shared in the disgrace of Dunstan, and was made to bear the effects of the quarrel between Edwy and Odo. Accordingly when the revolt of the Mercians and Northumbrians placed Edgar in the position of a rival, and a too powerful rival, to his brother, it was natural that he should find support in the monastic party; it is also quite possible that that revolt was prompted by the leaders of the religious reform, who were provoked by Edwy's foolish and unlawful marriage. The story that Edgar in his early youth had been moved by the sight of the ruined monasteries to make a vow of restitution [2]

Rise of the new monachism.

Connexion of the monastic party with Mercia.

[1] Pp. 101, 191.

[2] Regularis Concordia: preface. See p. 290, below. "Clericos perosos habuit, nostri habitus viros sicut diximus honorsvit," says the monk of Ramsey. (V. Oswaldi, Nero E. 1. f. 8).

Edgar's monastic zeal.

may very well be true; he owed his crown to men who were sincere in their desire to bring about the same end. Unquestionably there were many other points at issue. Wessex and Mercia were held together by a very slight thread, as both earlier and later history show; but there can, I think, be no doubt either that religious questions entered into the struggle, or that the results bound Edgar, even more firmly than they bound Dunstan, to the monastic interest. The very scanty notices of the Chronicle during Edgar's reign illustrate this, and what little truth can be sifted from the exaggerations of the later monastic writers seems to confirm the conclusion. Oswald, under the protection of the East Anglian ealdorman Ethelwin, was working at Ramsey. Ethelwold was nursing a scheme of extension which was to revive the churches which had perished in the Danelaw. Archbishop Oskytel of York, the near kinsman of Oswald and Odo, and of the half mythic Thurkytel, abbot of Bedford, whom Crowland afterwards claimed as founder, must have been one leader of the "populus brumalis," when they renounced Edwy. Edgar's success placed these men in possession of all the power they could desire. With Dunstan at Canterbury, Ethelwold at Winchester, and Oswald at Worcester, their course was clear. Ethelwold was the moving spirit, Oswald tempered zeal with discretion, Dunstan's hand may be credited with such little moderation and practical wisdom as can be traced. The movement, with all its drawbacks, was justifiable, perhaps absolutely necessary. The cleansing of Winchester from the "spurcitiæ clericorum" may not have been indispensable to the welfare of Ramsey, Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney; but we cannot doubt that a monastic mission system was necessary for the recovery of middle England from the desolation and darkness which had been brought upon it by the Danes, or that the monastic revival was in those regions both successful and useful.

Monachism in Mercia.

Importance of the revival.

Process of recovering monastic estates.

In his first year, 964, Ethelwold, with Edgar's assistance, expelled the seculars from the two great monasteries of Winchester, from Chertsey, and from Milton,[1] and after doing so, carried out his scheme in middle England. He recovered Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney from the hands into which they had fallen, and established a body of monks in each, under abbots of his own training. Oswald acted with less energy; instead of driving the clerks out of his cathedral at Worcester, he removed his episcopal chair to the neighbouring monastery; but he carried on his educational and missionary work at Ramsey with not less zeal than was shown by Ethelwold. It is accordingly on this part of England that the storm falls when the old causes of quarrel revive after the death of Edgar.

Story of the nun of Wilton and the seven years' penance.

The only other question of interest in the career of Dunstan during the reign of Edgar is that which concerns the king's coronation at Bath, and, in connexion with it, the story of the nun of Wilton and the septennial penance. According to Osbern,[2] Edgar violated a nun at Wilton, who became mother of Edward, his successor, and Dunstan imposed as a penance, besides other observances, the disuse of the crown for seven years and the foundation of a nunnery at Shaftesbury. Eadmer denies that the young woman in question was a nun, or that she was the mother of Edward, but admits the fact of the crime and the penance, with the exception of the foundation of Shaftesbury, which was known to have been a work of King Alfred.[3] Gotselin, the biographer of S. Edith, and a contemporary of Osbern, gives to the lady of Wilton the name of Wulftrudis, and asserts that Edgar would have married her had she not retired to take the veil at Wilton.[4] Nicolas of Wor-

[1] Chr. S. A.D. 964.
[2] Pp. 111, 112.
[3] Pp. 163, 209, 210.
[4] Mabillon, AA. SS. O. S. B. sæc. v. p. 623.

Different stories of Edgar's sin.

cester, Eadmer's friend, denied the connexion between the disuse of the crown and the sin of Edgar, and gave the name of S. Edward's mother as Egelfleda, daughter of Ordmær, ealdorman of the East Angles.[1] William of Malmesbury, in the Gesta Regum, whilst he related three legendary stories of Edgar's vices, attempted to harmonize the several accounts which he had read, and gave the full account of the murder of Ethelwold and marriage of Edgar and Elfthritha, adding that the nunnery of Werewell was founded as an expiation for the crime.[2]

Certainty that there was an ancient scandal about Edgar.

So far as direct evidence goes, the story of the nun of Wilton rests on the testimony of Osbern, which is in itself suspicious, and is told with circumstances that supply a partial refutation. As on this the truth of the septennial penance depends, it may fairly be argued that the whole story stands or falls together. The life of S. Edith, however, which represents a quite independent tradition, clearly shows that there was an ancient scandal about a veiled lady at Wilton; William of Malmesbury's legend of the murder of Ethelwold proves a tradition as to the foundation of an expiatory monastery. The words of the Anglo-Saxon poet, imbedded in the Chronicle, are a telling proof of Edgar's vices.[3] The coronation taking place in 973, just seven years after the marriage of Edgar and Elfthritha, affords a presumption as to some connexion between the story of the seven years penance and that ill-omened marriage. But

[1] Below, p. 423. The biographer of Oswald (Nero E. 1) says the Elfthritha was the daughter of Ordmer, ealdorman of the "Occi-" dentales Angli;" but he also makes her mother of both Edward and Ethelred; so that he must have confounded two of Edgar's wives. The Chronicle says that Elfthritha was daughter of Ordgar.

[2] Gesta Regum, lib. I. (ed. Hardy, p. 254).

[3] A.D. 958. Canute thought Edgar "vitiis deditus, maximeque li-" bidinis servus in subjectos propior " tyranno fuisset." W. Malm. G. P. (ed. Hamilton), p. 190: from Gotselin's Life of S. Edith; Mabillon, sæc. v. p. 626.

the very circumstances which seem to us to afford a practical clue to the explanation may have themselves suggested the legend. It may be quite as wise to reject the whole of the legendary matter, and deny, with Nicolas of Worcester, the connexion of the coronation with the penance. If this be done, we cannot do better than accept the theory which has been recently worked out with great research and ingenuity by one of our most eminent historical scholars,[2] that Edgar's coronation at Bath was a solemn typical enunciation of the consummation of English unity, an inauguration of the king of all the nations of England, celebrated by the two archbishops, possibly with special instructions or recognition from Rome, possibly in imitation of the imperial consecration of Edgar's kinsmen, the first and second Otto, possibly as a declaration of the imperial character of the English crown itself.

Impossible of any certain inference.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle supplies only three facts during the seven years that intervene between the marriage and the coronation; the war in Westmoreland, the ravaging of Thanet by the king, of which no explanation is given, and the appointment of Oswald to the see of York. Florence of Worcester throws into these vacant years the several stages of monastic progress; the year 967 is marked by the foundation of Romsey; in 968 Edgar placed monks at Exeter; in 969 the clerks were banished from the monasteries of Mercia; in 970[3] the relics of S. Swithun at Winchester were

Scantiness of details from 965 to 973.

[1] The Life of Oswald, which gives a full detail of this coronation, has not a word about the penance, and represents as "de more solito." However, as it gives at length the Promissio Regis, as taken on the occasion, it is clear that it was not a mere crown-wearing festival.

[2] Robertson, Hist. Essays, pp. 203–215, a most learned and instructive essay.

[3] This translation must be distinguished from the more famous dedication of the church celebrated by Wulfstan in the poem published by Mabillon, sæc. v. pp. 614 sq., at which Dunstan was present, and the bishops Elfstan, Ethelgar, Elf-

Death of Edgar.

translated; and in 972 the new minster was dedicated. The great coronation at Bath took place at Whitsuntide 973, and the homage of the eight kings shortly after at Chester. Two years after, on the 8th of July 975, Edgar died, and was buried by Dunstan by his father's side at Glastonbury.

No authentic history of Dunstan's later years.

Dunstan survives his friend for thirteen years, during which the biographers do not supply a single item of independent information. The Saxon priest tells us little of the reign of Edgar, and does not even mention his successors. Adelard records that the saint crowned and anointed both Edward and Ethelred,[1] and that he possessed sufficient influence with the latter to induce him to appoint Elfege to Winchester. The Chronicle does little more than record the reversal of Edgar's monastic policy under his youthful successor by the agency of Elfhere, ealdorman of Mercia. Florence adds that the influence of Elfhere was counteracted by the three East Anglian and East Saxon nobles, Ethelwin, Elfwold, and Brihtnoth, and gives an account of the election of Edward which bears a somewhat suspicious likeness to the language of Osbern. It is to the Chronicle that we owe our knowledge of the council of Kirtlington in 977, and that of Calne in 978, the history of which was interwoven by Osbern into his account of the monastic quarrel.[2] The murder of the young king is there recorded without the mention of the names of the guilty. It is in Osbern that we first find it laid to the charge of Elfthritha. But the Chronicler, who records under the year 980 the translation of Edward's body from Wareham to Shaftesbury, by Elfhere and Dunstan, the former the

How supplied by later authorities.

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stan, Escwig, Elfege, Æthelsige, and Athulf:—

"Quorum summus erat vultu maturus et actu
Canitie niveus Dunstan et angelicus."

The names of the bishops fix the date I think to the year 980, in which Ethelgar was consecrated; Elfstan of Ramsbury died in 981.

[1] P. 61.

[2] Pp. 113, 114.

leader of the secular, the latter the patron of the monastic party, shuts out the probability that Edward was sacrificed to political rather than personal aims. The inference drawn from the silence of the contemporary chronicles is unfavourable to Elfthritha; the statement that Edward's kinsmen would not avenge him [1] does not warrant us in supposing that he was the victim of a conspiracy. Dunstan crowned his successor at Kingston, and then attempted to impress upon him the binding character of his royal obligations in a document, the "Promissio Regis," with its commentary, which is still preserved.[2] We may ask, but we cannot answer, who guided the state during the childhood of Ethelred. The political history of Dunstan ends with his accession.

Elfthritha probably contrived the murder of Edward.

It is, however, to this period of his life that the letter of Abbo belongs,[3] and the picture of his daily occupations drawn by the Saxon priest. His chief employment was on the divine service, prayer and psalmody, and holy vigils; now and then he resumed the employments of his youth, exercising his old skill in handicraft in the making of musical instruments like the organs which were kept at Malmesbury, or the bells that were known at Canterbury as his own work; the early hours of the morning he gave to the very needful task of correcting the faulty manuscripts of the library. Even after he had retired from political life, leaving Ethelred to mismanage his kingdom as he chose, the great domains of his church afforded him abundance of public work; it was his delight to make peace between man and man, to receive and assist the widows and fatherless, pilgrims and strangers of all sorts; as an ecclesiastical judge he never stayed his hand against unlawful marriages, or in the maintenance of ecclesiastical order. He was an admirable steward of the church's wealth, a founder and endower of new churches, and indefatigable in the work

Idea of Dunstan's life in his old age.

[1] Chron. Sax. A.D. 975.
[2] Pp. 355–357, below.
[3] Pp. 378–380, below.

Picture of Dunstan's old age.

of instruction, gathering young and old, men and women, clerk, monk, and lay, to listen to his teaching. "And "thus all this English land was filled with his holy "doctrine, shining before God and men like the sun "and moon. When he was minded to pay to Christ "the Lord the due hours of service, and the celebrations "of the mass, with such entireness of devotion he "laboured in singing that he seemed to be speaking "face to face with the Lord, even if just before he had "been vexed with the quarrels of the people; like "S. Martin, he constantly kept eye and hand intent "on heaven, never letting his spirit rest from prayer."[1]

Probable truth of the sketch.

The idea of the sketch is that of a good and faithful servant; there is nothing grotesque about the man as he appears in the pages of the eye-witness; nothing of the tyrannical ascetic. It is the crowning of a laborious life, of a man who has had great power and has used it for his country, and who, now that other rulers have arisen who do not know or love him, falls back on the studies of his youth, and spends his last years in the promotion of pious and learned works. The end, if we set aside, as I think we may safely do, the strange story of the miracle,[2] is quiet and peaceful. He was only sixty-four when he died, but his public life had begun early and lasted long, and his fame lived both at home and abroad, in the praises of the strangers whom he had befriended, the churches that he had planted, the scholars whom he had taught, but chiefly in the longing remembrance of the peace and glory which Edgar under his teaching had maintained; the peace and glory which were written in the hearts of the English, although they left vacant pages in the chronicles, and which were the last glimpses of national prosperity. Yet Dunstan's memory was worshipped not only from a feeling of regret; as I have remarked more than once, his beatification in

[1] Pp. 49, 50, below.

[2] Pp. 51, 52, below.

popular regard scarcely waited for his death; and it is no small proof of the estimation in which his memory was held that when, in 1017, Canute set the laws civil and ecclesiastical upon the ancient and national footing, together with the feast on the anniversary of S. Edward, a perpetual protest against the line of Ethelred, he ordered the solemn and universal observance of S. Dunstan's mass day.[1] His early beatification.

The true mark of Dunstan's mind must be looked for in Edgar's legislation, and in the few canons passed at the ecclesiastical assemblies of the reign. These will all be found among the ancient laws and institutes of the Anglo-Saxons, published by Wilkins, Thorpe, and Schmid.[2] That Dunstan had a chief part in the enactment of these is a necessary inference from the fact that throughout the reign he was the king's closest friend and adviser, the chief of his witan, the ecclesiastical head of the nation. The laws that bear Edgar's name must bear the impress of Dunstan's mind. We cannot follow the writers who argue that because Edgar's canons do not forbid the marriage of the clergy, they must be referred to the period of his reign when Dunstan was not yet archbishop, and argue, therefore, that they were the work of a king of fifteen years old who was under the guidance of a party far more monastically inclined than Dunstan himself.[3] Dunstan's share in Edgar's legislation.

Of the secular laws of Edgar, the institution of the

[1] Leges Canuti (Schmid, p. 265), I. 17.

[2] Thorpe (folio ed.) pp. 109–118. Schmid, pp. 182–199.

[3] Johnson's Canons, ed. Baron, i. 408, "Though these laws and the "first set of canons following next "after them are ascribed to king "Edgar, yet they have nothing of "the spirit of Dunstan in them: "I mean they inflict no punish- "ments or hard censures on the "married clergy, as they certainly "would if Dunstan had been at the "making of them." Also, p. 412, "these canons, which I place be- "fore Dunstan's accession to the "see of Canterbury, as containing "no censure against the married "clergy."

Dunstan's share in Edgar's legislation.

Hundred seems to be a reconstruction and development of the old German Hundred system, for special purposes of police, from which no inference can be drawn as to the policy of its author. The secular ordinances and the "supplementum" are in this respect more important; and the preamble to the first of these asserts a noble principle: "I will that every man be worthy of folk-"right, as well poor as rich, and that righteous dooms "be judged to him." The enactments that follow are few but definite, and touch on the remedial jurisdiction of the king, the regular holding of the popular courts, the general system of "borh" or security for appearance in the gemots, and the uniformity of coins and measures. In the Supplementum the hand of Dunstan is distinctly traceable; it is an enactment in the time of pestilence, that the wrath of God may be turned from the people. "I and the archbishop command," says the king, "that "ye anger not God" by robbing him or his church. The practices of religion are enjoined, the rights of the king and his thegns, the legal freedom of the Danes, and their possession of their own laws, are secured; the points included in the earlier laws are repeated, and the observance of the peace enforced by threats and promises. Although these few ordinances bear but a slight proportion to the laws of Ethelred and Canute, they are distinctly constructive: the administration of justice, the equal rights of poor and rich, Dane and English, and the careful maintenance of the "frith" by the hundred system, are progressive measures of reform. If Dunstan's work is here, we have some justification of the praises of his biographers.

Ecclesiastical laws of the period.

The ecclesiastical laws of the period are of the same constructive and progressive stamp. Those few enactments which are included among Edgar's laws touch chiefly on payments to the churches, church scot, tithe, and Rome penny, and on the observance of festivals and fasts. The canons which touch on spiritual matters

have a wider interest;[1] but like most canonical legislation they incorporate very much of earlier law. They fall into two classes; the first are called the sixty-seven canons of Edgar, many of which are taken from the Karolingian capitularies, and which touch on synods, the exercise of spiritual discipline, the abolition of the relics of heathenism, the observance of Sundays, festivals, and fasts, the decent and solemn celebration of the sacraments, and the guidance of the lives of the clergy. One or two are characteristic, we may think, of Dunstan: "That no priest receive a scholar without the leave of "the other by whom he was formerly retained;" "that "every priest do teach manual arts with diligence;" "that no learned priest reproach him that is less "learned, but mend him if he know how;" "that no "noble born priest despise one of less noble birth; if "it be rightly considered, all men are of one origin." The penitential canons which are found in connexion with these are a compilation of the period from the earlier penitential books of the church, and contain nothing original. Nor do they contain anything that connects them with the reign of Edgar or the pontificate of Dunstan. It is in these only that any mention is found of clerical marriages: "If a mass priest or a "monk or deacon had a lawful wife before he was "ordained, and dismisses her and takes orders, and then "receives her again by lying with her, let every one of "them fast as for murder and vehemently lament it;" —a very necessary safeguard in an age in which it was so common to play fast and loose with sacred obligations. But this canon, on which apparently depends the charge of persecuting the married clergy made so commonly against Dunstan, is an extract from penitentials of much earlier date, and cannot with any certainty be assigned to him as its re-enactor.[2]

Canons of the reign of Edgar.

Dunstan's hand in them.

Penitential canons.

[1] Thorpe, pp. 395 sq. Johnson, i. pp. 412 sq.

[2] It is taken from the fourth book of the Pseudo-Egbertine Peniten-

Tradition preserved by William of Malmesbury touching the drinking custom.

William of Malmesbury has preserved a tradition which serves to present Dunstan in a light that can hardly offend popular reformers of this day. He introduced the custom of inserting pegs in the drinking cups, that no man might run into excess without knowing it.[1] Human nature, which is so apt to mistake a limit for a law, a maximum for a minimum, soon put the pegs to the opposite use, and required legislation that forbade the custom "of drinking to pegs," or, as we should say, "allowing no heeltaps."

Dunstan an educator rather than an ascetic.

The early and more trustworthy writers connect the memory of Dunstan with no cruel or barbarous asceticism. The evidence of the laws does, I think, confirm the testimony of the Lives. Dunstan is a constructor not a destroyer, a consolidator not a pedantic theorist, a reformer not an innovator, a politician not a bigot, a statesman not a zealot. His merits as a scholar, an artist, a musician, a cunning craftsman, are a part of the contemporary picture which ought not to be disregarded. His zeal for education is a far more authentic trait than his zeal for celibacy. His vindication of the law of marriage can never be regarded as a blot by those who know anything of the state of society, especially in the royal houses of his day; or consider the strange way in which religion and courtly adulation could be combined when the uncorrupted body of a king like Edgar was believed to work miracles. Yet this has scarcely been fairly recognized. Dunstan's zeal for the purity of marriage is acknowledged as a matter of merit when it was exercised against the corrupt papacy; yet because by the command of the witan of the kingdom he draws a wanton boy of fifteen from the dangerous society of a girl whom

His zeal for the law of marriage.

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tial, which again is from the Pseudo-Theodore, which takes it from the Pœnitentiale Romanum, published by Halitgar of Cambray: here it is taken from the Penitential of Columbanus, and the earlier writers. See Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen der Abendländische Kirche, p. 365. Thorpe, pp. 408, 378, 283.

[1] Ed. Hardy, p. 237.

it was unlawful for him to marry, we are told that "a young king was persecuted and dethroned by the insolence of monkery exciting a superstitious people against him."[1] There must be a sacredness, it would seem, about the very sins of kings. Strange misrepresentation.

It is strange that of a life so important and diversified as that of Dunstan not a single literary monument survives; not a single letter that can with any possibility be attributed to him, although several addressed to him are extant, and will be found in this volume. Diligent in his ecclesiastical work, diligent in his political work, diligent as a student and as a teacher, he has left, beyond a few lines of writing, the endorsement of a charter, and the prayer put into the mouth of a kneeling figure in an illumination, no writings whatever.[2] No literary remains of Dunstan.

It is true that during the middle ages, when the study of alchemy was rife, a tract bearing the name of Dunstan was circulated among the initiated; but it was no doubt assigned to him as to a celebrated saint and philosopher, whose name might gain for it a circulation that it could not demand upon its merits. This work, the "Tractatus maximi Domini Dunstani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis vere philosophi de lapide philosophorum," was printed at Cassel in 1649, in the "Clavis portæ aureæ" of George Ripley.[3] It is also found in a fifteenth century MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.[4] The tract on Alchemy.

Another book which has been attributed to Dunstan is the "Regularis Concordia," a body of rules for monks, which has been at least twice printed; first by Reyner in the "Apostolatus Benedictinorum," and again in the The Regularis Concordia.

[1] Hallam, Middle Ages, ii. 267.

[2] The statement that one of the MSS. of the Chronicle is supposed to be in Dunstan's handwriting (Allen, Prerogative, 223) is based on the merest conjecture.

[3] Clavis aureæ portæ, p. 240. See Wright's Biographia Literaria, I. 462.

[4] No. 128, Coxe's Catalogue of MSS., C.C.C. p. 47. It is a fifteenth century MS., once the property of Brian Twyne.

The Concordia is not Dunstan's.

preliminary matter of the "New Monasticon." It is an interesting and valuable work, written very shortly after the monastic revival, and so early received as authoritative that it was translated into Anglo-Saxon before the Norman conquest. It cannot, however, be ascribed to Dunstan, who is mentioned in it as "egregius hujus "patriæ archiepiscopus, præsago afflatus spiritu," although it is easy to see that it might, by a very natural mistake, be regarded as his work. It has a considerable historical value, giving an account of the way in which Edgar was induced to promote the monastic revival, the missions from Fleury and Ghent, and the council of Winchester, of which so much is said in the lives of Dunstan by Osbern and Eadmer. It may conjecturally be referred to the abbot Elfric.

Commentary on the Benedictine Rule, not Dunstan's.

There is in the Royal Library, in the British Museum,[1] a large commentary on the Benedictine rule, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and illustrated with a very fine full page picture of a bishop. This has been attributed with some confidence to Dunstan, but the MS. contains nothing to justify such a statement; neither the Latin style nor the general arrangement of the book is at first sight consistent with the assumption; and if there be among the minuter points of the work anything that suggests it, I have been unable in a careful examination to discover it.

Books that have belonged to Dunstan.

Of the other books with which the name of Dunstan, not as author but as traditionary owner, is connected, the most important is the well-known Bodleian MS. marked Auctarium F. iv. 32.[2] This volume consists of a bundle of very ancient remains, the chief of which are, a large part of the *Liber Euticis Grammatici de*

[1] MS. Reg. 10 A. 13. See Wright, Biogr. Lit. i. 461.

[2] Described in Macray's Annals of the Bodleian, p. 20; Hickes, Thesaurus, i. p. 144, where the first page is engraved; and iii. p. 63; Villemarqué's Notices des principaux MSS. des Anciens Bretons, Paris, 1856.

discernendis Conjugationibus, a quantity of extracts from the Scriptures in Greek and Latin, Tables for calculating the Full Moon, a Paschal table reaching from A.D. 817 to 832, the first book of Ovid's Art of Love, a homily in Anglo-Saxon on the Invention of the Cross, and several minor fragments or notes on measures and numbers. Several of these pieces contain British glosses and furnish some of the earliest written specimens of Welsh. On the first leaf of the volume is a large drawing of our Saviour, holding in his right hand a long rod or sceptre, and in his left a book, with a monk kneeling at his feet. On the sceptre is inscribed the text, "Et virga recta est virga regni "Tui;" on the book, "Venite filii, audite me, timorem "Domini docebo vos:" from the mouth of the monk proceeds a scroll, and over his head is the couplet— The Bodleian MS. with a drawing of Dunstan.

"Dunstanum memet clemens rogo, Christe, tuere
"Tenarias me non sinas sorbsisse procellas."

A later inscription at the top of the page tells us that this is Dunstan's work: "Pictura et scriptura hujus "paginæ subtus visa est de propria manu sancti "Dunstani." This drawing was engraved in Hickes's Thesaurus, vol. i. p. 144, and in other later works. The manuscript itself is described in a very early catalogue of the Library of Glastonbury, now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and is also mentioned by Leland as seen by him there, with the note that the book had been Dunstan's.[1] It is one of the most curious volumes in existence, and would go further to prove the antiquity of Glastonbury and its connexion with early British as well as Anglo-Saxon history than all the forged charters even if they were genuine.

Another Glastonbury book in the Bodleian is among the Hatton MSS. No. 30; a copy of S. Augustine on

[1] Leland, Collectanea, iii. 154.

The Hatton MS., No. 30.

the Apocalypse, at the end of which in large capitals is the inscription, "Dunstan abbas hunc libellum scri- "bere jussit," a note evidently made before Dunstan had reached the rank of either archbishop or saint.[1]

The Liber Sancti Dunstani.

The Hatton collection contains another book (No. 42) inscribed on the back "Liber Sancti Dunstani," which has been already mentioned as the volume in which the head of "Wulfric cild" is drawn.[2] This is a collection of canons; the first portion written about the time of Dunstan, the latter about a century earlier. The more ancient part consists of the Apostolic canons, and decrees of councils which form part of the early collections of decretals. The rest of the volume comprises a copy of the great Irish collection of canons in sixty-seven chapters, which is found in the much damaged Cotton MS. Otho E. 13, in the St. Gall MS. 243, and in the Paris MSS. 3,182 and 12,021, which was prepared for the press by the late Mr. Arthur Haddan as a part of the second volume of the councils, and has just been printed in Germany from a collation of various MSS. by Dr. Wasserschleben of Giessen. The Hatton MS. furnishes a somewhat enlarged edition, such as Dunstan might be supposed likely to make. Besides this it contains the canons of Adamnan, a selection of passages from the Roman and Frank law books, and a quantity of regulations about degrees of kindred. The fact that it contains the Irish canons adds a presumption that it was written at Glastonbury, an inference we should be inclined at first sight to draw from the company in which it is found. If it was really Dunstan's book, we may see in it reflected the nature of his studies; the Irish canons he might get from his teachers at Glastonbury; the Frank and Roman law during his exile at Ghent; the regulations touching

[1] Also mentioned by Macray, Annals, p. 20.

[2] Above, p. lxxvii.

marriages and the degrees of kindred would illustrate those peculiar points which come out most strongly in the traditions of his discipline.

The Sherborne Pontifical, at Paris.

The National Library at Paris possesses what is called the Pontifical of Dunstan, a magnificent folio of the tenth century, which once belonged to the church of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, and may not improbably have been given by Dunstan or one of his early successors. Its number in the catalogue of Latin MSS. is 943. It contains besides the Pontifical, on vacant leaves, a number of interesting pieces touching English church history. Amongst these is a list of the bishops of Sherborne, ending with Ethelric who became bishop in the year 1001;[1] the letter of Pope John XII. to Dunstan;[2] the letter of an archbishop, whose name is not given, to bishop Wulfsige, printed in this volume,[3] and a list of the books "quos custodit Dodo;" perhaps the Sherborne Library. This list, which may possibly have been printed, mentions amongst other books, "Liber "Legis Salicæ," "Liber Bernelini in Abaco," and "Liber "Helprici artis calculatoriæ." Other articles in the volume are an Anglo-Saxon sermon "de dedicatione "ecclesiæ;" the order for the benediction of an abbot, "tempus inter hominis mortem et ultimam resur-"rectionem;" and "this is thæra gerædnessa sum the "bisceopas geræd habbath." Besides these there are some Sherborne charters which have been printed by Kemble.

Of Dunstan's penmanship, besides the picture in the Bodleian MS., there are possibly two or three specimens

[1] I give the list from this MS.:— 1. Aldhelm. 2. Forthere. 3. Herewald. 4. Æthelmod. 5. Denefrith. 6. Wigberht. 7. Ealhstan. 8. Ealhmund. 9. Æthelheah. 10. Wulfsige. 11. Asser. 12. Æthelwerd. 13. Waerstan. 13. Æthelbald. 14. Sigelm. 15. Ælfred. 16. Wulfsige. 17. Alfwold. 18. Æthelsige. 19. Wulfsige. 20. Æthelric. It agrees exactly with MS. Tiberius B. 5. See Registrum Sacr. Angl. p. 165.

[2] Pp. 296–298, below.

[3] Pp. 406–408, below.

Dunstan's penmanship,

existing in charters. The cathedral church of Christ at Canterbury possesses one, a grant by king Edred dated in the year 949, in which he gives the monastery of Reculver to the mother church. A duplicate of this exists among the Cotton charters, and has been photographed by order of the trustees of the British Museum. Dunstan professes himself to be the writer: "Ego Dun-" stan indignus abbas rege Eadredo imperante hanc " domino meo hereditariam kartulam dictitando con-" posui et propriis digitorum articulis perscripsi."[1] Another is said by Mr. Wright to have been in the possession of the church of Winchester.[2]

The Kyrie rex splendens.

Of Dunstan's musical ability it is possible that we have a trace in the trope or cantus "Kyrie rex splen-" dens," which according to the Salisbury use is appointed to be sung on his festival, after the *officium*. The text of this composition will be found in the present volume, p. 357, taken from the Gradual,[3] collated with the printed editions of the Missal. All, however, that can be said of it is that it may be Dunstan's. The history of it is this. Eadmer relates a story of Dunstan falling asleep one Sunday at mass, whilst waiting for Edgar who had gone out hunting. In his sleep he heard a solemn service in heaven, and when he awoke dictated to his servants a "Kyrie Eleyson" which he had learned there, which, according to the biographer, was in his days sung in many places among the solemn ceremonies of the mass.[4] It would seem a natural conclusion that the "Kyrie rex splendens" which was sung only on the feasts of Dunstan and S. Michael should be identified with this; and although William of Malmesbury does

[1] Kemble, C. D. No. ccccxxv.

[2] Wright, Biog. Lit. i. 459.

[3] In the Bodleian, among the "Gough Missals."

[4] P. 207. The Kyrie Eleyson story, however, occurs much earlier in the Life of Oswald, Nero E. 1, fo. 16: "Hoc non conticescendum " puto quod et Kyrie Eleyson exi-" mium e superis auditum agmini-" bus, quod nostrates satis dulciter " personare consuescunt."

not notice it except in a very cursory way, it must have been believed soon after his day. Higden is, however, the first writer who distinctly states that the kyrie which Dunstan learned contained the "modulos harmoniæ" which were contained in the trope so famous among the English, "Kyrie rex splendens." The statement is copied by Capgrave, and appears also in Bromton, and possibly in other writers of the fifteenth century.[1] If, however, we venture to assume thus much, it may reasonably be questioned whether the words or the music only should be attributed to Dunstan. Higden's language seems to refer to the music, that of Eadmer to the words. It has indeed been thought that as the peculiar tropes or variations on the kyrie are not found until the thirteenth century in the common missals, the music only of this one could even by tradition be Dunstan's. But this is a mistake, for we possess a tropary dating nearly if not quite from Dunstan's days, which contains a large number of kyries, both words and music. In this we do not find *Kyrie rex splendens*, but several forms of expression more or less coinciding with it.[2] If we suppose that Dunstan wrote the trope, it would not of course appear at once in the service books, but there is nothing in it inconsistent with this antiquity. It may have been many times remodelled like the other *kyries* and rearranged afterwards.

Development of its history.

In the later pages of this book much will be found about the claim of the monks of Glastonbury, first asserted in the twelfth century and stoutly maintained down to the age of the Reformation, that they possessed the bones of Dunstan.[3] They had been removed, according to the story, in the reign of Edmund Ironside, and proved their genuineness by working miracles. Into the

Question of the translation of Dunstan's bones.

[1] Higden, ap. Gale, p. 270; Capgrave, below, p. 346; Bromton, ap. Twysden, c. 879.

[2] MS. Bodl. 775.

[3] See pp. 352, 353.

No reason to believe the story of Dunstan's translation.

details of this story we need not enter: there is no reason whatever for believing that such a translation ever took place, or that Glastonbury ever possessed a single bone of Dunstan. The tale, like so many other marvels of hagiology, has its parallels elsewhere: no doubt relics were stolen on a large scale as well as given and purchased. King Edmund was believed to have removed from the north to Glastonbury the bones of Aidan, Ceolfrith, and Hilda;[1] and these saints had special commemorations at Glastonbury so early that the invention of the story cannot fairly be ascribed to William of Malmesbury.[2] Edred and Odo again were believed to have carried off the body of S. Wilfrid from Ripon to Canterbury. These were cases in which the bodies of the saints were removed to save them from the profane hands of the Norsemen. A still closer parallel may be found in the history of Ely. Ecgfrid the abbot of S. Alban's, according to the Ely historians, flying at the command of Stigand from the Normans, carried with him to Ely the shrine containing the bones of the protomartyr, and in order to obtain admission into the brotherhood, deposited them or allowed them to be deposited with the bones of S. Etheldreda.[3] The S. Alban's historians denied the truth of this. The flight of the abbot, Fretheric they call him, is admited, and his death and burial at Ely; "whence," says Matthew Paris, "they of Ely, lying against their own heads, "assert that he brought thither with him the bones of "S. Alban, not fearing to allege against the holy man "the crime of sacrilege." The reverence paid to S. Alban was therefore diminished, as was the case also with other saints of the kingdom, and miracles in their

Parallel traditions.

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[1] W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontiff. p. 198.

[2] See especially the Kalendar in MS. Cotton, Nero A. 2; and that in the Missal of Leofric in the Bodleian Library.

[3] Liber Eliensis (ed. Stewart), p. 227.

churches became less frequent.[1] Before 1129 another competitor, "quoddam collegium in Dacia," falsely asserted the possession of the relics, and in that year the coffin at S. Alban's was opened and the bones counted. Still the men of Ely contended that miracles constantly proved them in the right. At last, under papal pressure, early in the reign of Henry II. they confessed that they had been deceived by a pious fraud.[2] Not so the monks of Glastonbury, who carried on the battle until the eve of the Reformation. There is no probability that Dunstan's remains ever left Canterbury; they rested in the shrine which so many ages of pious affection had provided and adorned until the Reformation, when, if they escaped the blind profanity of Henry VIII., it was because the glories of S. Dunstan had been eclipsed by a more famous ecclesiastical hero.[3]

Story at S. Alban's.

Of the cultus of Dunstan the illustrations given in the eighth section of this volume will probably prove sufficient to content the reader.[4]

I shall not attempt to draw a minute character of Dunstan, for the materials before us afford too small data to make it possible to do so with any definiteness. But I think we may, from the language of the first biographer, the letters of Abbo and the other writers included in this volume, get a glimpse of the man, truer if fainter than the fancy portraits drawn by later writers, who have seen no mean between indiscriminate adulation on the one hand and the most hateful detraction on the other. Dunstan has been represented by a very learned recent writer as a man whose whole life was "a crusade, cruel, unrelenting, yet but partially successful,

Dunstan's character.

Misrepresented.

[1] Gesta Abbatum (ed. Riley), i. 51.

[2] Ibid. p. 176.

[3] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the great bells which he had made for Abingdon were preserved; and at Glastonbury, crosses, chasubles, censers, and other vestments of his making. Wright, Biogr. Lit. i. 435, 459.

[4] Pp. 440 sq.

Misrepresentation of Dunstan.

"against the married clergy, which in truth compre-
"hended the whole secular clergy of the Anglo-Saxon
"kingdom." "Dunstan was, as it were, in a narrower
"sphere, a prophetic type and harbinger of Hildebrand.
"Like Hildebrand, or rather like Damiani doing the
"work of Hildebrand, in the spirit not of a rival sove-
"reign but of an iron-hearted monk, he trampled the
"royal power under his feet. The scene at the coro-
"nation of king Edwy, excepting the horrible cruelties
"to which it was the prelude, and which belong to a
"more barbarous race, might seem to prepare mankind
"for the humiliation of the emperor Henry at Canosa."[1]
For this invective there is not in the writings of contemporaries, or in any authentic remains of Dunstan's legislation, the shadow of a foundation. What Dunstan did at Edwy's coronation he did by the order of the assembled witan of the kingdom. The cruelties which are said to have followed are asserted on the authority of Osbern and Eadmer, the earlier of whom wrote nearly a century and a half after the death of Edwy, and depend on no other testimony. If they ever took place at all, they took place during Dunstan's exile, during the war that preceded the election of Edgar. Such at least is the statement of Osbern, who is the sole witness; Eadmer's additions in his life of Odo resting on no evidence at all.[2] The charge of persecuting the married clergy is as baseless. We have no means of judging what proportion of the secular clergy was married: the secular clerks who held monastic property were married, and the same evidence which proves their marriages proves also how lightly the marriage tie sat upon them.

[1] Milman, Latin Christianity, vol. iv. p. 25 (ed. 1867).

[2] I will content myself with a general reference to Mr. Robertson's invaluable essay on Dunstan's policy, Hist. Essays, pp. 189 sq.: and to Dr. Hook's Life of Dunstan. I think little can be added to the exhaustive summary of the former writer. Both works stand, as might be expected, in strong contrast with Milman, Hallam, and Lingard.

But against these it was not Dunstan chiefly, but Oswald and Ethelwold who took the measures of reform which are represented as persecution, and which were no doubt severe and undiscriminating. In this Dunstan, as I have already remarked, takes only a secondary part: he does not remove the clerks from his own cathedral churches; his sympathy with the monastic movement is only to be gathered by inference from the fact that he did not oppose it. As to the married clergy in general there is absolutely no evidence whatever; and here is the most astounding amount of assumption. It is scarcely to be believed that our canonists in discussing the date of the little ecclesiastical legislation that belongs to Edgar's reign, have determined that it does not belong to Dunstan's pontificate because it contains no enactments against the married clergy.[1] Yet Dunstan became archbishop as soon as Edwy was dead, and beyond a doubt inspired whatever ecclesiastical law was made in that reign. In fact the only laws which can with any probability be ascribed to Dunstan are altogether silent on the point. We know that when he was a young man in minor orders he intended to marry, and it was the taking of monastic vows that showed his renunciation of the design.[2] It is the enforcement of monastic discipline, not the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, that is the object of the clerical reforms; and in this Dunstan only partly sympathized. As for the charge of trampling on the royal authority, it may be dismissed in a word. Men's views of what constitutes vice may differ, but any rule that condemns Dunstan condemns John the Baptist also; and if any error on the side of severity is pardonable, it is when the rebuke is addressed to the vices of princes: why is Dunstan to be blamed for that which is the glory of Ambrose and Anselm?

No evidence as to Dunstan's harshness towards the married clergy.

Silence of his genuine legislation on this point.

But in truth the career of Dunstan was no anticipation of that of Hildebrand: it was the very counterpart

[1] See above, p. cv.

[2] P. 13.

No likeness between Dunstan and Hildebrand.

of that of Gerbert, the student, the practical workman, the wise instructor of a royal pupil, the statesman, the reformer, and the patriot. Osbern and Eadmer drew the character of their saint in the spirit with which they were themselves inspired, imputing to him qualities which in their imagination were virtues, as in the eyes of more modern writers they have seemed to be vices, but which the world may be almost said to have learned from the life of Gregory VII. They drew the picture of the saint in lines and colours that seemed to them indispensable to sanctity, and read the history of Dunstan through the history of Henry the Fourth.

Connexion of England with Flanders.

Another point has been already referred to, which receives some important illustration from the early lives and letters here printed: the connexion of England with Flanders, especially in the point of monastic reform. It must not be forgotten, that while monasticism had become under Alfred practically extinct in England, on the continent it had merely languished. The monasticism of Flanders was active and energetic compared with that of England, just as the monasticism of Fleury was definite and severe as compared with that of Flanders. Count Baldwin had married the daughter of Alfred; she took a part in the monastic revival in her adopted country, such as Alfred had attempted at home, and which was carried out by two men of very different character in the two countries, Edred and Arnulf, both grandsons of Alfred. In the year 918 the monks of Blandinium had received from Etheldritha, or Elstrudis as they called her, a grant of lands in Kent which were in their hands when the Domesday Survey was made.[1] Whilst Edred

[1] Meyer, Annales Rerum Belgicarum, p. 20. "A.D. 929. Obiit "Elstrudis magni principis mater "7^mo kalendas Junias, jacetque se- "pulta prope maritum Blandinii in "ædicula parentis virginis. Hæc "Blandiniensibus cœnobitis amplas "donavit possessiones in Anglia "in finibus Cantii unde tabulas ha- "bent anno 918." A charter confirming the grant of Etheldritha, made by Edward the Confessor, is printed in Kemble, C. D. No. dcclxxi.

was reviving Glastonbury and Abingdon, Arnulf was rebuilding and refilling S. Bertin, S. Vedast, and Blandinium. Eighteen great monasteries were restored by him. All this was well known to the West Saxon princes. Elstrudis was buried at Blandinium. Edwin, the brother of Athelstan, who perished at sea by his brother's cruelty, it was said, found his resting place at S. Bertin.[1] The so-called monks who were expelled in the process of reform and would not accept the revived Benedictine rule, found refuge with Athelstan in England.[2] It is thus easy to account for the hospitable treatment which Dunstan found in the territories of Arnulf, and for the letters addressed to Edgar, to Dunstan and his successors, by the Flemish and North French monasteries, asking or returning thanks for help. Revival of monachism.

This serves to open a comparatively untrodden field of ecclesiastical history, for the illustration of which it is probable that more remains are extant than is generally suspected. It is extremely desirable that the history of the foreign relations of England, political, ecclesiastical, and literary, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, should be more carefully explored. There is no reason to suppose that the invasion of the Danes, when they destroyed so much else, really interrupted the intercourse of England with Germany. The marriages of the daughters of Alfred and Edward do not stand alone. The political negotiations of Odo placed Lewis d'Outremer on the throne of the West Franks; the wanderings of Kynewald brought Athelstan and his court into close ecclesiastical affinity with the monasteries of Germany. It is true that there is some uniformity in the result: English gold is as ingenuously asked for, and as freely bestowed, as it continues to be for ages after. English manuscripts are borrowed, of which there is no notice of return. Few and far Continental relations of the West Saxon Kings.

[1] Meyer, p. 20.

[2] Ibid. p. 21.

Intercourse of England with the continent.

between are the notices of Englishmen in continental authors, but nevertheless there are traces of a continuous and lively intercourse, which might be multiplied by close examination, and might yield an unexpected harvest to patient labour.

Greek words in the Latin of the time.

The number of Greek words that occur in the early lives and letters will necessarily attract the notice of scholars. This is no peculiarity of English writers; it is a common feature of the period; and it is one the examination of which has never been thoroughly carried out. The superficial use of glossaries without any knowledge of grammar, will account for some part of the vocabulary which so curiously diversifies the Latin of the Saxon priest. The use of Greek hymns or Greek versicles in the services of the church may account for a phrase here and there. The occasional visit of a Greek pilgrim or exile awoke from time to time the desire of knowing a few Greek words, or the forms of the Greek letters. But the exact amount of knowledge of Greek literature is not easy to calculate; the few references that occur seem to be stock quotations, drawn probably, if not certainly, through the medium of the Latin fathers. Phenomena like John Scotus Erigena were rare indeed; yet the age of Dunstan almost reaches the age of John Scotus, and what was possible for one scholar was not quite impossible for others. The struggles of the Saxon emperors in Southern Italy probably did something to bring spoken Greek to the ears of western ecclesiastics.

I feel that in this preface I have pointed out rather than illustrated many questions of interest. Perhaps it is hardly consistent with the character of a preface to attempt more. A careful re-editing of the original lives of the English saints will, I have no doubt, supply materials of yet unappreciated value.

I beg leave to present my very sincere thanks to those scholars and societies whose MSS. have been used in this work, for the kindness with which they have allowed

me access to them. In particular I have to thank the Archbishop of Canterbury for the loan of the Lambeth MS. 159; and M. Leopold Delisle for the readiness with which he promoted my use of the Paris Library. I have also to thank for various good offices M. Caron of Arras, M. Dierauer of S. Gallen, the Rev. S. S. Lewis of C. C. C. Cambridge, and the Rev. Canon Raine of York.

VITA ET MIRACULA S. DUNSTANI.

32741.

I.

SANCTI DUNSTANI VITA AUCTORE B.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS DE VITA VEL CONVERSATIONE ALMI CONFESSORIS DUNSTANI.[1]

The writer dedicates his work to archbishop Elfric.

Perprudenti domino archonti ALBRICO,[2] omnium extimus sacerdotum B. vilisque Saxonum indigena, alta polorum gaudia.

1. Te quidem, pastor præcelse, ob enormitatem divulgatæ peritiæ, perque magnificam, placidam, privilegii dignitatem, ad insuperabilem mihi tutionem[3] cæteros quosque, quamvis sint doctrina perspicui, excipiendam secernam; qui, quodam luculento competentis facundiæ calamo, decentis æditui, almi scilicet Dunstani, merita monimenta protelare conarer, ni incœpta gloriosæ vitæ ipsius procœmia[4] omnemque hujus opusculi diffinitionem degeneri vitiorum stilo, ut cernis, attaminando fœdarem. Quapropter primus præ cæteris hujuscemodi dedecus patula protestatione tuæ serenitati profiteor, meque adeo more aligerorum, qui se priusquam professionis vocem emittant, alarum plausibus flagellare videntur, propriis verborum verberibus, tuis provolutus genibus, exonerans affligo; eotenus, inquam, ut quicquid hac in editione contra orthographiæ

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[1] The text is from the Arras MS. 1029 (A.). The collations are from the Cotton MS. Cleopatra B. 13 (B.), which omits the Prologue.

[2] Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, 995–1006.

[3] *tutionem*] tutiorem, A.

[4] *procœmia*] præmia, A.

He begs the archbishop to correct his grammatical errors, and deprecates harsh criticism.

normam compositoris vitio usurpatum repereris, imperiali potentia abradere, ac ploranti pinnicula profluentis incausti in melius ab errore [1] reformatum emendare præcipias. Quinetiam utriusque ordinis in utroque sexu sagaces, hanc quoque tenuem nostri libelli segetem litterarum pedibus transmeantes, toto cordis intuitu tuoque potitus suffragio, itidem facere permoneo; astu tamen ne rari germinis seminaria ponderosis pedibus incaute calcantes deprimant, neu interea, dum in annona depressa peritura olera penitus exstirpare nituntur, justa potius plantaria cum malis pariter, secanti intercepta sarculo, eradicando præcidant; sed execrabilia hujus superficiei lolia, quodam levi conamine passim per locorum spatia neglegenter respersa fundotenus [2] explodant. Si hæc mihi affectanti precaria quiscunque e nebulosorum corculis concedenda persentio, satis gratiosa beneficia rependenda depromo; sin autem invidis æmulorum abdicamentis refutata tempnuntur, ignoratur utique quid satius incœptem quam ut propria falcicula, licet sit scabrosa, mutilatione tenuatim obducta, propriam messem sudati laboris pro posse virium piare procedam; si tamen quodam demonstranti digitulo corrigentis indicetur qua parte locorum inserta vitiabilis campi vituperia provocatus incidam. Ergo quoniam causa inscitiæ [3] id fieri quod volo nequibit, sed id tandem quod queo velle compellor. Hoc siquidem ut optatam prælocuti theologi mentionem quam lepido facilitatis eulogio, vel si possem singula summorum rimatum capitella omnemque proceram hujusce texturæ seriem, crisidineo schemate ac biformi renitentis electri colore gemmatim disserere gestiebam, nunc saltem satirica fatuitate gressuque lapsanti quasi minus sapiens vacillando incedam. Melius tamen tantæ vitæ venustatem idoneis compositoribus, ni beati antistitis inminentem iram pertimescam, conscribendam reservo; quia non summe profitente quo-

He will do what he can in praise of his subject; in mingled prose and verse.

[1] *errore*] errare, A.
[2] *fundotenus*] fundentesnus, A.
[3] *inscitiæ*] insithiæ, A.

quam in hujus cosmi situ præstantior, ast personis omnibus divo carens dogmate despectior. Nam e prudentibus neminem liberali eruditum ingenio propemodum pernoscis, qui tam deformi facundia in scribendis prologis ut ego, videatur abuti. Has tamen sequentes paginulas, parvo capacitatis fomite utcunque compositas, fidissima fidelium attestatione purgabo, si qua propria temeritate effigiata insignia in his me conseruisse diffidas; nisi forte quæ vel videndo vel audiendo, licet intellectu torpenti, ab ipso didiceram, vel etiam ex ejus alumnis, quos a tenella juventutis ætate ad viros usque perfectos, doctrinarum pabulis decenter instructos, ipsemet educando deduxit. Acceptes, obsecro, sola septus connexione caritatis, horum apicellorum tenuem congeriem, vix ebinina titulatione styloque fuscanti concretam, contra omnes invisorios æmulos invicta propugnatione tuendam, non favoreo deditam rumusculo, sed tuæ specialiter sublimitati collatam. In hac quippe litterali planitie, mentem magis spontaneam ambientis, quam agrestem[1] componentis ignaviam explorare deposco; teque sine tuæ offensionis molestia, moneo tanti patris virtutibus informari, exemplis ejus instrui, moribus muniri, disciplinis justificari, ut cujus extitisti successor in terris, ejus merearis perennis esse consessor in cœlis, largiente Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Qui cum coæterno Patre Sanctoque Spiritu vivit et regnat Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

He apologizes for his prologue; and will make corrections; except in the matters derived directly from the saint or his pupils.

INCIPIT VITA SANCTI DONSTANNI ARCHIEPISCOPI.[2]

2. Cum multorum temporum a vero cultu Christianæ religionis vacua[3] transissent curricula, quibus vetusto errori ritu gentilitatis gens Anglorum magis quam Christo Creatori cunctorum mancipari decernebat, misericors Dominus, ne factura Sua laqueis inretita diaboli-

The English were once heathen.

[1] *agrestem*] egrestem, A.

[2] *sancti . . . archiepiscopi*] sacræ commemorationis beati scilicet Dunstani archipræsulis, B.

[3] *vacua*] om. B.

They were converted by Augustine and others.

cis in æternum dampnata periret, salutis æternæ remedium ejusdem cæcitati prospexit, ac venerandum patrem Augustinum, a beato papa electum Gregorio, ad hujus partes patriæ miseratus destinavit; qui sagaci mentis ingenio hæredem sociaret inde conversam plebem fidelium beato contubernio Angelorum. Mox igitur ut vir Dei inter insciæ nationis vepres sulcum saluberrimæ doctrinæ vomeremque Dei visitationis infixit, et triticeum Sanctæ Trinitatis semen inseruit, sic vipereum pereuntis lolii germen ab hac exstirpavit, ut ulterius dumosi ruris rudera in ea pullulare prohiberet, et dignos Deo pœnitentiæ fructus documento pariter et exemplo debere offerri demonstraret. Itaque qui ante eum spreverat credidit universus Albionum populus Domino, et adjunctus est per veræ fidei agnitionem Deo suo. Hic autem sine Cujus sollicitudine parvi non succumbunt passeres, curam optimæ provectionis ob suæ statum conditionis ipsi deinceps adhibuit. Elegit namque venturis ad Se[1] exinde[2] nutritios liberis, reges, pontifices, duces, decanos, præpositos, cæterosque Ecclesiæ Suæ rectores, qui post emensa singulorum spatia gregem Deo renatum sub pacis custodia regerent cum justitia.

under the influence of good kings and other rulers.

Of these Athelstan was one,

3. Inter hos præcipuos regiæ prælationis viros, quem Christianissimi et orthodoxi multi regnando præcesserant, quorum nunc nomina difficultas non sinit rimare per singula, gloriosus rex[3] Æthelstanus annis succedentibus est rex Anglorum adnumeratus. Hujus igitur imperii temporibus oritur puer strenuus in Westsaxonum finibus, cujus pater Heorstanus, mater vero Cynethrydis[4] vocitatur. Quem pii parentes sacri baptismatis undis renatum Dunstanum vocaverunt. Crevit itaque puer et effectus est tam Deo quam hominibus carus. Erat autem quædam regalis in confinio ejusdem præfati viri

in whose time Dunstan was born.

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[1] *venturis ad Se*] om. B.
[2] *exinde*] ex, B.
[3] *rex*] om. B.
[4] *Cynethrydis*] Cynethryth, B.

insula, antiquo vicinorum vocabulo Glæstonia nuncupata, latis locorum dimensa sinibus, piscosis aquis stagneisque circumducta fluminibus, et plurimis humanæ indigentiæ apta usibus, atque sacris, quod maximum est, Dei dicata muneribus. In ea siquidem ipsius loca primi catholicæ legis neophitæ antiquam Deo dictante reppererunt æcclesiam, nulla hominum arte[1] constructam, immo humanæ saluti cœlitus paratam; quam postmodum Ipse cœlorum fabricator multis miraculorum gestis multisque misteriorum virtutibus,[2] hanc[3] Sibi sanctæque genitrici Suæ[4] Mariæ consecratam fore demonstravit. Huic etiam aliud addiderunt opere[5] lapideo[6] oratorium, quod Christo ejusque Sancto Petro apostolo dedicaverunt. Porro dehinc universorum circumquaque fidelium frequentia colebat, et jam dictæ pretiosum insulæ humiliter locum frequentabat. Contigit ergo hujuscemodi causis prædictum virum Heorstanum comitante secum beato puero Dunstano transire Glestoniam, et cum inibi causa orationis pernoctarent, ecce suavissimi soporis felicem obtexit pausatio puerum,[7] viditque mentis excessu quendam senem niveo candore vestitum[8] per amœna se sacri templi atria[9] ducentem, ac monastica ædificia, quæ post per ejus pastoratum ædificanda fuerant, demonstrantem eo ordine quo nunc statuta referuntur fuisse.[10]

Description of Glastonbury.

The churches built there to S. Mary and S. Peter.

Heorstan the father of S. Dunstan, and his son visit there.

Dunstan's vision of new buildings.

4. Postea vero religiosi pueri Dunstani[11] parentes sacris eum litterarum otiis contulerunt studentem, cui confestim Dominus tantam in his largitatis Suæ conferre dignatus est gratiam, ut coætaneos quosque præcelleret, et suorum tempora studiorum facili cursu transiliret.

Dunstan's progress in learning.

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[1] *arte*] ut ferunt, ins. B. in marg.
[2] *misteriorum virtutibus*] virtutum misteriis, B.
[3] *hanc*] om. B.
[4] *Suæ*] Dei, B.
[5] *opere*] altered to *operes*, A.
[6] *lapideo*] altered to *lapideos*, A.
[7] *pausatio puerum*] tr. B.
[8] *niveo . . vestitum*] tr. B.
[9] *atria*] pavimenta, B.
[10] *fuisse*] fore, B.
[11] *Dunstani*] om. B.

Dunstan falls sick of a fever:

Sed quod contulerat sibi signum summa Majestas
In studiis ipsis parvo pro posse patebo.
Contigit hunc laborare diu nam febribus artis,
In tantum ut frenesis morbum pateretur amarum,
Inmemor atque sui per deliramenta nugarum,
Plurima verborum vacua jactasset ab ore.

he is delirious, and then insensible.

Cladibus his fessus, committitur et mulieri
Cuidam, quæ tenero tunc suppeditaret alumpno,
Et curam gereret sub ea ne peste periret.
At memorata lues puerum superaucta premebat,
Ut velut exanimis jacuisset ad ultima stratus,
Omnibus et membris fieret quasi jam moriturus.

He rises from his bed, takes a stick, and climbs to the roof of the church.

Cumque diu sic mole mali gravaretur operti,
Ecce repente movens abiit, propereque resurgit,
Fustem ac surculeum rapuit tunc forte repertum;
Quocum percutiens ambabus partibus auras,
A canibus rabidis quasi se defenderet, ibat.
Sic quoque nocte ferunt ut ad usque peribula templi
Solivagus properaret, et inde veniret ad altos
Ascensus graduum, quo scandere summa solebant
Artifices operum, qui cum discrimine grandi
Ipsius, heu! timidi texere cacumina templi.
Illic ut validus summam conscendit in arcem,
Et nimis incaute super hac stetit atque meavit.

He descends in safety, and lies down between the two keepers inside the church.

Sed Domini pietas rapuit de fastigiorum
Casibus insontem; ponens quoque inde deorsum
Incolumem membris salvum, sanumque locatum
Intus in hoc eodem templum, de culmine vexum,
Quo duo custodes pariter de more cubabant,
Ut simul inter eos pausaret tertius ille.
Ipse tamen nescivit qua ratione veniret
Excogitare modum, vivensve sub æthere quisquam.
Ostia nam templi nulli patuere meanti,
Arcuit ast eadem ferrum sub cortice durum.
Optime nunc lector, celeri sermone fatere
Quid tibi veridico videatur in hoc pusione:
Si talem dubites superum conscendere templum,

Qui hic clausis foribus pro salvatione ruinæ
Conditur in templo, ut redimat de labe maligna
Postea perplures et mittat ad æthera turmas,
Dogmata distribuens necnon exempla relinquens:
Exsurgat patiens humilis ruat atque superbus.

Mystical meaning of this miracle.

Nam[1] quanto erat crescendo sublimior, tanto acuita-

[1] *Sed quod . . Nam*] Instead of these verses, MS. B. reads the following, in which the rhythm of a sequence may be easily detected: "Eo "autem hoc modo de virtute in "virtutem proficiente, in vexatione "febrium quodam casu corruit re- "pente. Quibus dum die nocteque "in tantum torqueretur ut amarum "frenesis morbum pati videretur, "immemor sui per deliramenta nu- "garum, ore suo jactavit inania "verborum. Postremo vero cladi- "bus his per teneros artus diutis- "sime fatigatus, cuidam mulieri "jussu parentum est commendatus, "ut omni sagacitatis sollertia præ- "videret, sub ea ne peste periret. "Iterum autem memorata lue eo "modo adgravabatur, ut ad ultima "velut exanimis prostratus jacuisse "monstraretur, et, resoluta mem- "brorum compage, quasi jam mo- "reretur. Deinde vero, ac si num- "quam quisquam mali perpessus, "propere exsurgens, et fustem "quem forte repperit arripiens, per "montes et valles vagando discur- "rebat, et quasi a rabidis canibus "se defenderet ibat. Subsequenti "ergo nocte, ut ferunt, ad usque "templi peribula errando propera- "vit ac ad altos ascensus graduum "solivagus pervenit, quo operarii "scandere solebant, qui tunc cum "ingenti periculo cacumina templi "tegebant. Nihil denique quid "ageret in se reversus, summam "tecti arcem conscendit intrepidus, "et nimis incaute super illam stetit, "ac magno sub discrimine hac il- "lacque cursitavit. Haud enim "Miseratoris omnium cœleste ei "deerat solatium, a Cujus laude "numquam ejus cessaverat orga- "num; sed ita sanum observavit "illum et incolumem ut nec pedis "offendiculum faceret ad lapidem. "Eodem in templo superna dispo- "nente clementia deponitur, et in- "ter geminos custodes, ubi solito "more cubabant, collocatur, ut "dulci paulisper recrearet membra "sopore; quæ diu fatigata fuerant "labore. Exsurgens autem post "momenti spatium ammirari ad- "modum una cum custodibus cœ- "perat, quo pacto quove ingenio "introierat; cernens etiam quod "quodque templi ostium clausum "munitumque exstiterat.

"Acta quidem hæc postremum "divino nutu agnovit, et omnipo- "tentem Dominum, Qui sic eum a "tanta tribulatione liberarat, col- "laudare et glorificare non distulit, "sciens se tanto feliciorem interius, "quanto durius puniretur exterius. "Porro tanquam aurum in fornace "probat Dominus electos, ut quasi "holocausta hostiæ accipiat illos. "Beatus autem qui suffert tempta- "tionem, quoniam, cum probatus "fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ. "Non quidem mirandum est si Do- "minus ardore dumtaxat febrium "beatum Dunstanum temptare per- "miserit, cum justissimum Job qui

Dunstan grows in wisdom.

tis ingenio locupletior; quantoque[1] roticulis annorum maturior, tanto Dei dilectione ferventior; quanto vero[2] in divinis laudibus assuetior, tanto perseveranti animo[3] instantior.

He takes the tonsure at Glastonbury and serves in the church of S. Mary.

5. Videntes itaque parentes prænominati tantam sui excellentiam filii, dignam sibi clericatus inposuere tonsuram officii inque famoso Glestoniensis æcclesiæ sociaverunt cœnobio; quatenus ibidem die noctuque Deo Deique genitrici deserviret Mariæ tempore continuo. Jamque disciplinis innexus Deificis florentes suæ pubertatis annos evicta juventute calcavit; et justus in domo Dei sui, sicut cedrus Libani, vigoribus virtutum floruit; inque divinis plantatus atriis incrementi sui robora singulis diebus protendebat ad sidera. Interea tam magna suæ constantiæ fama regis in palatio patuit, ut longe lateque magnificis rerum laudabilium divulgaretur indiciis. Non autem hujus mundi vanos captabat favores, sed copiis virtutum præventus illam æterni Regis gloriam ab intus gestabat, quam sibi pol-

His various studies.

lens sapientia docto digito donorum spiritalium, varietate etiam studiorum, necne gemmante nitore aureorum ornatuum, dictavit. Nam multa sacrorum et divinorum[4] voluminum prata, velut apis ingeniosa sic[5] rapido cursu capacis ingenii pervolavit, ut mentem potius quam corpus divinis reficeret lectionibus, et receptaculum casti pectusculi, Sancti Spiritus flatu perfusum,

Irish pilgrims at Glastonbury.

gustu nectareo devote suppleret sensum.[6] Porro Hibernensium peregrini locum, quem dixi,[7] Glestoniæ, sicut et cæteræ fidelium turbæ, magno colebant affectu, et maxime ob Beati Patricii junioris[8] honorem, qui faustus

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" nec labiis suis peccavit, tot tor-
" mentorum generibus fatigari con-
" senserit. Beatus itaque ado-
" lescens . . ."

[1] *quantoque*] quanto vero, B.

[2] *quanto vero*] quanto autem, B.

[3] *perseveranti animo*] perseverantia nimia, B.

[4] *et divinorum*] om. B.

[5] *sic*] om. B.

[6] *sensum*] serenum, B.

[7] *quem dixi*] prædictum, B.

[8] *junioris*] senioris, B.

ibidem in Domino quievisse narratur. Horum etiam libros rectæ fidei tramitem phylosophantes, diligenter excoluit, aliorumque prudentum, quos ab intimo cordis aspectu patrum sanctorum assertione solidatos esse persensit, solubili semper scrutamine indagavit. Ita vero vitæ suæ studium cohercebat, ut quotiescumque divinæ Scripturæ libros scrutaretur Deus cum eo pariter loqueretur; quoties autem curis sæcularibus solutus, orationum otiis mulcebatur, ipse cum Domino pariter fari videretur.[1]

Dunstan reads their books.

He draws edification from Holy Scripture.

6. Igitur dum hæc exercitia bonorum operum secum agerentur, nonnulli propriorum sodalium et palatinorum, tum quam maxime vero consanguineorum suorum, qui salutiferis actibus ejus[2] invidebant, sanctæ vineæ vitem[3] palmitemque ad cœlestia regna[4] tendentem, beatum videlicet Dunstanum in Christo pollentem,[5] linguis acutis serpentium morsibusque dirorum dentium,[6] ut hirci setigeri, rodere vel præcidere conati sunt. Conflabant enim sub livido antro nævosi pectoris inopinatam in eum scabiem mendacii, dicentes illum ex libris salutaribus et viris peritis, non saluti animarum profutura sed avitæ gentilitatis vanissima didicisse carmina, et historiarum frivolas colere incantationum nænias.[7] Huic autem morbo mendacii beatus tyro semper Christum opposuit, Qui omnia antequam fiant novit;[8] in Cujus persona benignus propheta David et fidelissimus Ejus testis,[9] oraculo præventus Spiritus Sancti, in falsos auctores[10] Dominicæ passionis ita inquiens, ait, "Insurrexerunt in me testes iniqui, et "mentita est iniquitas sibi." Et iterum, "Qui quære-"bant mihi mala locuti sunt vanitates, et dolos tota

He is regarded by his young kinsmen of the court with envy.

They accuse him of occult knowledge.

He trusts divine aid.

Ps. xxvii. 14.

Ps. xxxviii. 12.

[1] *videretur*] videbatur, B.; pariter, om. B.
[2] *actibus ejus*] tr. B.
[3] *vitem*] ad Christum, ins. B.
[4] *palmitemque . . regna*] om. B.
[5] *beatum . . pollentem*] om. B.
[6] *dirorum dentium*] om. B.
[7] *historiarum . . nænias*] histriarum colere incantationes, B.
[8] *Qui . . novit*] om. B.
[9] *et . . testis*] om. B.
[10] *in falsos auctores*] de falsis testibus, B.

Dunstan bears his troubles piously.

" die meditabantur."[1] Et Ipse Dominus in evangelio ait; "Beati eritis cum vos oderint homines," etc.[2] Et auditoribus Suis, "Si de mundo fuissetis mundus quod " suum erat diligeret; quia vero de mundo non estis, " sed Ego elegi vos de mundo, propterea odit vos mun- " dus." Itemque, "Beati estis cum maledixerint vos " homines et persecuti vos fuerint, et dixerint omne " malum adversum vos mentientes propter Me. Gaudete " in illo die et exsultate quoniam merces vestra copiosa " est in cœlis."[3] Hac ergo servus Dei Dunstanus, firmissima sponsione confortatus, velut homo surdus et quasi[4] vocem objurgationis non curans effectus est; cum vix unquam canibus contra se latrantibus aperuerit os suum per amaræ increpationis eloquium. Ipsi vero in machinamento malitiæ perseverantes, criminati sunt illum falsa quadam objectione coram rege,[5] impetraveruntque ut ab eorum consortio pelleretur; quem si sanæ mentis essent unice dilexissent. Deinde atrocissima impietatis prævalescente rabie, rapientes insontem quadrifidis membris[6] velut ovem patientem, manibusque ac pedibus restrictum, projecerunt in lutulenta palustrium loca, et ut eum in furoris sui dementia contemptibiliorem efficerent, pedibus superimprimebant;[7] quousque secundum voluntatis eorum[8] malitiam in fœtenti volutabro dehonestarent. Illis autem recedentibus vix ipse e palude fluminis quasi depicatus surrexit; et ad quendam amicorum, uno inde distantem miliario, ut ibi se ablueret, venire disposuit. Occurrerunt vero illi canes ejusdem acerrimi, et quoniam luto deturpatum,[9] magis monstrum quam hominem putaverunt,[10]

S. Luke vi. 22.

S. John xv. 19.

S. Matt. v. 11.

He is expelled from the court: pulled about by his enemies and half smothered in a muddy pond.

He escapes and is recognized by the dogs of a good neighbour.

[1] *et . . meditabantur*] om. B.

[2] *etc.*] et cum separaverint vos et exprobaverint et ejecerint nomen vestrum tanquam malum propter Filium hominis, gaudete in illa die et exsultate quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in cœlis, B.

[3] *Et auditoribus . . cœlis*] om. B.

[4] *quasi*] om. B.

[5] *coram rege*] apud regem, B.

[6] *quadrifidis membris*] om. B.

[7] *superimprimebant*] eum conculcabant, B.

[8] *eorum*] illorum, B.

[9] *quoniam . . deturpatum*] quia luto deturpatus erat, B.

[10] *putaverunt*] ac idcirco, ins. B.

crudeli latratu hunc[1] invaserunt, tamen ut blandientis vocem audierunt mox esse illius ex eo tantummodo[2] reticentes agnoverunt.[3] Tunc ille secum ex profundo cordis suspirio ingemiscens ait, "O sæva propinquorum " meorum vesania, in caninam sævitiam de dilectionis " humanitate mutata! Nam inrationabilis canum natura " humanitatis mihi dilectionem cauda blandienti exhi- " buit; propinquitas vero humanitatis[4] oblita, canum " mihi infestantium severitatem inseruit; sic improbus " ordo amborum in utrisque mutavit justam viam."[5]

He reflects on the difference between the men and the dogs.

7. Intellexit igitur ille avitus humani generis inimicus memoratum juvenem[6] per sinistros nuncios invidorum sodalium quos miserat pravis voluntatibus suis parum cessisse, quibus in eum[7] insidiantibus armis dimicare inchoavit; sed[8] quanta sibi temptamentorum[9] luctamina ingesserit, sequens libelli hujus pagina partim intimabit. Primum enim mulierum illi injecit amorem, quo per familiares mulierum[10] amplexus mundanis oblectamentis frueretur. Interea propinquus ipsius Ælfheagus,[11] cognomine calvus, præsul quoque fidelis, petitionibus multis et spiritualibus monitis eum rogavit ut fieret monachus. Quod ille instinctu præfati fraudatoris renuncians, maluit sponsare juvenculam cujus quotidie blanditiis foveretur, quam more monachorum bidentinis indui panniculis. Ut autem vir Dei verba abnuentis[12] audivit, mox ex imo pectoris suspirio petivit regna superna regentem quatinus illi inferret correctionum suarum judicia;[13] ut cujus monita tempneret acriter agnosceret; quod, Deo misericorditer favente, in parvi

The devil tries to circumvent him with temptation to marry.

Bishop Elfege attempts to draw him to become a monk.

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[1] *hunc*] eum, B.
[2] *esse . . tantum modo*] om. B.
[3] *agnoverunt*] humanum animal intellexerunt, B.
[4] *humanitatis*] humanitatem, B.
[5] *sic . . viam*] om. B.
[6] *memoratum juvenem*] eum, B.
[7] *eum*] ipsum, B.
[8] *sed*] unde, B.
[9] *temptamentorum*] postmodum tormentorum, B.
[10] *mulierum*] earum, B.
[11] Elfheah, or Elphege, the Bald, bishop of Winchester, 934–951.
[12] *verba abnuentis*] tr. B.
[13] *judicia*] indicia, B.

After a sharp illness Dunstan becomes a monk.

momenti spatio factum comprobatur fuisse. Eo namque modo turgentium vesicarum dolor intolerabilis omne corpus ipsius obtexit, ut elephantinum morbum se pati putaret, et spem vitæ propriæ penitus non haberet. Tunc festinanter, magno angore correptus[1] misit, et ad se pontificem jam ante a se[2] spretum, humili prece vocavit et obedire se velle ejus salutaribus monitis nuntiavit; at ille visitando veniens consolatum et emendatum Deo monachum consecravit.

8. Pius igitur et misericors Dominus servum Suum Dunstanum ab amore mulierum taliter miseratus retraxit, Qui, ut historiæ tradunt, Johannem apostolum et evangelistam specialiter Sibi dilectum a thalamis nuptiarum revocavit.[3] Cum hac ergo Dei correctione[4] et beati antistitis Ælfheagi documento salutari, sanioris effectus esset intelligentiæ, nonnunquam post ejusdem pontificis[5] almitati gratia saluberrimæ doctrinæ causaque parentelæ sedula adhærebat continuatione. Interea religiosi Wintoniensium cives invitarunt eundem Dei pontificem ad quandam novæ ecclesiæ dedicationem quam in sua civitate Wintonia qua[6] regimen præsulatus[7] ipse tenebat, pro summi Numinis[8] reverentia condiderant in parte meridiana popularis plateæ quæ nunc ecclesia[9] occidentali portæ omnibus ecclesiis vicinior perhibetur esse. In cujus consecratione affuit inter alios plures cum pontifice[10] etiam Dunstanus cum[11] præcipuis unus. Qua dedicata[12] coegerunt more humanitatis virum venerandum cum suis[13] ad parata caritatis[14] convivia, lætum[15] diem

He goes with bishop Elfege to the dedication of a church near the west gate of Winchester.

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[1] *festinanter . . correptus*] tr. B.; demum, ins. B.

[2] *ante a se*] antea, B.

[3] *Qui . . revocavit*] ut secundum Johannem quondam a nuptiarum thalamis revocatum privilegio amoris præcipui eum sibi prædestinaret, B.

[4] *hac . . correctione*] tr. B.

[5] *post . . pontificis*] postea ejus, B.

[6] *Wintonia qua*] id est Wintonia quo, B.

[7] *ipse*] om. B.

[8] *Numinis*] Nominis, B.

[9] *ecclesia*] om. B.

[10] *cum pontifice*] om. B.

[11] *cum*] e, B.

[12] *Qua dedicata*] dedicata autem ecclesia, B.

[13] *virum . . suis*] pontificem, B.

[14] *caritatis*] ire, ins. B.

[15] *lætum*] lætumque, B.

pro tanti viri veneratione proque[1] consecrationis ducentes celebritate.[2] Pontifex autem post gratiarum actiones cum suis imminente[3] jam nocte[4] surrexit, et data benedictione convivantibus[5] tam viris quam fœminis, Deum benedicendo ad propria remeavit; et venerunt incedentes per viam ad æcclesiam beato papæ Gregorio consecratam. Ibique subsistens episcopus dixit beato Dunstano, "Compleamus hic apud oratorium sancti "patris nostri Gregorii nostram completorii horam." Et accesserunt post voces orationum jungentes capita sua in unum, quo confessiones suas solita consuetudine vicissim proderent. Qua peracta, dum daretur ab episcopo delictorum remissio, lapis permagnus ab alto aere irruit et, parcente Domino, inter utraque capita[6] vehementi lapsu in terram corruit; tantumque tangens capillos utriusque capitis[7] nullum eorum læsit; quem, ni fallor, ille malignus cujusque justi operis inimicus, ex improbitatis suæ jaculis furiendo[8] dejecit, quasi geminam iram in utrisque foret ulturus.

On their return from the festival they visit the church of S. Gregory.

where they have a miraculous escape.

9. Contigit autem hisdem temporibus quendam Glestoniensis æcclesiæ diaconem nomine Wulfredum,[9] mortem subiisse temporalem; qui beato Dunstano tempore dum viveret,[10] prælatus pariter exstitit et familiaris amator. Hic ergo non admodum[11] longo tempore post discessum apparuit ei pandens multa de cœlestibus incognita, insuper etiam omnem seriem[12] vitæ suæ, suæque futuræ ætatis et eventuum bonorum malorumve fata[13] diffiniens.

Wulfred a monk of Glastonbury appears after death to Dunstan.

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[1] *tanti . . proque*] om. B.

[2] *ducentes celebritate*] celebritate ducere, B.

[3] *Pontifex . . imminente*] imminente igitur, B.

[4] *nocte*] gratiarum agens actiones, ins. B.

[5] *convivantibus*] conviviis, B.

[6] *capita*] eorum, ins. B.

[7] *utriusque capitis*] om. B.

[8] *furiendo*] furiendo, Boll.

[9] *Wulfredum*] Wuluredum, B.

[10] *tempore . . viveret*] om. B.

[11] *admodum*] om. B.

[12] *incognita . . seriem*] et omnis, B. For pandens the Bollandists read gaudens.

[13] *suæque . . fata*] conversationem sive prosperam sive sinistram, B.

Dunstan asks a sign of the truth of the revelation.

Auditis vero[1] beatus vir tantis mysteriorum luminibus, talibusque inevitabilibus vitæ suæ casibus, ait in excessu mentis positus:[2] "Si quæ certo relatu affirmas vera sunt " et credenda, unde cognoscam? Quibus signis patulæ " demonstrationis[3] illa mihi patebunt?" At ille duxit eum in atrium templi quo corpora defunctorum humata quiescunt, digitoque[4] demonstravit in australi ecclesiæ parte locum inconvulsum et dixit, "Quia hæc quæ tibi " retuli vera sunt evidenter scito, quia hoc in loco ante " triduum presbyter quidam sepelietur, et nondum infir- " matur; corpusculum vero ejus ab occidentali parte " templi præsentis tumulandum deferetur." Ad hanc visionis vocem beatus expergefactus Dunstanus, postque horam primam diei memor miræ revelationis, cum quibusdam in prænotatum sibi spiritaliter cimiterii locum venit, necnon[5] accipiens lapidem unum jactabilem, in eum[6] projecit, hocque[7] addidit, "Si vera sunt quæ " in somnis vidi, quidam presbyter hic ante triduum " debet humari." Porro recedentibus illis venit cujusdam Æthelflædæ, nobilissimæ ac religiosissimæ matronæ, magister et sacerdos cum alio sociorum contubernio, et obtinuit sibi inter aliqua eloquiorum famina eundem locum in sepulturam, dicens, "Cum mortuus fuero, hic " precor sepelite me." Erat siquidem ipse multorum testimonio adhuc in corpore sanus, sed cum inde post paucum abiissent, gravi morbo finitimæ vitæ sarcinatus est. Deinde in nocte futura extremum spiritum Christo Domino commendavit, et ante triduum in ipso suæ electionis loco, qui beato Dunstano prius assignatus fuerat, sepultus est.

The sign and its fulfilment.

Tunc Domini servus sensit per sæcula faustus
Talibus ex signis fuerant quia cuncta futura
Quæ sibi jam dictus Wulfred sermone ferebat;

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[1] *Auditis vero*] Ad quæ, B.
[2] *tantis . . positus*] quamvis obstupefactus respondit dicens, B.
[3] *illa*] om. B.
[4] *digitoque*] illi, ins. B.
[5] *necnon*] necne, B.
[6] *in eum*] pro signo inibi, B.
[7] *hocque*] dicendo, ins. B.

Visibus atque istis humilis sapiensque beatus,
Felix et validus, cautus castusque refulsit,·
Ante Deum vel ante homines per tempora vitæ.[1]

The author introduces an episode, the story of the lady Æthelfleda.

10. Nunc[2] cœptum sermonem paulatim differendo intermitto,[3] donec quædam brevia verba quæ omittenda non autumo parvo proferam eloquio. Erat namque[4] quædam prædives matrona, regali ex progenie orta, sed strictis nodis divinæ religionis innexa, cujus nomen brevi mentionis attactu nuper contigimus. Hæc post amissum virum vitam ducere vidualem pro virium qualitate desiderans, casulas sibi commanendi in affinitate sacri templi ad plagam occidentalem[5] constituit, ut pro regni cœlestis desiderio ibidem Domino Jesu Christo die noctuque non desisteret famulari. Huic vero semper beatus adhærebat Dunstanus, qui hanc[6] præ cæteris modis mirabilibus adamavit; ejusque causa religionis simul etiam propinquitatis egestatem sedulo sublevavit. Non est autem nostræ possibilitatis enarrare per singula verborum eloquia, qualem vel quantam se in divinis præpararet obsequiis. Dominus tamen omnium inspector secretorum, tam in ultimis metæ Suæ temporibus, quam etiam dum in hoc mundo deguit,[7] cujus esset meriti declaravit. Hæc igitur omne semen regium, de quo ipsa nobilitatis originem duxit, intimo[8] caritatis ardore dilexit, ideoque gratia dulcedinis de suis sæpe rebus regibus ministravit.[9] Ex hac ergo pia consuetudine glorioso regi Æthelstano prandium quod potuit obvia[10] præparavit, quia[11] hunc causa precaminum Glestoniam

She built herself a house at Glastonbury, where she entertained the royal family.

King Athelstan promises to visit her, and sends servants to

[1] *Tunc . . vitæ*] Tunc servus Domini ordinem revelationis probabilem experimento didicerat, quem ei præfatus vir prophetico sermone prædixerat. Ex hoc igitur populo manifestabatur quantæ sanctitatis vir apud Omnipotentem habebatur, B. Here again the form of a sequence is observable.

[2] *nunc*] itaque, ins. B.

[3] *intermitto*] intermittam, B.

[4] *namque*] itaque, B.

[5] *ad . . occidentalem*] om. B.

[6] *qui hanc*] quia hunc, B.

[7] *deguit*] degeret, B.

[8] *intimo*] nimio, B.

[9] Hæc narratio habetur in libro de miraculis beatæ Mariæ. B. in marg.

[10] *obvia*] obviam, B.

[11] *quia*] quoniam, B.

see whether she has provision enough to entertain his retinue: they find a scarcity of mead.

venisse præscivit. Scientes vero ministrationis regiæ prævisores quod dedisset rex nepti suæ divertendi ad se promissam, venerunt die præcedenti ad videndum si omnia paratuum ministeria habilia fuissent vel apta. Et conspectis omnibus dixerunt ad illam, "Universæ "ministrationis sufficientiam habes, si tibi medonis "liquor non defuerit." At illa: "Non patiatur domina "mea sancta Mater Domini mei Jesu Christi Maria, "ut ille mihi vel quid in regia dignitate deficiat." Et hæc dicens antiquam Dei genitricis Mariæ ecclesiam quantocius intravit, seseque ibi rogatura prostravit, diu deposcens superni Regis opulentissimum sibi adesse supplementum ad augendam regis ministrationem. Quid ergo? Venit rex stipatus multo[1] comitatu ad tempus præfinitum, et post precum Missarumque celebrationes lætus invitatum introivit ad prandium. Et tunc quidem in primo propinatu exhausere illud vas medonis ad unius palmulæ[2] mensuram; et sic postea, Deo augente et beata promerente matrona, nil minuens substitit, pincernis, ut assolet in regalibus conviviis, cornibus, sciphis, aliisque indiscretæ quantitatis vasibus totum diem[3] propinantibus. Quod dum mirabile factum rex ipse relatu ministrantium audisset, ait mente inmutatus ad suos, "Peccavimus, nimis hanc famulam Dei superfluitate multitudinis nostræ adgravantes." Et surgens salutata nepti subit[4] viam suam.

She applies to the Blessed Virgin and the lack is supplied.

Dunstan waits on her in her last illness.

11. Cœpit autem hæc famula Dei,[5] transacto beati certaminis cursu, proximante jam fine, ex humano jure graviter infirmari: cui beatus Dunstanus causam providendi solers exhibuit, et quasi propriam matrem unice custodivit. Contigit ergo his impedientibus curis, ipsum horis vespertinalibus abesse, et cum psallentibus more solito non fuisse catervis: ipso tamen finiti diei crepusculo, cum se sequentibus[6] scolasticis, ibat ad jam obseratam ecclesiam ut tardatum compleret officium.

[1] *stipatus multo*] tr. B.
[2] *palmulæ*] palmæ, B.
[3] *totum diem*] toto die, B.
[4] *subit*] ivit, B.
[5] *famula Dei*] tr. B.
[6] *se sequentibus*] tr. B.

Et dum foris ante ostium ecclesiæ psallendi gratia staret, vidit eminus ex orientis cœli climatibus prorumpentem niveam columbam, mira[1] pulchritudine et nova specie renitentem. Erant vero extremitates alarum suarum igni scintillanti consimiles, ex quibus volatum fulmineum ictuantibus pennis sparsim fundebant per aera; quæ ad beatæ matronæ atria celeri meatu convolavit. Beatus autem Dunstanus, infirmæ amicæ non inmemor, continuo perpletis[2] psalmodiis regressus est, et veniens audivit illam intra suorum septa velaminum seriis sermonibus, quasi cum quodam familiari amico, per vices verborum sermocinantem. Accessit ergo humane ad consedentes ancillulas, observatrices[3] dominæ suæ, et mirans cum quo loqueretur interrogat. At illæ se nescire dixerunt, sed "Antequam tu," inquiunt, "venires, immensi splendoris jubar totum hoc "cubiculum rutilando replevit; et postea cessante lu- "mine, ipsa, ut ipse nunc audis, loqui erga loquentem "non cessavit." Tunc quidem paulatim et ipse spectando resedit, donec illa quodammodo a loquela quiesceret. Et dum ea etiam ab eloquio quievisset,[4] mox ad illam rejectis velaminum anfractibus intravit, et cum quo loqueretur ipsam familiariter interrogavit. At illa dixit ad eum, "Tu quoque illum, antequam huc ve- "niret,[5] venientem vidisti, et nunc cum quo sim locuta "interrogas? Ipse enim mecum loquebatur, qui tibi "psallenti dum stabas ante ostium ecclesiæ apparuit; "qui et mihi modo omnem exitus mei rationem per "ordinem nunciavit. Vobis tamen amicis meis non "est admodum necesse contristari de me, quoniam mihi "morienti[6] Dei mei misericordia obibit et paradisi "gaudia misericorditer intrare concedet. Tibi autem "quasi singularis amicæ ministro,[7] id operis impono, ut

He sees a beautiful white dove descend from heaven.

He finds Æthelfleda engaged in talk with a person invisible.

She tells him that the person with whom she conversed was the being whose descent he had seen.

[1] *mira*] siquidem, ins. B.
[2] *perpletis*] completis, B.
[3] *observatrices*] videlicet, ins. B.
[4] *Et . . quievisset*] Postquam autem quievit, B.
[5] *veniret*] venires, Boll.
[6] *mihi morienti*] me morientem, B.
[7] *quasi . . ministro*] tr. B.

Æthelfleda dictates her last wishes.

" tu quoque[1] mane mature mihi facias balneas accele-
" rare, et funerea vestimenta quæ mecum sum habitura
" præparare, postque corporis lavationem missas cele-
" brare, et mox tempore participationis Sacri Sanguinis
" Corporisque[2] Domini nostri Jesu Christi communio-
" nem accipere, ut sic eodem momento viam universæ
" nationis, Domino ducente, incedam." Quod ille instantissime parens in omnibus beatæ matronæ præceptis ne ultimam præjussionis suæ custodiam, tædio quoque tarditatis submissam, torpenti curæ committeret, adimplevit.[3] Sed et illa quod sibi de se in nocte hoc in die futurum [erat ostensum] ordine quo prædixerat certissime complevit, ita inquam ut post[4] missæ mysterium, post[5] saluberrimum Eucharistiæ gustum, ipsa[6] pariter cum finita missa vitam felicem in Domino Jesu Christo finiret.[7]

She dies.

Tunc prævisor ovans animam cum sorte propinqua
Commisit Domino, tumulans sub honore cadaver,
Et sua dat sanctis sicut antea ipsa volebat
Corpore dum vixit. Sed et assecla liber abibat,
Optans hoc Domini requiescat ut in suavitate.[8]

Dunstan finds time for music and painting.

12, Hic etiam[9] inter sacra litterarum studia, ut in omnibus esset idoneus, artem scribendi necnon citharizandi pariterque pingendi peritiam diligenter excoluit, atque ut ita dicam, omnium rerum utensilium vigil inspector effulsit. Quapropter nobilis quædam matrona Æthelwynn nuncupata quodam momentulo vocavit[10] eum

[1] *tu quoque*] om. B.

[2] *Corporisque*] ac Corporis, B.

[3] *adimplevit*] bene adimplere disposuit, B.

[4] *Sed . . post*] Mane autem jam facto sicut ipsa prædixerat in vespere, post, B.

[5] *post*] postque, B.

[6] *ipsa*] om. B.

[7] *finiret*] finivit, B.

[8] *Tunc . . suavitate*] Tunc prævisor ovans animam cum propinqua sorte commisit Domino, cinerem cineri commendans, omni dignitatum obsequio insuper etiam hoc affectans dominæ, ut requiescat in pace. Deinceps vero egentes quosque in unum conglomeravit, et substantiam dominæ suæ, ut ipsa voverat, non solum eis erogavit, verum etiam ubi ubi ad exaltanda Dei officia, prout potuit, distribuit. B.

[9] *etiam*] itaque, B.

[10] *vocavit*] evocavit, B.

familiari precatu ad se, quatenus ille[1] ad divinum cultum quandam stolam sibi[2] diversis formularum scematibus ipse[3] præpingeret, quam postea posset auro gemmisque variando pompare. Quod cum veniendo fecisset, sumpsit secum ex more cytharam suam quam lingua paterna hearpam[4] vocamus, quo se temporibus alternis mentesque ad se[5] tendentium jocundaretur in illa. Tunc quippe quadam die post prandium, dum ad iterata opera tam ipse quam prædicta matrona cum suis operatricibus reverterentur, ex eventu mirabili contigit ut hæc eadem beati tyronis cithara, pendens in cubilis[6] pariete, audientibus cunctis, sponte sua sine tactu cujusquam jubilationis modulum alta voce personaret. Hujus enim antiphonæ melodiam concinendo personuit, et ad finem usque serie cantando perduxit, "Gaudent "in cœlis animæ sanctorum qui Christi vestigia sunt "secuti; et quia pro Ejus amore sanguinem suum "fuderunt, ideo cum Christo regnabunt in æternum." Quod cum audissent, perterriti[7] tam ipse quam memorata matrona,[8] omnesque operatrices ipsius obliviscentes omnino operum in manibus,[9] attoniti sese invicem aspiciebant, satis mirantes quid illud mirabile gestum novi præfiguraret exempli.

Æthelwynn asks Dunstan to make a design for a stole.

Whilst he is doing so his harp plays an anthem by itself.

13. Deinde autem defuncto rege Æthelstano[10] et statu regni mutato, regis succedentis, Eadmundi scilicet, sublimitas beatum Dunstanum, qui[11] vitæ probabilis et linguæ extiterat eruditæ, conspectibus ejus adesse præcepit, ut etiam ipse[3] inter regios proceres et palatinos principes annumeraretur[12] electus. His ille imperiis te-

Dunstan becomes a counsellor to king Edmund.

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[1] *ille*] illi, B.
[2] *sibi*] om. B.
[3] *ipse*] om. B.
[4] *hearpam*] harpam, Boll.
[5] *se*] om. B.
[6] *cubilis*] om. B.
[7] *perterriti*] om. B.
[8] *memorata matrona*] ipsa, B.
[9] *operum in manibus*] opera manuum, B.
[10] Athelstan died at Gloucester, Oct. 27, 940. Chr. S.
[11] *qui*] quoniam, B.
[12] *annumeraretur*] enumeraretur, B.

Duty of obedient service to princes.

mere non resistens, sed[1] memor potius Domini præcepti, quæ regis erant regi, quæ autem Dei Deo reddere festinavit. Similiter autem[2] beati Jacobi apostoli admonitus jussione[3] omni humanæ creaturæ,[4] maximeque potenti se subdere non cessavit,[5] "sive regi quasi præ- "cellenti, sive ducibus tanquam ab eo missis ad vindic- "tam malorum laudem vero bonorum," etc.; non minus vero, ni fallor, beati Pauli apostoli infra comminiscens qui ait, "Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus sub- "dita est; non est enim potestas nisi a Deo; quæ "autem sunt a Deo ordinata sunt; itaque qui resistit "potestati Dei ordinationi resistit; qui autem resis- "tunt ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt." Et iterum, "Reddite ergo, fratres, omnibus debita, cui tributum, "tributum; cui vectigal, vectigal; cui timorem, timo- "rem; cui honorem, honorem:" et item huic eidem apostolo in ipsa sua electione Dominus dicebat, "Durum "est tibi contra potestatis Meæ stimulum calcitrare." Hæc enim et hiis similia sacrarum Scripturarum præcepta beatus Dunstanus in sinu cordis sui diligenter abscondit ne peccaret Domino; sed in mandatorum Ejus eloquia faucibusque ipsius super mel et favum dulciora, lucernam veri luminis pedibus suis quibus vias Domini ambularet, disposuit. Et postquam[6] se mandatis Dei sui cordatius[7] edoctum vel illuminatum[8] agnoverat, juravit secum et firmiter statuit in cordium suorum[9] secretis, custodire[10] fine tenus judicia justitiæ Suæ, ut idem Dominus de hac eadem sententia alibi dicebat,[11] "Qui perseveraverit usque in "finem, hic salvus erit;" et iterum, "Esto fidelis usque

S. Matt. xxii. 21.

1 S. Pet. ii. 13.

Rom. xiii. 1.

Rom. xiii. 7.

Acts ix. 5.

Dunstan's resolutions about behaviour at court.

S. Matt. x. 22.

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[1] *sed*] subito, B.

[2] *potius . . autem*] om. B.

[3] *apostoli . . jussione*] ammonitionis "subjecti estote," B.

[4] *creaturæ*] propter Deum, ins. B.

[5] *maximeque . . cessavit*] om. B.

[6] *Non minus . . postquam*] regiæ potestati se subdidit, quia, B.

[7] *cordatius*] cordetenus, B.

[8] *vel illuminatum*] om. B.

[9] *cordium suorum*] cordis sui, B.

[10] *custodire*] se, ins. B.

[11] *ut . . dicebat*] reminiscens hanc etiam sententiam alibi Dominum auditoribus suis dixisse, B.

Rev. ii. 10. " ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam vitæ." Sic namque quamvis laboriose, una cum sublimibus in regali palatio diu degebat, binas habenas sacro moderamine tenens, legis videlicet et theoricæ necnon et practicæ vitæ.[1] Videntes vero nonnulli commorantium militum hanc conversionis[2] suæ constantiam, cœperunt eum unica caritatis dulcedine vel germanitatis amore diligere. Perplures autem e contrario, nebulosis mentibus obducti, cœpere eundem Dei virum amarissimo odio vanitatis detestari, et prosperitatibus ipsius morte tenus invidere. Hi nimirum exsecratores in augmentum malitiæ suæ quoscunque alios poterant ad persequendum etiam famulum Dei deposcebant. Tamdiu enim circa illum torserunt funiculum iniquitatis eorum, seipsos potius in eo nexuri quam illum, ut ipsum regem infectum vitiis ipsorum attaminarent,[3] et credulum fallaciis eorum efficerent;[4] qui continuo, ut prius fuerat ab iniquis instructus, magno furore permotus, jussit eum ablata dignitate etiam omni honore privari, et sibi senioratum ubi vellet sine se suisque conquirere. Erant autem apud Ceodrum[5] ubi hæc facta fuerant viri venerabiles, regni videlicet orientis nuncii, cum rege tunc[6] hospitantes, quos ille quasi jam exilio deputatus, aliud sibi ignorans consilium, aggressus est id orans ne se relictum a rege ipsi[7] desererent, sed secum ad patriam quamvis ad incolatum perducerent. At illi mœstitiæ ipsius compatientes spoponderunt ei quæque regni sui commoda si secum comitaturus adiret.

His virtuous life there.

His enemies contrive to bring him into disgrace.

Whilst the court is at Cheddar he is driven from it.

14. Ibat itaque rex mox[8] altera die quo se una cum suis more solito jocundaretur venabulo; et dum ad silvas venaturi perveniunt diversos calles nemorosorum tramitum certatim arripiunt. Et ecce ex multimodo cor-

The king goes to hunt and follows a stag alone.

[1] *vitæ*] om. B.
[2] *conversionis*] conversationis, B.
[3] *attaminarent*] fallerent, B.
[4] *efficerent*] afficerent, B.
[5] *Ceodrum*] Ceodriun, Boll.; Ceoddrum, B.
[6] *tunc*] om. B.
[7] *ipsi*] ibi, B.
[8] *mox*] om. B.

niculantium strepitu canumque latratu, multi cervorum levem fugam inierunt; ex quibus rex solus cum canum caterva unum sibi venaturus[1] excepit; et hunc diu per diversa devia equina agilitate canumque insectatione fatigavit. Est autem ibi in proximis locis Ceoddri, quoddam inter alia plura præcisi montis præcipitium, mira quidem et immensa profunditate devexum; ad quod idem cervus, nescio quo pacto nisi ex Dei esset occulto[2] arbitrio, fugiendo devenit; et præceps sese in ima ejusdem præcipitii una cum canibus sequentibus demersit,[3] et particulatim attriti in mortem pariter corruerunt. Similiter autem et rex sequens cervum et canes, cum magno volantis equi impetu venit, et statim viso præcipitio cursum accelerantis equi quantum quibat viribus retinere conatus est. Sed quoniam colli contumacis et rigidæ cervicis erat non potuit. Quid multa? Omni spe vitæ suæ ablata in manus Dei sui animam commendavit, dicens tamen intra se, "Gratias Tibi ago, Altissime, quod me non " memini aliquem his diebus læsisse, nisi solum Dun- " stanum, et hoc prompta voluntate et vita servata " reconcilians sibi emendabo." Ad quod dictum, beati viri meritis, restitit equus, quod jam horret dicere, in ultimo præcipitii cespite, ubi pedes priores equi ipsius pene fuerant in ima[4] voraginis ruituri. Tunc ille corde pariter et ore maximas Deo pro vitæ suæ restitutione gratias referebat et laudes, secum plane intelligens, et sæpius in cordium suorum secretis[5] recompensans, se esse pro tanti viri vindicta finitimæ morti ferme deputatum; et veniens domum jussit sibi propere beatum Dunstanum magna cum festinatione advocare. Qui cum vocatus venisset,[6] ait ad eum rex, " Festina quantocius præparare tibi caballum, ut possis " mecum parvo comitatu quo iturus sum ire." Et

The stag and dogs fall down a precipice.

The king's horse carries him at full speed after them: he prepares for death by confession of the wrong done to Dunstan.

He escapes.

[1] *venaturus*] venaturum, B.
[2] *esset occulto*] tr. B.
[3] *demersit*] dimersit, B.
[4] *pene . . ima*] tr. B.
[5] *cordium suorum secretis*] corde suo, B.
[6] *venisset*] advenisset, B.

continuo, ascensis equis, viam quæ ducit Glestoniam recto tramite tenuerunt; et cum[1] illuc ducatu pervenerant æcclesias Dei ut oportuit oraturi intraverunt. Et statim precibus impletis tersisque ocellis e lacrymarum rivulis, rex iterato vocaverat ad se famulum Dei Dunstanum et, adprehensa ejus dextera, causa placationis seu etiam dignitatis osculatus est illam, ducensque ad sacerdotalem cathedram et imponens[2] illum in eam, et dixit, "Esto sedis istius princeps potensque insessor, et præsentis æcclesiæ fidelissimus abbas; et quicquid tibi ad divini cultus augmentum vel ad sacræ regulæ supplementum de propria adminiculatione defuerit, ego illud regia largitate devote supplebo." He makes Dunstan abbot of Glastonbury.

15. Igitur post hæc servus Dei Dunstanus jam dictam dignitatem jussu regis regendi gratia suscepit; et hoc prædicto modo saluberrimam sancti Benedicti sequens institutionem, primus abbas Anglicæ nationis enituit: sicque sponteneum ex affectu cordis famulatum[3] Deo reddere devovebat. Tunc ergo[4] perprudens opilio, primum scepta claustrorum monasticis ædificiis cæterisque inmunitionibus, ut jam olim a quodam sene sibi denotatum per revelationem fuerat, ex omni parte firmiter munivit; ubi oves Dominicas longe lateque gregatim collectas, ne a lupo invisibili dilaniarentur, includeret. Deinde idem Dei dogmatizator adgregatum cœnobium sibique commissum divini verbi cœpit fomento nutrire, et fonte superno, sacræ scilicet Scripturæ mellifluo documento potare, docens per angoreas hujus vitæ semitas ad æternas delicias epularum cœlestium esse transiendum. Patet namque omnibus pene[5] circumquaque fidelibus, quod post paucorum annorum intercapedines,[6] discipuli quos ipse teneros in veræ fidei vitem, Christum videlicet Dominum sudando inse- His behaviour as abbot. His buildings.

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[1] *cum*] ut, B.; ducatu, om. B.
[2] *et imponens*] imposuit, B.
[3] *Sicque . . famulatum*] tr. B.; cordis sui, B.
[4] *ergo*] om. B.
[5] *pene*] om. B.
[6] *intercapedines*] curricula, B.

Promotion of Dunstan's pupils.

ruerat, ubertim crescebant, et fructum boni operis morigena venustate ferebant; quodque post hæc plurimi ecclesiarum pastores documentis illius et exemplis instructi, ad diversas jam civitates vel ad alia sanctorum loca petebantur, electi ut essent inibi sacri regiminis et normæ justitiæ imbutores, præpositi videlicet,[1] decani, abbates, episcopi, etiam[2] archiepiscopi, cæteris[3] ordinibus præstantissimi. Quicunque autem de discipulatu ipsius, isdem temporibus corporeis nexibus fine tenus enodati, necem subierant inevitabilem, alta polorum gaudia procul dubio petierunt.

The devil tempts him in the form of a bear;

16. Cumque veternus invisor mente perspicaci comperiret quod beatus pater, equidem Dunstanus[4] tantas sibi turmas diripiendo e manibus extorsisset, fraudibus quibuscunque valuit adversari sibi, sicut jam superius loqui cœpimus, diebus ac noctibus non cessavit. Nam quadam nocte, dum adleta[5] Dei infra scepta claustrorum psalmodiis vigiliisque constans immoraretur, apparuit ei Dei et hominum inimicus, hispidus et horrens in ursina specie, volens eum quodammodo torva imaginatione perterrere,[6] et ab opere satis sibi contrario dolositatis industria aliquatenus dissociare. Sed cum agonista Dei monstrum hoc inimicale spiritali magis quam corporali[7] intuitu perspexisset, eo securior[8] inceptis Dei laudibus velut vir invictus perduravit. Postea autem parvo intermisso momento adfuit illi iterum non in priori lusionis effigie, sed in canina satis sibi condigna specie, ut sunt fraudes ipsius in omnibus improbæ; quatinus hunc simulata canum sævitia impediendo deluderet et ab orationis studio, si quo potuisset ingenio, sequestraret. Nequidquam tamen tenax ille temptator in famulum Dei nefandis versutiæ suæ frau-

and in the form of a dog.

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[1] *videlicet*] om. B.
[2] *etiam*] om. B.
[3] *cæteris*] demum, ins. B.
[4] *beatus . . Dunstanus*] om. B.
[5] *adleta*] adhleta, B.
[6] *perterrere*] perterere, A.
[7] *corporali*] carnali, B.
[8] *securior*] securius, B.

dibus insanivit; quem undique armis fidei fulcitum fuisse comprobavit; ideoque ex eodem prædicto sanctæ crucis spiculo, quod secum semper chyra[1] dextra convehebat, repercussus adnihilatus est. Sed et ipse nihilominus in laudem[2] Christi sui spretis adversarii temptamentis manebat intrepidus. Addidit quoque idem perfidus draco more vipereo tertio reserpere, probans si forte adhuc virum Dei remissioris animi ad vincendum invenisset: et tunc quidem ex improba cordis compositione sese mutavit in turpem vulpeculam, ut vel sic famulum Dei[3] cauda quatienti varioque discursu ab intentione Dei sui everteret. Quem cum beatus pater Dunstanus[4] toties transmutatum vidisset, subridens dixit illi, "Vade jam, inimice, quia nunc tibimet satis "similis effectus apparuisti," factoque crucis signaculo inimicus disparuit.

Dunstan repels him.

A third time he comes as a fox and is detected.

17. His et hujuscemodi armis[5] larvalibus sæpe seductor antiquus beatum patrem Dunstanum, licet inani conflictu, fatigavit: velut etiam tempore quodam dum in orationis[6] opere ante altare martyris Christi Georgii vigilando desudaret. Ignoratur itaque quo casu, utrum ex præfati fraudatoris injectione, an ex vigiliarum continuatione, sed ibi subito inter psallentia verba levis soporis dormitio inrepserat ipsum; visumque est illi, nec, ut ita dicam, penitus vigilanti neque penitus dormienti, quod hyspidus ursus, ingens et horribilis, magno cum impetu veniret, poneretque pedes horrendos ad dilaniandum præparatos, super utrumque humerum illius sedentis, avido quoque hyatu superstans, quasi[7] ad devorandum eum. Cumque vir Dei ex inlato terrore funditus evigilaret, arripuit quantocius quem secum semper manu advehebat baculum, nisus ex humano furore nefandum

Once whilst praying before the altar of S. George the devil looks over his shoulder in the shape of a bear.

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[1] *chyra*] om. B.
[2] *laudem*] laude, B.
[3] *famulum Dei*] eum, B.
[4] *beatus . . Dunstanus*] om. B.
[5] *armis*] figuris, B.
[6] *orationis*] oedem operationis, B.
[7] *quasi*] om. B.

Dunstan strikes in vain with a stick, but drives him away with a psalm.

monstrum percutere; ictu tamen supervacuo percussit templi parietem, maximum plausum per omne templum audientibus reddens. Ipse autem in se regrediens, validioris pugnæ congressus iniit, hunc videlicet psalmum sacri certaminis decantando, "Exsurgat Deus," usque Ps. lxviii. 1. "sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei,"[1] ut supra; nam eo in loco superatus a somno psallendi studium dereliquit, et confestim, ut aiunt, in hoc resumpto psalmodio, ille nebulosus illusor agnitus est velut umbra nigerrima in prædicto scemate confusus abscedere.

Wulfric the brother of Dunstan dies.

18. Erat namque huic eidem[2] viro Dei ex humana parentum propagatione quidam germanus frater, nomine Wulfricus,[3] quem sibi forinsecus in villarum suarum negotiis potentem præpositum, ne vel ipse vel quispiam ex monastica professione foris vagaretur, inepta rei sæcularis discursione, constituit. Hic nempe post emensum temporis sui spatium, letali conditione præventus, temporalem necem obiendo subibat. Hac de causa contigit omnes præscripti templi monachos ad funus ipsius exisse; nullumque excepto abbate solo parvoque scolastico, qui postea pontifex effectus hæc nobis intimavit, domi remansisse, ut cum sacris exequiis exanime corpus ad monasterium quo tumulaturum erat perducerent. Interea abbas cum eodem scolastico ambulabat ad videndum, ut autumo, si jam fratres cum defuncti corpusculo propinquassent. Et dum semper ex more psallentes incederent, venit ex inproviso ultra antiquam æcclesiam quoddam missile saxums, vehementi volatu conans[4] beati patris caput collidere; sed Deo defendente nequibat; verumtamen pilleum quo caput velabat, procul quasi perticam unam a capite decussum, projecit. Qui con-

A stone is thrown at Dunstan by supernatural agency.

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[1] *usque . . Dei*] et dissipentur inimici Ejus et fugiant qui oderunt Eum a facie Ejus, sicut deficit fumus deficiant; sicut fluit cera a facie ignis sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei, B.

[2] *eidem*] idem, A.; om. B.

[3] *Wulfricus*] Wulricus, B.

[4] *conans*] conatu, A.

versus dixit secum incedenti scolastico, "Accelera ergo "et cape quantocius hoc rotabile saxum, ut deferas "eum conspiciendum ad me." Quod cum ille nimis ponderosum ex jussu patris vix elevando reveheret, ait venerandus pater Dunstanus, "O adversans inimice! "jamdiu ex industria maligna hujus mihi lapidis ictum "insidians præparabas." Non enim erat, testimonium multorum, hujusmodi lapis admodum magnus vel modicus in hiis Sumersetensium finibus, nisi forte in quibuslibet lapideis operibus; et idcirco palam patuit de cujus improba manu emissus prosilivit.[1] Verumtamen post hæc jussit ipsum saxum, licet in sui detrimentum missum fuisset, custodiæ invectum quasi pro testimonio reservare.

He escapes and orders the stone to be kept in memory of the event.

19. Perempto igitur rege Eadmundo[2] ab iniquo clep- tore, mox proximus hæres, Eadrædus videlicet,[3] regnum naturale fratrem succedendo suscepit. Hic itaque in sublimitate roboratus beatum patrem Dunstanum tanto caritatis ardore dilexit, ut nullum pœne ex primatu sibi[4] prætulisset. At contra vir Dei, ut diligenti se vicem amoris ab intimo cordis affectu rependeret, omnium sibi carissimum solita appellatione regem[5] acclamavit. Ex hac quippe caritatis fiducia, commisit illi rex optima quæque suorum suppellectilium, quamplures scilicet rurales cartulas,[6] etiam veteres præcedentium regum thesauros, necnon et diversas propriæ adeptionis suæ gazas, sub munimine monasterii sui fideliter custodiendum. Et dum post meantia tempora felix vir, senex scilicet Æthelgar, Chrydionensis ecclesiæ præsul,[7] carnali lege coactus, vitam in Christo finiret, persuasit jam dictus rex virum Dei Dunstanum crebris hortamentis, quatenus orbatum patre pontificatum sub cura

Edred becomes king, and takes Dunstan for his chief adviser.

Edred proposes to make him bishop of Crediton.

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[1] *Non . . prosilivit*] om. B.

[2] Edmund was killed in 946. Chr. S.

[3] *videlicet*] om. B.

[4] *pœne . . sibi*] tr. B.

[5] *regem*] om. B.

[6] *cartulas*] ac, ins. B.

[7] Ethelgar, bishop of Crediton, 934–953.

Dunstan refuses.

pastorali ipse[1] suscepisset. At ille statim[2] facilis sibi[3] verbi excusationem rejecit, inquiens se non esse hujus pastoralis curæ prospectum nec adhuc tali tantaque dignitate idoneum, quo posset tam latum Christi ovile probabili cautela sine sui exitio custodire. Hæc et his similia contradicentium sermonum nonnumquam regi opposuit, donec omnem ejus suasionem penitus abnuendo compesceret. Verumtamen secretam voluntatis illius intentionem nequaquam adhuc mutare prævaluit; quoniam quem præ cæteris altius amabat, hunc altioris excellentiæ fieri cupiebat. Quapropter posuit verba voluntatis suæ in ore propriæ genitricis[4] dicens illi,

Edred asks his mother to intercede with Dunstan, but in vain.

" Volo, O mi dilectissima mater, ut tu[5] sub prandii
" tui tempore nostrum specialem amicum Dunstanum
" tecum habeas invitatum; et dum inter læta convivia
" blandis vicissim utimini loquelis, studeas eum fœmi-
" nali facundia adhortari, quo fiat juxta nostram sugges-
" tionem nuper viduatæ[6] ecclesiæ pontifex." Quod cum illa nisibus universis fecisset, non potuit eum a pristino renunciationis eloquio remutare. Consilio tamen ipsius

Elfwold is appointed.

Ælfwoldus,[7] vir venerandus, ob pollentem venustatem sortitus est ad pontificatum eundem.

Dunstan has a vision of S. Peter, S. Paul, and S. Andrew.

20. Nocte itaque subsequenti visum est illi per nocturnam revelationem,[8] quod, cum prompto comitatu Romam properare deberet, adparuerunt[9] ipsi in viis eisdem Petrus et Paulus cum Andrea, pandentes ei diversa et inopinata eventuum suorum secreta, finitoque familiari apostolorum[10] colloquio, Andreas virga quam manu gerebat percussit illum ictu non modico dicens, " Hoc
" habeto præmii quod apostolatus nostri consortium

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[1] *ipse*] om. B.
[2] *statim*] om. B.
[3] *sibi*] ei, B.
[4] Eadgifu, widow of Edward the Elder.
[5] *tu*] om. B.
[6] *viduatæ*] viduitate, A.
[7] Elfwold, bishop of Crediton, 953–972.
[8] *per . . revelationem*] om. B.
[9] *properare . . adparuerunt*] tenderet, et apparerent, B.
[10] *apostolorum*] om. B.

" heri recussando tempsisti." Statimque expergefactus post ictum [1] requisivit cubantem coram se monachum, quis ipsum acro virgulæ ictu temere percussisset. At ille, " Nullus," inquit, " te quiescentem aliquo percus- " sionis tactu me sciente contigerat." Is ergo præmeditatus ait, " Modo, fili mi, scio, modo a quo sim- per- " cussus agnosco."

He is chastised by S. Andrew.

Eratque, proh dolor, rex Eadrædus dilectus Dunstani per omne tempus imperii sui nimium languens, ita ut refectionis tempore sorpto succo ciborum [2] reliquam partem parumper dentibus obtritam [3] ab ore rejecisset, et sic sæpe convivantibus secum militibus fœtentem nausiam exspuendo fecisset. Qui licet sic ægrotantem vitam utcunque diu vivendo in abutenti corpore pertraheret, languor tamen augmentabilis sæpius milleno pondere invadendo hunc usque ad occubitum misere perduxit. Tunc ille ex longo languore anceps propriæ vitæ, misit circumquaque ad congregandas facultates suas, quas dum posset spontaneo liberoque dictatu ipse suis vivendo disponeret; per hoc enim vir Dei Dunstanus, velut alii regalium gazarum [4] custodes ibat; ut quas causa custodiendi secum habuerat regi reportaret. Et dum post aliquos dies viam per quam venerat cum sarcinatis facultatum opibus reverteretur, facta est vox cœlitus emissa dicens illi, " Ecce " nunc rex Eadrædus obiit in pace." [5] Ad hanc ergo vocem caballus in quo vir Dei equitabat subito percussus interiit, quia non valebat sublimitatis angelicæ sufferre præsentiam. Et cum venisset, repperit regem sub eodem tempore quo angelus ei in ipso itinere nunciavit, morte suprema finitum; cujus emissum spiritum astantes catervæ fidelium pariterque exanimes artus more mortalium sepeliendos conditori Domino sub pacis requie commendaverunt.

Illness of king Edred.

He sends Dunstan for his treasures.

Dunstan miraculously warned of the king's death.

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[1] *post ictum*] om. B.

[2] *sorpto . . ciborum*] sorbita tantum sorbitiuncula, B.; sorto soco, A.

[3] *obtritam*] attritam, B.

[4] *regalium gazarum*] tr. B.

[5] Edred died in 955; Nov. 23. Chr. S.

Edwy succeeds.

21. Post hunc surrexit Eadwig, filius videlicet[1] Eadmundi regis, ætate quidem juvenis parvaque regnandi prudentia[2] pollens, licet in utraque plebe regum numeros nominaque suppleret electus. Huic quædam, licet natione præcelsa, inepta tamen mulier, cum adulta filia per nefandum familiaritatis lenocinium sectando inhærebat; eotenus videlicet quo sese vel etiam natam suam sub conjugali titulo illius innectendo sociaret; quas ille ut aiunt alternatim, quod jam pudet dicere, turpi palpatu et absque pudore utriusque libidinose trectavit. Et cum tempore statuto ab universis Anglorum principibus communi electione ungueretur et consecraretur in regem, die eodem post regale sacræ institutionis unguentum, repente prosilivit lascivus, linquens læta convivia vel decibiles optimatum suorum consessiones, ad prædictum luparum palpamentum.[3] Et cum vidisset summus pontificum Oda regis petulantiam, maxime in consecrationis suæ die, omni per gyrum consedenti senatui displicere, ait coepiscopis suis et cæteris principibus, "Eant, oro,[4] "quilibet ex vobis ad reducendum regem quo sit suo- "rum satellitum, ut condecet, in hoc regali convivio[5] "jocundus consessor." At illi molestiam regis vel mulierum querimoniam incurrisse metuentes, singuli se subtrahentes recussare cœperunt. Ad extremum vero elegerunt ex omnibus duos quos animo constantissimos noverant, Dunstanum scilicet abbatem, et Cynesium[6] episcopum ejusdem Dunstani[7] consanguineum, ut omnium jussu obtemperantes regem volentem vel nolentem reducerent ad relictam sedem. Et ingressi juxta principum suorum jussa, invenerunt regiam coronam, quæ miro metallo auri vel argenti gemmarumque

He falls under the influence of two bad women.

On the day of coronation he leaves the royal feast to join them.

Dunstan and Kinesige go to bring him back.

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[1] *videlicet*] om. B.

[2] *prudentia*] gratia, B.

[3] *luparum palpamentum*] scelus lenocinii, B.; lupanarum pulpamentum, A.

[4] *oro*] quæso, B.

[5] *suorum . . convivio*] tr. B.

[6] *Cynesium*] Kinsige, bishop of Lichfield, 949–963.

[7] *ejusdem Dunstani*] ejus, B.

vario nitore conserta splendebat, procul a capite ad terram usque neglegenter avulsam, ipsumque more maligno inter utrasque, velut in vili suillorum volutabro, creberrime volutantem; et dixerunt,[1] "Nostri nos pro- "ceres ad te rogitando miserunt, ut eas quantocius ad "condignum sessionis tuæ triclinium, et ne spernas "optimatum tuorum lætis interesse conviviis." At Dunstanus primum increpitans mulierum ineptias, manu sua dum nollet exsurgere, et[2] extraxit eum de mœchali genearum occubitu, inpositoque diademate duxit[3] secum, licet vi a mulieribus raptum, ad regale consortium.

They find the crown on the ground.

Dunstan brings him back to the feast.

22. Tunc eadem Æthælgyvu,[4] sic erat nomen ignominiosæ mulieris, inanes orbes oculorum contra venerandum abbatem ferventi furore retorsit, inquiens hujusmodi hominem ultra modum esse magnanimum qui regis in secretum temerarius intraret. Audivimus enim in veternis regum libellis Jezabelem errore gentilitatis et vipereo veneno perfusam die noctuque[5] in prophetas Dei amara detestatione sævisse, et in mortem usque persequi non destitisse: ita et hæc inpudens virago, ex hac die prædicta, eodem Jezabelis flatu venenifero perfusa, licet nomine Christiano uteretur indigna, virum Dei Dunstanum consiliis inimicabilibus persequi non quievit, quousque pestiferam execrationis suæ voluntatem cum adaucta regis inimicitia adimpleret. Tunc illa ex prædicti regis consensu omnem illius ordinis honorem omnemque subpellectilis sui substantiam suis legibus subjugavit; quinetiam, urgente regis imperio ipsum ad incolatum calamitatis celeriter ipsa[6] præscripsit. Non enim erat hujus furentis fœminæ vesania adeo adtendenda, sed discipulorum, quos ipse teneros nectareo dogmate inbuendos nutribat, clancula machinatio magis stupenda; nam et ipsi conspirationis iniquæ

Threats of Ethelgifu.

Dunstan's property is seized.

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[1] *dixerunt*] ei, ins. B.
[2] *et*] om. B.
[3] *duxit*] eum, ins. B.
[4] *Æthælgyvu*] Æthelgifu, B.
[5] *noctu*] nocte, B.
[6] *ipsa*] ire, B.

His own pupils conspire against him; and he leaves his home.

sub occulta fraude assentatores fuere, qui si possent iniqua ejus dispendia detestari debuissent. Et dum ejectores ejusdem cunctas res ecclesiasticas ad conscribendum prospicerent, ecce in parte occidentali[1] templi aspera vox ridentis diaboli, quasi vox plaudentis ancillulæ audita est. Ad quem vir Dei, dum quis esset mente perspexit, "Noli," inquit, "inimice, tantum gau-" dere; quia quantum nunc in recessu meo gaudebis, " tantum iterum in adventu, dampnante te Deo, tris-" taberis."

His friends are punished.

23. Quicunque enim amicorum post hæc hunc eundem virum Dei,[2] injusto arbitrio criminantis fœminæ ejectum, causa caritatis vel compatientiæ hospitio susceperunt, frementem regis iram graviter incurrerunt, et propterea insanos fluctus turbidi æquoris periculoso navigio tranare,[3] et incerta Galliarum exilia adire coactus est. Et dum velificata veloci quasi[4] tria miliaria maris ingressus fuisset, venerunt nuncii ab iniqua populatrice,[5] ut ferunt, qui[6] oculos illius si in his maris littoribus inventus fuisset,[7] eruendo dempsissent. Ipse autem æquoreas vias ponti cærulei rapido cursu transiliens venit ad ignotam jam regionem dictu Galliæ,[8] cujus pœne loquelam ritumque ignorabat. Sed comitante secum misericordia Dei sui, invenit coram quodam terræ illius principe gratiam, qui eum paterno caritatis affectu sub exilii sui tempore custodivit. Hic itaque, quamvis benigne sub ejusdem principis cura foveretur cotidie, assidua tamen mente manebat in patria, de qua remotus fuerat sine pietatis censura. Qui etiam sæpe habundantem lacrymarum imbrem ex oculorum

He sails to Gaul;

and is well entertained there in his exile.

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[1] *parte occidentali*] tr. B.

[2] *hunc . . Dei*] eum, B.

[3] *tranare*] transire, B.

[4] *velificata . . quasi*] velis in altum extensis, quasi, B.

[5] *populatrice*] muliere; B., pepulatrice, A.

[6] *ut ferunt, qui*] tr. B.

[7] *inventus fuisset*] inveniretur, B.

[8] *regionem . . Galliæ*] jam regionem dictam Galliam, B.

fluentis ingemiscendo deduxit, quoties constitutus in exsilio[1] meminit quantam religionis celsitudinem in monasterio dereliquit. Et dum diu in mœsti cordis meditatione circa rem hujusmodi cogitaret,[2] ecce quadam nocte vidit visione notissima dormiendo quod jam mente peravida ambiebat vigilando; hoc dumtaxat quod more solito fuisset in monasterio una cum astante fratrum caterva, dum laudes vespertinales psallendo persolverent canerentque post novissimum canticum, " Magnificat quoque[3] anima mea Dominum," hanc antiphonam, " Quare detraxistis sermonibus veritatis, ad in- " crepandum verba componitis et subvertere nitimini Job vi. 25. " amicum vestrum, verumptamen . . . . " hoc in loco visi sunt omnes pariter relicto cantu penitus reticere, neque ulterius eam ullo modo posse verbo vel voce perfinire, quamvis casso labore multoties iteratam nonnisi ad eundem locum cantando perducerent; et nunquam duo[4] finitima verba modulantes admitterent. At ille per eandem visionem increpans eos, " Cur," inquit, " ad " perfiniendam antiphonam non vultis dicere 'quæ cogi- " 'tastis explete?'" Mox ille divinum responsum ex alia parte perpendit sub hac voce, " Ideo, inquam, quia num- " quam quod mente moliuntur implebunt; ut te quo- " que[5] ab hujus monasterii potestate auferendo evel- " lant." Et evigilans post visum gratias egit consolanti se Altissimo. Patuit quippe ex hac certissima revelatione, quod, sicut superius sermonibus quibuslibet commemoravimus, nonnulli eorum clanculi persecutores illius exstitere.

He has a vision assuring him that his enemies will not finally prevail.

24. Factum est autem ut rex præfatus in prætereuntibus annis penitus a brumali populo relinqueretur contemptus, quoniam in commisso regimine insipienter egisset, sagaces vel sapientes odio vanitatis disperdens, et ignaros quosque sibi consimiles studio dilectionis adscis-

Edwy's misgovernment.

[1] *constitutus in exsilio*] om. B.
[2] *cogitaret*] cogitarat, A.
[3] *quoque*] om. B.
[4] *duo*] om. B.
[5] *quoque*] om. B.

Edgar is chosen king by the people north of the Thames.

cens. Hunc ita omnium conspiratione relictum,[1] elegere sibi, Deo dictante, Eadgarum[2] ejusdem Eadwigi germanum in regem, qui virga imperiali injustos juste percuteret, benignos autem sub eadem æquitatis virgula pacifice custodiret. Sicque universo populo testante publica res regum ex diffinitione sagacium sejuncta[3] est, ut famosum flumen Tamesæ regnum disterminaret amborum. Tunc Eadgarus a prædicto populo sic sortitus ad regnum, misit nutu Dei ad revocandum venerandum abbatem ab exoso in quo degebat exilio: non inmemor quantæ reverentiæ fuerit[4] antecessoribus ipsius, quibus secum cum salutifero consilio infatigabilem fidelis obsequelæ famulatum persolvit: quem[5] ab incolatu reductum[6] omni honore dignitatis ut tantum oportuit patrem custodivit.

He recalls Dunstan.

Death of Edwy.

Interea germanus ejusdem Eadgari, quia justa Dei sui judicia deviando dereliquit, novissimum flatum misera morte exspiravit; et regnum illius ipse, velut æquus hæres ab utroque populo electus, suscepit, divisaque regnorum jura in unum sibi sceptrum subdendo copulavit. Hic iterato beatum Dunstanum in ademptum[7] pristinæ dignitatis honorem restituit,[8] similiter et atavam suam et nonnullos alios quos frater ipsius, in eadem antea sublimitate constitutus, iniquo judicio prædari præcepit.

Edgar restores the estates of his grandmother.

Council in which Dunstan is chosen to be a bishop.

25. Postea factus est magnus sapientium conventus in loco qui vocatur Brandanford,[9] et eo in loco omnium ex electione ordinatus est Dunstanus ad episcopum, eotenus maxime quo regali præsentiæ propter provida prudentiarum suarum consilia jugiter adfuisset. Et dum ritu regali moribus Deificis rex fuisset a beato Dunstano[10]

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[1] *Hunc . . relictum*] Hoc . . relicto, B.

[2] On the date of Edwy's death, see the remarks in the Preface.

[3] *sejuncta*] segregata, B.

[4] *fuerit*] extiterit, B.

[5] *quem*] dum autem, B.

[6] *reductum*] reductus fuisset, B.

[7] *ademptum*] adeptum, B.

[8] *restituit*] constituit, B.

[9] *Brandanford*] Bradanford, Boll.

[10] *a beato Dunstano*] ab eo, B.

vel cæteris sapientibus decenter instructus, cœpit passim inprobos opprimere, justos quoque et modestos puro pectore diligere, reges et tyrannos circumquaque sibi subicere, destructas Dei æcclesias renovare vel ditare, et ad laudem Summi Numinis[1] famulantes catervas adgregare, omnemque regionem illius sub pacis munimine regaliter custodire. Deinde pastor Wygoricensis ecclesiæ, utpote Cynewaldus more mortalium cursuque vitæ temporalis educto succubuit, et suscepit beatus pontifex Dunstanus constitutus a rege hanc[2] eandem ecclesiam sub solertia pastorali servandam; in qua statim veræ fidei vitem palmitemque justitiæ sagaci cultu plantavit, et triticeum Sanctæ Trinitatis semen in credentium cordibus, evulsis errorum tribulis, seminavit: per quod post præsentis sæculi metam bonorum operum[3] ad vitam jugiter manentem pervenirent indempnes. Videns itaque rex prænominatus quod commissam æcclesiam pervigil pastor rite regendo custodiret, commisit ei Lundoniensem æcclesiam, pio postea pastore viduatam, quo plurimo civitatis illius populo, nec non et reliquæ Orientalium Saxonum multitudini, pontem[4] etiam ad alta polorum cacumina scandendi præpararet. Has ille geminas æcclesias per multa annorum transeuntium tempora sub regimine pontificalis excellentiæ curiose regebat; et utrique gregi viam quæ ducit ad vera Jesu Christi ovilia exemplo pariter et documento monstravit.

Edgar's reforms.

Dunstan is made bishop of Worcester.

He is also bishop of London.

26. Postquam autem mors peravida venerandum Odam, metropolitanæ civitatis archipræsulem æcclesiæque Christi rectorem, ex Adamica conditione consumptum,[5] insatiabili voratu finierat, connumeratus est Ælfsinus Wintoniensium pastor ad eandem summi sacerdotii

Odo dies and Elfsin succeeds.

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[1] *Numinis*] Nominis, B.
[2] *hanc*] om. B.
[3] *bonorum operum*] om. B.
[4] *pontem*] pontum, A. B.
[5] *ex . . consumptum*] om. B.

Elfsin dies on his way to Rome.

sedem. Qui cum ex summorum pontificum consuetudine, post pallium principalis infulæ Romuleam urbem contenderet properare, obfuit illi in Alpinis montibus maxima nivis difficultas; quæ tanto cum gelu rigoris obstrinxerat, ut in his moriendo deficeret, et regressi tumulato pontifice[1] ejusdem[2] comitantes tyrunculi, renunciavere lacrymanti relatu tantum sibi infortunium in prædictis montibus contigisse. Post cujus consummationem elegere Byrhtelmum, Dorsætensium prævisorem ad summum sanctæ Dorobernensis æcclesiæ sacerdotem; et erat vir iste mitis et modestus et humilis, et benignus, in tantum ut tumidos quosque vel rebelles sub correctionis verbere non, ut debuisset, cohiberet. Est namque jus rectorum ut bene bonos custodiant, et ad meliora quantum queunt viribus universis informent; reprobos autem et rebelles sub asperitatis correctione redarguant, donec eos a viis vanitatum avertant. Comperiens ergo rex quod prædictus pontifex[3] hæc jura præscripta in commissa sibi plebe mansuescendo minime adimpleret, jussit eum vias per quas veniebat redire et relictam dignitatem rursus recipere possidendam. Dehinc constituit ex divino respectu et sapientum consilio Dunstanum, quem noverat esse constantem, ad summum prædictæ æcclesiæ sacerdotem.

Byrhthelm chosen to Canterbury.

He is set aside by Edgar.

Dunstan chosen to Canterbury.

27. Mox ille suscepto sacerdotio prolixa itinera quæ summis sunt sacerdotibus solita, Romanam prospero calle tetendit ad urbem; eratque Dominus socius itineris illius, et pura fide se retinentem[4] non reliquit, sicut Ipse per prophetam cuicunque[5] fideli repromisit, dicens,

He goes to Rome for the pall.

" Intellectum tibi dabo et instruam te in via hac qua " gradieris; firmabo super te oculos Meos;" et iterum, " Ego ante te ibo, et gloriosos terræ humiliabo." Ps. xxxii. 9. Isa. xlv. 2.

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[1] *pontifice*] eo, B.
[2] *ejusdem*] ipsius, B.
[3] *prædictus pontifex*] om. B.
[4] *se retinentem*] tr. B.
[5] *cuicunque*] cuique, B.

Cumque longum iter properando fecisset, et omnia victualia, quæ vel equino gestamine vel alia conductione ferebant, propriis vel alienis hominibus penitus fuissent expensa, ait procuratori suo, "Quid nobis administra- " tionis habes[1] ad noctis hujus sustentationem con- " ferendum?" At ille stomachando respondebat dicens, " Prorsus nihil, quia tu tibimet nil reservare curabas, " dum quicquid victus habere videbamur propriis vel " externis dapsili jussu distribueras." Et dixit illi episcopus, "Noli quæso nimium inde turbari; quoniam " Christus Dominus[2] noster erga omnes in Se cre- " dentes est satis largus et dives." At ille rursum, " Modo," inquit, "videbis quid tibi comessuro Christus " tuus sub hujus noctis spatio sit daturus." Et surrexit pontifex, quia tempus vespertinum instabat, ut in locis remotis congrua vespertinæ laudis officia adimpleret. Adhuc enim jam dictus procurator stulto murmure postclamabat dicens, "Perge oppido adorare tantum " Christum tuum, nil aliud nostræ necessitatis adten- " dens." Erant namque in hac[3] eadem villa, qua tunc vir Dei cum suis hospitabatur, cujusdam venerandi abbatis nuncii triduo beati adventum pontificis præstolantes; et venerunt priusquam ille cœpta vespertinæ laudis officia cantando perageret, cum opimis gratiarum muneribus omnibusque regionis illius deliciis, caritative ex ore abbatis fratrumque suorum fideli phalange salutantes episcopum. Quas ille benedictionum caritates gratanter accipiens, resalutavit gratiosum abbatem cum devoto secum morantium fratrum[4] contubernio. Postea vero ex isdem[5] muneribus fratrum quoque prædictorum caritate collatis,[6] diu deliciose properando vivebant: ac stulta dehinc murmuratio procacis ministri, firma ex fide pontificis sic superata, quievit.

His liberality on the way provokes his steward.

His wants are supplied by a kind abbot.

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[1] *administrationis habes*] habes ministrationis, B.

[2] *Dominus*] Deus, B.

[3] *hac*] om. B.

[4] *morantium fratrum*] commorantium, B.

[5] *isdem*] hisdem, B.

[6] *fratrum . . collatis*] om. B.

He receives the pall.

28. Tandem ad optatam Romanæ sedis æcclesiam, Domino ducente, pervenit, ubi pallium principale sub præsulatus privilegio, una cum benedictione apostolica gloriose suscepit: rursumque locellis sanctorum lustratis et solatis Christi pauperibus, per pacis itinera ad patriam usque remeavit. Et cum venisset summus Anglorum pontifex, spiritali charismate affectus,[1] cœpit[2] primum, ut[3] sublimior cæteris sacerdotum ordinibus,[4] sublimioribus Christi servitutibus se subjugare; ne cum aliis veræ fidei fomenta ministraret, vel iter rectum ad cœlestia verbo salutifero monstraret, ipse, ut ait apostolus, reprobus efficeretur, propriæque prædicationi contrarius. Deinde autem destructa[5] renovare, neglecta quæque justificare, loca sancta ditare, justos amare, errantes ad[6] viam revocare, Dei æcclesias fabricare, nomenque veri pastoris in omnibus adimplere.

His government as archbishop.

1 Cor. ix. 27

His visions and revelations.

29. Ego quidem si die noctuque[7] millenos sonos ferrea lingua contra naturam emitterem, nequirem utique[8] omnia beneficiosa virtutum suarum opera, quæ vel manifeste vel etiam secrete peregit, prompsisse.[9] Unum autem ex ipso me posse referre profiteor, quod quamvis hic carneo septus velamine deguisset in imis, mente tamen sive vigilaret, sive somno detentus quiesceret, semper manebat in superis, ut Paulus ait apostolus, " Nostra autem conversatio in cœlis est." Hoc nimirum sæpissime patuit, dum divina sacrorum modulaminum cantica quæ ab hominibus quidem nunquam accepit, sed ex beatis supernæ regionis civibus per sopitalem[10] revelationem capaci didicerat intellectu, ut hæc sequens sententia manifestat. Quadam nocte hujus visionis exemplar post pia precum studia post-

Phil. iii. 20.

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[1] *Et . . affectus*] om. B.
[2] *cœpit*] autem, ins. B.
[3] *ut*] eo quod, B.
[4] *ordinibus*] esset, ins. B.
[5] *destructa*] festinavit,i ns. B.
[6] *ad*] veritatis, ins. B.
[7] *noctuque*] nocteque, B.
[8] *utique*] om. B.
[9] *prompsisse*] promere, B.
[10] *sopitalem*] sospitem, B.; sopitatem, A.

His vision of his mother's marriage to a mighty king.

que novissimum completorii officium, dum beata membra quieti dedisset, certa demonstratione conspexit quomodo propria quæ se[1] huic mundo ediderat mater cuidam regi præpotenti ad conjugalem sponsam sub summo principum suorum testimonio dotisque sub titulo copularetur conjugio;[2] et ut fieret in his regalibus nuptiis tanta psallentium lætitia, ut omni ex parte jocundantes militiæ hymnum suavissimum cum laude sonora eidem[3] regi modulando personarent. Et dum hæc diu agerentur, accessit inter psallentium voces quidam juvenis niveo vestitus candore, dicens sub ipsa visione pontifici, "Nonne vides et audis quomodo omnis " hæc ovans multitudo regem magnum in turmis suis[4] " concrepando glorificatur, te solo silente? Tu quare " in præconio tanti regis condignas laudes ore soluto " nobiscum non resonas, qui præ cæteris præcipue gau- " dere deberes pro tanta copulatione parentis?" Tunc ille hujusmodi carmina se nescire respondebat, neque[5] prorsus quid in laude regis prælocuti cantaret ignorasse.[6] At ille, "Vis," inquit, "ut instruam quid te can- " tare oporteat?"[7] Et dum humili professione se velle testaretur, mox imbuit eum hujus exemplar antiphonæ; " O Rex gentium dominator omnium, propter sedem " majestatis Tuæ da nobis indulgentiam, rex Christe, " peccatorum. Alleluia."[8] Hac etenim sæpius iterata, et in eadem visione bene firmata, murmur gemabile expergefactus emisit; sed continuo jussit eam litterarum in memoria, priusquam oblivioni daretur, conscribere, et conscriptam cuidam monacho tam recentem didicisse[9] præcepit: et facto mane universos sibi subjectos, tam monachos quam etiam clericos, fecit hanc

He is taught a new anthem.

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[1] *se*] eum, B.
[2] *conjugio*] om. B.
[3] *eidem*] eodem, A.
[4] *in . . suis*] intermissius, B.
[5] *neque*] et, B.
[6] *ignorasse*] ignorare, B.
[7] *oporteat*] oportet, B.
[8] *Alleluia*] om. B.
[9] *didicisse*] discere, B.

He orders the anthem to be learned by the monks.

discendo personare: ipso semper inter modulantium voces cum nimio rore lacrymarum dicente, "Verus est " enim et non falsus, qui hanc mihi sonoram modulatio- " nem[1] sub noctis hujus visione inbuendo monstravit." Hinc proculdubio, sicut jam superius diximus, claruit, in quibus locorum partibus, dum corpore quiesceret, spiritu felici interim ipse[2] mansisset.

Interpretation of the vision.

30. Nunc vellem priusquam hinc longius legendo properarem, peritum mihi interpretem ad hujus miræ visionis mihi[3] mysterium coaptare; aut si quodam conamine valuissem, ipse ejus interpretationem pro posse virium, licet igne tepenti liquefactam, exsolvere. Matrem quoque almi pontificis, magni regis conjugio copulatam, sanctam puto designare æcclesiam, quæ vel illum vel etiam[4] alios quamplures more materno per spiritalem sacri baptismatis uterum a primi parentis privilegio regeneravit. Ipsa quidem, quæ[5] nunc summo regi, Christo videlicet Domino, per veræ fidei agnitionem, perque divini amoris amplexum velut sponsa conjuncta viro suo inhærere videtur, hæc[6] eadem sancta et mater æcclesia in Cantica Canticorum clamat, " Introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum, exsultabimus " et lætabimur in te, memores uberum tuorum super Cantic. i. 3. " vinum: recti diligunt te." Et iterum, "Introduxit " me rex in cellam vinariam: ordinavit in me cari- " tatem; fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis, quia " amore langueo. Læva ejus sub capite meo, et dextera " illius amplexabitur me," etc. Aliter autem autumo Cant. ii. 4-6. matrem ejusdem almi pontificis, regi præcelso in matrimonio conjunctam, proprii præsulatus æcclesiam posse designare, quam sub manu æterni Regis, Christi vide-

Dunstan's mother represents the church.

It may mean Dunstan's own church.

[1] *modulationem*] om. A.
[2] *ipse*] om. B.
[3] *mihi*] om. B.
[4] *etiam*] om. B.
[5] *Ipsa . . quæ*] sive quod, B.
[6] *hæc*] unde hæc, B.

licet Domini,[1] matris vice custodiendam ac pura virginitatis integritate solaturam[2] susceperat, ut idem Dominus pro populorum piaculis, crucis in patibulo affixus, matrem Suam Virginem virgini discipulo commendabat dicens; "Ecce tibi in matrem Meam com- "mitto genitricem." Turmas quoque militares, regi suo laudum canticum exsultando perstrepentes, supernos esse angelorum cives, qui quandoque[3] inimici hominum ob discordantem delictorum distantiam extiterant, non diffido: nunc vero, quoniam cœlestium simul et terrestrium incolas in unam patris familiam conjunctos esse conspiciunt, Deo regi vero die noctuque[4] hujusmodi carmina canere non desistunt; "Laudem "dicite Deo nostro omnes sancti Ejus, et qui timetis "eum pusilli et magni, quoniam regnavit Dominus "Deus noster omnipotens in cœlo, pariter et in terra: "et propterea[5] gaudeamus et exsultemus et demus Rev. xix. 5. "gloriam Ei." Hanc eandem gloriam cœlestis militiæ multitudo nato Domino decantans[6] in excelsis et in terra pacem bonæ voluntatis hominibus[7] nunciabat; S. Luke ii. 14. ipsam[8] equidem pacem quam beatus apostolus exponebat dicens, "Ipse est pax nostra Qui fecit utraque Eph. ii. 14. "unum," etc. Quod enim juvenem viderat veste nivea candentem, partim[9] se aspere increpantem quod in prædicti principis laude reticeret: angelum vel custodem ipsius esse non dubito, qui verbis eum spiritalibus erudiendo præmonuit ne muti canis taciturnitate permitteret latentem inimicum, furem videlicet diabolum, animas sibi commissorum, talentumve Dei sui furtim præripere: sed ut ore[10] perpatulo prædicaret, et pia cordis confessione personaret Christum esse

Mystical interpretation.

The hymn was dictated by Dunstan's guardian angel.

[1] *Christi . . Domini*] om. B.
[2] *solaturam*] solandam, B.
[3] *quandoque*] quando, B.
[4] *noctuque*] nocteque, B.
[5] *in cælo . . propterea*] om. B.
[6] *decantans*] decantabat, B.
[7] *bonæ . . hominibus*] tr. B.
[8] *ipsam*] ipsa, A.
[9] *partim*] parum, B.
[10] *ore*] ora, A.

Interpretation of the hymn.

regem et dominatorem omnium, cœlestium, terrestrium et infernorum; et ut Ipsum propter sedem nomenque majestatis Suæ, prius pro suis deinde pro populorum delictis interpellans exoraret, ut eis pius peccatorum extitisset indultor, pro quibus Se semel Paterno parens præcepto offerre non distulit.

Besides his visions of angels,

31. His modis prædictis[1] sæpe sacrorum carminum modulamina seu cæteras Deo decibiles laudes spiritu pervigili ex divinis inbutoribus didicerat, quamvis ejus humani artus in somni sopore subacti jacuissent, ut illud est Salomonis, "Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat." Et Cant. v. 2. iterum propheta Isaias[2] ait, "De nocte vigilat spiritus "meus ad Te Domine, quia lux mea præcepta Tua Isa. xxvi. 9. "sunt." Qui etiam in mundo positus, ipsos humani generis inimicos claro conspexit intuitu, ut imminente miserrima regis Eadmundi peremptione declaratum est. Hic itaque rex, dum cum suis propriæ dignitatis loca more solito convivaturus lustraret, contigit beato Dunstano adhuc abbati ejusdem regis interesse comitatui,[3] ad cujusdam primarii ducis, utpote Ælfstani,[4] ipso[5] in itinere proximum esse coequestrem. Et ecce repente progressionis viam coram se aspiciens, vidit inter regios tubicines horrendum inimicum ludendo cursitare. Quem cum diu attonite fuisset intuitus, ait prædicto comitanti secum primario, "Putas te, mi dilecte, videre "posse quod video?" At ille, "Nil," inquit, "præter "quod oportet conspicio." Et ille, "Signa ergo salubri "sanctæ crucis sigillo oculos proprios, et proba[6] si quod "video possis videre." Cumque jussu beati patris Dunstani levi sanctæ crucis impressione oculos suos consignasset, vidit ilico, quasi pro tanti viri testificatione, eundem Dei et hominum quem beatus pater viderat

he had a vision of an evil spirit before the death of king Edmund.

His companion Elfstan also sees the evil spirit.

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[1] *prædictis*] om. B.

[2] *propheta Isaias*] tr. B.

[3] *ejusdem . . comitatui*] existenti, B.

[4] *Ælfstani*] Probably Æthelstan ealdorman of East Anglia.

[5] *ipso*] ejus, B.

[6] *proba*]. probe, A.

inimicum, sub cujusdam homuncii nigelli [1] specie salientem; et [2] mox ex inimicabili nefandi dæmonis demonstratione utrique [3] deprehendere præscii, aliqua infortunia [4] quibusdam ex eis adesse futura; factisque scematibus crucis inimicus disparuit. The evil spirit appears as a black man.

32. Postquam autem de hac improba apparitione conspecti illusoris loqui quievissent, rogavit idem prælocutus princeps jam dictum Dei virum, quatinus sibi visionis suæ somnia nuper promulgata solvendo enexuisset. Dixit namque se per visionum indicia vidisse memoratum regem cum suis principibus universisque optimatibus, solita ex consuetudine, in palatii sui triclinio consedere; et inter læta ministrantium ac jocundantium convivia, eundem quem dixi regem [5] somno sopitum obdormisse; postque gravem dormitionis suæ sarcinam, omnes pœne principes vel sapientes ipsius in hyrcos caprasque humana relicta effigie commutasse. Cui confestim beatus Dunstanus prophetico instructus eloquio respondebat dicens, "Dormitio regis mortis ipsius indicium est; quod autem magnates vel sapientes illius in muta animalia et insensibilia [6] commutatos vidisti, futurum tempus designat, in quo pœne universi regionis istius principes rerumque rectores voluntate ultranea a via veritatis, cum ipsi sint sapientes, tanquam stolida animalia non habentes pastorem, deviabunt. Dunstan interprets for Elfstan a vision which he has had of the king's death.

33. His ita gestis ad vicum regium, de his semper sermocinantes pervenerunt. Factoque diei ipsius crepusculo vidit iterum vir Dei Dunstanus in vespertino regis convivio eundem vel quempiam alium inimicum inter frequentantes ministros oberrantem. Deinde ni fallor post triduum, ipso quoque die quo rex jam dictus ferro fuerat periturus, vidit tertio quendam ignotum, ignoro quidem Dunstan sees the evil spirit again, and on the third day, he sees him again.

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[1] *nigelli*] Æthiopis, B., over an erasure.
[2] *et*] sed, B.
[3] *utrique*] nutrique, A.
[4] *infortunia*] infortuna, A.
[5] *eundem . . regem*] om. B.
[6] *animalia . . insensibilia*] tr. B.

utrum inimicabilem seu etiam spiritalem virum, magnam tamen prolixæ cartulæ rotellam in manu gestantem, densim apicibus conscriptam, eo videlicet temporis momento quo rex a Missarum celebratione novissimo potiturus convivio, ad aulam usque redibat. Quem cum interrogaret quis esset, respondit voce Saxonica se ex Orientis regni partibus esse, seque una cum rege quædam nuptialis verbi habere secreta. Is dum esset regi nunciatus, atque in illius præsentiam supervenientium more induci deberetur, nusquam apparuit; sed eodem, proh dolor, die,[1] ut diximus, amaræ mortis acerbitas per sicam perfidi latronis penetralia cordis ipsius latenter introivit.

He says that he comes from the east kingdom, and disappears.

That day the king is killed.

Ecce enim quam mature de rege beati viri claruere præsagia. De principibus autem non nisi Eadwigi regis temporibus, si rex jure queat appellari qui nec sese nec alios quosque bene rexerat, patuere. Quoniam quidem beatus pater Dunstanus spiritu Dei, ut ait apostolus, agebatur, idcirco hæc et his similia quasi filius Dei promeruerat mysteria; in tantum quoque ut plerique eum assererent vanissima verborum deliramenta proferre, dum ore prophetico Sanctique Spiritus inbutione perplura prædiceret quæ postea signis evidentissimis conspeximus facta.

Rom. viii. 14.

Dunstan's prophecies are not attended to.

34. Hic etiam vidit et audivit sine cujuslibet difficultatis obstaculo quædam mira spiritalium secretorum, quæ nunc pangam mysteria. Erat namque vir venerandus in amore Dei, ut diximus, semper accensus, et propterea loca sacrorum cœnobiorum ob animarum ædificationem circuibat sollicitus. Venit etiam ex hac salubri consuetudine ad locum thermarum, ubi calida lympha de abyssi latibulis guttatim vaporando ebullit, quem incolæ locum[2] sub paterna lingua Bathum soliti sunt appellare. Et cum ibidem ab ejusdem loci fratribus caritative susceptus deguisset, vidit post prandii horam cujusdam scolasticuli

Dunstan visits the monastery at Bath.

[1] *proh . . die*] tr. B.

[2] *locum*] om. B.

ex Glestoniæ cœnobio animam, ad cœlorum sublimia, ab angelis Dei cum hymnorum laudibus deportatam, ac magnis supernorum civium exequiis hinc et inde stipatam. Venit autem postera die, quasi ad hujus miræ visionis testificationem, quidam e prædicto cœnobio præpositus, nomine Ceolwyus,[1] volens monastica consilia causasque[2] fratrum suorum cum pontifice pariter more solito captare.[3] Hunc ille de monasterio venientem, statim post datam benedictionem, sollicite si omnia cum fratribus suis essent prospera interrogavit; isque mortem pueri minime comminiscens respondit universa sub integritatis sospitate fuisse constituta. At ille sermone modesto, quoniam propriæ visionis fuerat admodum perspicacior illo, "Non autumo," inquit, "omnia apud omnes "humanis in excessibus fore profutura." Et ille, "Sunt "equidem omnia, excepto quod quidam nostræ societatis "puerulus hesterna die sub tempore meridiano necem "inevitabilem moriendo subibat." "Hoc est," inquit sanctus episcopus "quod dixi. Requiescat felix spiritus "ipsius secundum visionem nostram in pace."

He has a vision of the death of a boy at Glastonbury.

He receives the news that the vision was true.

35. Iterum autem dum proprio inmoraretur monasterio, hoc est Glæstoniæ, ambulabat idem[4] ovilium Christi solers[5] prævisor, cum quolibet ejusdem monasterii monacho, de domo in domum, fratrum quoque communium pabularia seu cætera eorundem[6] necessaria consideratum. Et dum remeando conspectis copiis veniret ad occidentalia antiquæ ecclesiæ climata, audivit eminus vocem cœlitus inopinato omine emissam, quæ secum incedentem monachum ad cœlestes delicias blando sub eloquio invitaverat, dicens, "Veni, veni, Ælfsige,[7] veni;" sic enim erat, ut opinor, ejusdem fratris nomen. Tunc beatus vir meriti clientis sui advocationem intellegens, dixit, "Ac-

He has a warning at Glastonbury of the death of one of the monks.

[1] *Ceolwyus*] Ceolwius, B.
[2] *causasque*] causaque, A.
[3] *captare*] captitare, B.
[4] *idem*] ut, B.
[5] *ovilium . . solers*] tr. B.
[6] *pabularia . . eorundem*] om. B.
[7] *Ælfsige*] Ælsige, B.

The warning comes true.

" celera ergo fortiter, frater, apparare [1] te quantocius; " quoniam diebus citissimis vocatus a Domino, ab hujus " mundi scoriis migrabis ad Ipsum." Quod quidem, diebus non adeo multis interpositis, ita de eo ut prædixerat, probabili indiculo adimpletum est. Dehinc [2] in eodem loco quadratam paribus angulis æcclesiam in modum facunculi construere jussit, et constructam in honorem [3] almi Baptistæ Johannis honorifice consecravit. O magnum gloriosi præsulis meritum, qui meruit vivens videre angelorum visiones vocesque mirabiles eorundem audire.

He builds a church to S. John the Baptist.

He goes round the holy places at Canterbury.

36. Huic igitur dum in propria præsulatus sui civitate commanebat, sanctæ consuetudinis inter cætera sublimitatum studia fuit, ut in secretis noctium temporibus sancta loca, propter multimodam populorum ad se venientium inhæsionem vel etiam aliorum multorum occupationem, sancta semper psalmodia decantando lustraret. Et venit hac [4] lege religionis innexus ad almi patris Augustini ædiculam,[5] nocturnis ut dixi temporibus oraturus; et dum se sacris inibi suppleret orationibus, processit ad orientalem Dei puerperæ æcclesiam tantumdem precaturus. Cumque ad hanc propinquando psallendoque venisset, forte ex insperato noctis eventu audierat insolitas sonoritarum voces, subtili modulamine in hac eadem basilica concrepantes. At ille continuo per quendam [6] patuli foraminis hiatum [7] inspiciens, vidit prælocutam ecclesiam omni esse fulgida luce perfusam, et virgineas turmas in choro gyranti hymnum hunc poetæ Sedulii cursitando cantantes, "Cantemus socii Domino,[8] etc." Itemque perpendit easdem post versum et versum voce reciproca, quasi in circuitionis suæ concentu, primum versicu-

At S. Augustine's he has a vision of holy virgins singing a hymn of Sedulius.

[1] *apparare*] præpara, B.; apparere, A.
[2] *Dehinc*] Deinde, B.
[3] *honorem*] honore, B.
[4] *hac*] ac, A. B.
[5] *ædiculam*] erased in B.
[6] *quendam*] quandam, B.
[7] *hiatum*] rimam, B.
[8] *Domino*] cantemus honorem, ins. B.

lum ejusdem hymniculi more humanarum virginum repsallere,[1] dicentes; in alternate verses.

" Cantemus, socii, Domino cantemus honorem;
" Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio," et cætera.

Hæc inquam veneranda donorum spiritalium insignia, aliaque innumera, quæ nec ego nec alius quisquam hujus vitæ incola quolibet humano eloquio prævalet enarrare, egregius præsul Dunstanus quoniam vias justitiæ ambulavit suscipere[2] meruerat. His innumerable spiritual gifts.

37. Nunc ergo quoniam universa bonorum actuum suorum exercitia, si die noctuque in summa meditationis sagacitate, somno naturali privatus immorarer, nequeo explanare; æquum tamen esse arbitror ut ea[3] saltim quæ vel egomet vidi vel[4] audivi, justa Dei ammonitione stimulatus, pro posse caritatis enodem. Huic etenim dum tædiosum hujus vitæ incolatum laboriose incoluit, summum studium fuit ut videlicet[5] sacris in orationibus et in Daviticis decem chordarum psalmodiis jugi frequentia insisteret, aut in vigiliis suavem somnum superando pernoctaret assiduis, aut in ecclesiasticis fervidus semper insudaret operari operibus; aut etiam mendosos libros, dum primam orientis diei lucem contueri potuit, erasa scriptorum falsitate corrigeret; aut ut[6] vera et falsa inter virum et virum sagaci ingenio judicando discerneret; aut inpacatos quosque vel rixantes placido sermone concordes efficeret et quietos; aut viduis, orphanis, peregrinis et[7] advenis in suis necessitatibus pio profuisset amminiculo; aut ut[6] justa sequestratione inepta vel injusta dissociaret conjugia, aut omnem humanum ordinem trifarie paratum in proprio soliditatis proposito verbo vitæ firmaret vel[4] exemplo, aut de justo conquisitionis suæ censu, vel citra,[8] His constant devotion. His literary and other labours.

[1] *repsallere*] resallere, A.
[2] *suscipere*] suspicere, B.
[3] *ea*] om. B.
[4] *vel*] et, B.
[5] *videlicet*] om. B.
[6] *ut*] om. B.
[7] *et*] om B.
[8] *vel citra*] om. B.

His labours in teaching.

ecclesias Dei placida probitate sublevaret ditandas; aut enim[1] utriusque ordinis inperitos, viros videlicet vel fœminas, quoscunque die noctuque[2] poterat cœlesti sale, id est, salutaris sapientiæ documento condiret. Ideoque omnis hæc Anglica terra doctrina ejus sancta repleta est, fulgens coram Deo et hominibus, sicut sol et luna: aut etiam quando debitas vernulitatis suæ horas cæterasque Missarum celebrationes Christo Domino solvere censuisset, tanta mentis integritate eas decantando exercuit, ut cum ipso Domino facie ad faciem fari videretur, licet antea e tumultuantis populi conflictibus nimium esset irritatus; oculis interim ac manibus more beati Martini in cœlum semper intentis, numquam ab oratione spiritum relaxans. Quotiesque[3] aliquod aliud opus perfectionis dignæ vel etiam laude[4] exerceret,[5] in sacris scilicet sacerdotum ordinationibus, ecclesiarumque vel altarium consecrationibus, seu etiam in quibuslibet rerum divinarum institutionibus, hoc semper nimio rore lacrymarum perẹgit, quas invisibilis habitator Sanctus quoque Spiritus, Qui in eo jugiter habitavit, ex oculorum rivulis potenter elicuit.

He filled England with light:

yet was always employed in prayer.

His many tears.

The end of his labours.

38. Cumque supernus inspector ad alta polorum fastigia,[6] hæc pia omniaque[7] beati viri studia diutissima speculatione conspiceret, tandem decrevit clementius finem laboriosorum luctaminum suorum, ut cum beatis angelorum agminibus remunerantem nummum acciperet in cœlis, pro quo sæpissime sudarat,[8] dum portaret leve onus Ipsius in terris.

Instabat namque dies pariter Domini Dei nostri Ascensionis, diesque advocationis ipsius, in quo tamen die[9] Domino dictante Missarum celebria sine aliqua læsione

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[1] *enim*] om. B.

[2] *die noctuque*] om. B.

[3] *que*] autem, B.

[4] *vel . . laude*] laudisque, B.

[5] *exerceret*] exercebat, B.

[6] *ad alta . . fastigia*] ab alto . . fastigio, B.; fastigio, A.

[7] *omniaque*] om. B.

[8] *sudarat*] sudabat, B.

[9] *tamen die*] om. B. The feast of the Ascension, May 17, 988.

compleverat, et novissimum verbi Dei fomentum commisso sibi populo multis cum lacrymarum imbribus ministravit; docens semper Dei Filium de summis cœlorum sedibus pro humana salute descendisse ad terras, quo Se Patremque Suum una cum Flamine sacro unum esse Deum patula patefaceret pietate; et ut eadem qua præfatus sum[1] die, devicto diabolo et liberato populo Suo, cœlos de quibus venire videbatur ascenderet. Qui cum hujus exhortationis clausulam terminando posuisset, nimia cordis caritate poposcit quod ipse primitus celeri petitione impetravit, hoc siquidem ut Omnipotens Dominus paterna pietate quibuscunque fidelibus membris videlicet Jesu Christi, scandendi facultatem condonaret[2] quo principium caputque quorumcunque Christus in prædicta die potenter ascenderat. His ille alloquiis cæterisque prædicamentis salubribus ter sub una diei ipsius celebratione commissorum corda affatim permonuit; primo enim ut ecclesiasticus ordo post lectionis Evangelium[3] jure insinuat; secundo post gratuitam collatæ sibi potestatis benedictionem; tertio vero post piæ pacis conferentiam quando communi carmine cecinimus, "Agnus Dei Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis," tunc quidem et ipse commissos sibi agniculos, a peccatorum prius ponderibus leviatos, pio[4] pastori, Agno videlicet Jesu Christo Qui mundi hujus crimina misertus tollere venit, sub pacis custodia servandos sine macula commendavit. Ipse tamen, post missarum celebria, nihilominus ipso die cum suis cœnaturus[5] adibat.

His last sermons, on the feast of the Ascension, A.D. 988.

He preache three times.

He entertains all comers with holy discourse.

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[1] *que . . sum*] om. B.

[2] *condonaret*] cundonaret, A.

[3] *lectionis Evangelium*] lectionem Evangelii, B.

[4] *pio*] Here the Arras MS. ends. The remainder is supplied from the S. Gall MS.

[5] *cœnaturus*] MS. B. proceeds as follows: "aulam lætus adibat uni- "versosque ad se venientes cum "omni gratulationis blanditia læti- "ficabat. Dum autem post horam "refectionis moribunda membra "paulatim ex more æstivi temporis "quieti subdidisse vellet, ecce os- "tensum est valde magnum mira- "culum, minime nobis inter plura "prætereundum. Ambulavit ita- "que, ut diximus, præfatus Dei "famulus Dunstanus ad requietio-

He goes to rest, and his last illness comes on.

Sed dum post horam refectionis moribunda membra paulatim ex more æstivi temporis quieti dedisset, ecce in hac eadem dormitionis requie vehemens morbus, index quoque ultimæ vitæ, venerandum patrem invadendo subrepsit, caputque candentis calvitiei cunctis solutum juribus ad occubitum usque subruendo coegit; ac beatum lumen diu coram Deo et hominibus renitens decima[1] kalendarum Junii pœnitus effocatum extinxit. His ille legibus avitæ mortis, ut nunc dixi, præventus, otio adgravationis suæ, die Sabbato scilicet qui requies interpretatur, senex plenusque felicium dierum ad perhennem requiem Domino Jesu Christo ducente commigravit; Cui est honor et imperium, virtus et potestas, una cum Patre pariter Sanctoque Spiritu, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

His death, (May 19, 968).

Explicit vita Sancti Dunstani, archiepiscopi et confessoris.

" nis suæ locum, in edito scilicet
" cœnaculi honorifice collocatum;
" vocatisque ad se perpaucis quos
" volebat, super sedile suum recu-
" bans sedendo paululum pausabat.
" Erat enim ob venturæ dormitionis
" suæ eventum cor illius ita adgra-
" vatum, ut nequiret se a lenti so-
" poris gravedine pœnitus abstinere.
" Interea denique cum ita dormitas-
" set, ecce subito, suis qui aderant
" intuentibus, mirabile dictu, una
" cum sella in qua residebat trabem
" adusque elevatus, atque iterum
" amminiculante superni inspecto-
" ris pietate leviter est depositus;
" ipsi vero qui præsentes erant,
" statim ut talia perspexerunt, ni-
" mio pavore cordetenus concussi,
" timide retrorsum fugerunt. Cum-
" que expergefactus evigilasset, in-
" terrogavit eos, 'Quid vidistis,
" 'filii? Quomodo ibam?' Illi
" autem per ordinem universa quæ
" viderant exposuerunt ei. Servus
" autem Dei Dunstanus, sicut Do-
" minus noster discipulis Suis diffa-
" mare prohibuit visionem in monte
" cœlitus ostensam, ita portendere
" præcepit istam, dicens, 'Mea vita-
" 'cosmicali comito, nemini dixeri-
" 'tis visionem.'"

[1] Properly decima quarta: May 19: the Saturday after the feast of the Ascension.

II.

EPISTOLA ADELARDI AD ELFEGUM ARCHIEPISCOPUM DE VITA SANCTI DUNSTANI.[1]

Adelard, in obedience to the invitation of Elfege,

Domino vere sancto Ælfego, sanctæ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopo,, Adalardus sancti Blandiniensis cœnobii exiguus famulus. Patrem tuum sanctum Dunstanum voluisti et literis commendari [2] et musis. Sed quoniam vel jussus parui, et indignus dignum, peccator sanctum, tangere præsumpsi, veniam humi stratus peto. Nam pungit me memoria Ozæ sacerdotis, arcam Dei
2 Sam. ii. 6. Israel irreverenter tangentis; et, quamvis jumentum Balaam, officium sumpsi aut angeli aut hominis sancti, tamen respiro confidens per me tam tuis quam etiam filiorum tuorum satisfieri votis. Suscipe, pater, obedientiæ debitum ex quo etsi debentem nulla suis meritis respexit gratia, te tamen pro pie imperato debita respiciet corona. Scias autem in opere isto historiam vitæ ejus non contineri, sed ex eadem vita quasi brevem sermonis versiculum ita compactum et ita distinctum, ut et in conventu piorum auditorum totus quasi historialiter recenseatur, et vice sermonis inter sacras vigilias in lectiones ter quaternas distinguatur, ea videlicet ratione ut ab exordio usque ad sanctam consummationem vitæ, eodem fere sensu eisdemque miraculis, et responsoria lectionibus suis, et lectiones respondeant responsoriis suis; vale præsul gloriose.

presents not a biography, but a series of lessons on the life of Dunstan.

[1] The text is from the Cotton MS. Nero C. 7 (C.); the various readings are those of the MS. Lambeth 159 (L.); and the Gray's Inn MS. 3 (G.), which omits the prologue.

[2] *commendari*] om. L.

In depositione sanctissimi patris nostri Dunstani: lectio prima.

The example of Dunstan to be used for edification.

Quia solemnibus excubiis transitum beati Dunstani colimus, quo eum ad Christum migrasse credimus, post eum fratres carissimi suspiremus, et ad Christum post eum læti quique tendamus. Sed quoniam mortalitate gravati ad nos relabimur, quæ de eo agnovimus inter hymnos divinos conferamus, et sermone exhortatorio quasi scalam nobis post eum tendendi erigamus. Ac primo dicendum quod tam[1] sanctis parentibus ortus claruit, ut eos sæculo exemptos inter choros conspicere mereretur angelicos. Ipso autem maternis adhuc retento visceribus, de præsentato puero Jesu in templo dies illuxit celebris. Cumque mater ejus et plebs Christicola cereis et lampadibus, ut eo die moris est, in templo staret corusca, ecce cunctorum pariter luminaria nutu Dei repente extincta sunt. Attonitis autem de novitate prodigii omnibus, miraculum accessit miraculo. Ut enim Dominus revelaret quid per hoc signum indicii daret, solam duntaxat matrem ejus per ignem respexit, per quem cereus quem manu tenebat priori subito luce incanduit. Et factum est ut totius sanctæ collectæ illius luminaria ex illo splendorem luminis sint mutuata. Quid, fratres mei, Deum hoc in facto dicemus præfigurasse, nisi filium ex ea nasciturum, in matris jam utero a Se electum, et æterni luminis ministrum affuturum?

See B. p. 7.

The miracle of the candles on the feast of the Purification before his birth.

Lectio IIda.

His education and illness at Glastonbury.

Natus ergo puer Dei, sacro est[2] lavacro intinctus, et Glestoniæ[3] divino servitio mancipatus,[4] ubi primordia infantiæ decora honestatæ indole[5] acerrimus, ut interdum solet, corripuit languor. Quo cum putaretur mox

B. pp. 7, 8.

[1] *tam*] sanctam, ins. L.
[2] *est*] om. L.
[3] *Glestoniæ*] Glastoniæ, G. L.
[4] *mancipatus*] mancipatur, G.
[5] *honestatæ indole*] honestatem indolem, G.

B. pp. 7, 8. dissolvi, ecce intempestæ noctis silentio desuper respectus, cœlesti immo et angelica, ut vere credi fas est, medela pristinæ saluti est redonatus. Ilico surgens et cœlestis medici ductamine perfruens ad monasterium, nescius quid in se divinitus ageretur, impiger tendit. At callidus temptator ejus saluti invidens, fantasticam canum suorum ei importunitatem suscitat, quos in se horrido latratu irruentes tenui virga nescienter fugavit. Ventum ergo est ad aulæ Dei januam, quam postibus[1] hærentem offendens, ascensorium, quo se artifices ad sarta tecta templi mittebant, secure transcendit, sicque altera tecti parte descendens ductu divino cubiculum petiit, et se quieti nescius dedit. Ubi mane inventus cum consuleretur qualiter illo incolumis adveniret,[2] qui sero pene contiguus morti exterius erat relictus, hoc se ignorare respondit, et rumorem miraculi grata ignorantia auxit. At matrona cujus curæ ægrotans est creditus, cum usque ad transcensum pinnæ indefessa exploratrix cuncta prospiceret,[3] cœlesti prodigio fidele testimonium perhibuit. Miraculum plane divinum, cujus cum se pius[4] puer negaret conscium, totum constat cœlitus peractum et totum fuisse Deificum.

His wonderful preservation in climbing the wall of the church.

He is found asleep inside the church.

Testimony of his nurse.

Lectio IIIᵗⁱᵃ.

Hac ergo signorum gratia primævam commendans ætatulam, tam Deo quam omnibus complacuit pie viventibus. Sicut enim meritis, ita crevit et gratiis. Cumque jam flos adolescentiæ in annis adolesceret, de Glæstonia egressus archiepiscopo Dorobernensi Athelmo,[5] patruo scilicet suo, se junxit et cohabitare cœpit. In quo idem pontifex gratiam Dei admirans et futurorum honorum indicia prævidens, in palatio eum præsentavit

He goes to live with archbishop Athelm, who introduces him to the king.

[1] *postibus*] Dei, ins. G.
[2] *adveniret*] advenisset, G.
[3] *prospiceret*] perspicere, G.
[4] *pius*] om. G.
[5] *Athelmo*] Adelmo, C.; Edelmo, G. The most probable date for Athelm's pontificate is from 914 to 923; but he is often confounded with his successor Wulfhelm, who held the see of Canterbury from 923 to 942.

He is promoted by Athelstan.

et regi Æthelstano, quem sacra unctione livit,[1] magno affectu commendavit; ubi quotidie crescens virtutibus magnus coram rege factus est et principibus. At rege eodem inter intelligibilia disposito, frater ejus Edmundus monarchiam imperii suscepit, et ipse[2] beato Dunstano summissus et ejus consiliis gloriosus. A quo etiam[3] diversis honoribus sublimatus locum quoque in quo educatus est, Dei informandum servitio suscepit. Unde primum eliminato quicquid oculis superni Inspectoris[4] offendebat, monachus et abbas effectus,[5] monachorum ibi scholam primo primus instituere cœpit. Cujus ibi studio sic in brevi sancta excrevit religio, ut sicut dixi de lampade prægnantis genetricis suæ cæterorum per omnem ecclesiam lampades accensas, ita per eum ex hoc loco columen religionis monasticæ toto Anglorum orbe diffusum sit. Cum autem eidem regi regina sua Ælfgeva filium genuisset, regem videlicet pacificum nomine Edgarum, sanctus Dunstanus in cella sua iis quæ ad Deum pertinent ex more intendebat, et audivit quasi in sublimi voces psallentium atque dicentium, "Pax "Anglorum ecclesiæ exorti nunc[6] pueri et Dunstani "nostri tempore." Quod ita fuisse omnibus pene notum est.

B. pp. 21–25.

Edmund gives him Glastonbury.

He has a divine revelation at the birth of Edgar.

Lectio iiii.

Edred takes him for his chief minister.

Interfecto autem in palatio rege Eadmundo inclito fratri ejus Eadredo thronus regius confirmatus est. Hic beatum Dunstanum præfatis regibus non impar amore coluit, honoribus auxit; cujus prudentiæ et consilio tam se quam omne commisit imperium. Interea Ælfegus[7] sanctæ recordationis Wentanus episcopus, qui beatum Dunstanum monachatus et presbyteratus gradu decoravit, huic vitæ modum fecit. Præfatus autem rex Dunstanum subrogare

B. pp. 29–32.

[1] *livit*] linivit, G.
[2] *ipse*] ipso, L.
[3] *etiam*] om. L.
[4] *superni Inspectoris*] om. G.
[5] *monachus . . effectus*] om. G.
[6] *nunc*] vere, L.
[7] Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, 934–951. The occasion here specified is referred in the earlier life to the death of Ethelgar of Crediton.

volens per reginam matrem Eadgivam[1] eum super his convenit. Quæ ad se accersitum regio ascivit convivio. Cui inter prandendum de episcopio suadere et regiam sententiam cœpit aperire. Ad hæc ille, "Rogo," inquit, "domina, hujusmodi te precibus ultra cessare. Vere "enim dico tibi me diebus filii tui regis pontificio non "promovendum." Dixit hoc vir Dei regem diligens, nec ei abesse causa sacerdotii volens. Displicuit autem verbum hoc coram Domino, ut ei nocte insequenti[2] per visum revelatum est. Visum enim est sibi se Romam adisse, et adoratis apostolis ilico redisse. Cumque ad Montem Gaudii applicuisset, ecce sanctus Petrus[3] cum coapostolis Paulo atque Andrea occurrit,[4] singuli singulos gladios manu tenentes eique offerentes; et gladio sancti Petri aureis inscriptum legebatur litteris, "In principio "erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus "erat Verbum." Gladii vero sanctorum Pauli atque Andreæ propriis inscripti erant nominibus. Tunc sanctus[5] Andreas blande ex evangelio modulando cecinit, "Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me, quia "mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem "animabus vestris." Sanctus autem Petrus[6] arguendo virgam levavit et in palmam levem ictum vibrando dixit, "Hoc habeas commonitorium, de non recusando ulterius "jugo Domini." Ad hæc evigilans reliquum noctis divinis laudibus impendit. Mane autem regi visionem retulit admiranti. Rex vero ut erat divina eruditione præditus, "Cum gladii," inquit, "quos ex[7] apostolica "benedictione suscepisti armaturam prætendant Spiritus "Sancti, scias pro certo per gladium beati Petri verbo "Dei inscriptum, te archiepiscopatus solio cœlitus donan-"dum." Non ergo cecidit in terram de his omnibus quæ gloriose locutus est gloriosus rex.

Edred proposes to make him bishop of Winchester.

He refuses to be a bishop whilst Edred is king.

His vision of the three apostles.

S. John, i. 1.

S. Matt. xi. 29.

S. Peter strikes him with his rod.

Edred interprets the vision.

[1] Edgivam, G. Eadgifu, wife of Edward the Elder.

[2] *nocte insequenti*] in nocte sequenti, L.

[3] *Petrus*] apostolus, ins. L.

[4] *occurrit*] occurrerit, L.

[5] *sanctus*] ei, ins. G.

[6] This particular is assigned in the earlier life to S. Andrew.

[7] *ex*] in, G.

Lectio v.

Dunstan may be believed to be present with the worshippers.

Inter hæc, carissimi, spem erigamus et beatum Dunstanum nobis de se colloquentibus et Christum in eo mirabilem prædicantibus veraciter adesse credamus,[1] lampadibus ei accensis appareamus, atque pervigiles inceptis de eo colloquiis divinis perseveremus. Et ut ad ordinem redeamus; rex[2] Eadredus ægrotavit et desperatus est, qui missa celeri legatione patrem confessionum suarum Dunstanum accersivit. Quo festine ad palatium tendente et medium jam iter peragente, vox desuper, ipso audiente, clare insonuit: "Rex Edredus " nunc in pace quiescit." Ad hanc vocem equus cui insedit, pondus vocis angelicæ ferre non valens, absque ulla sessoris læsione, cum interitu suo in terram corruit. Comitibus autem de repentino jumenti interitu stupore attonitis, vir Dei et de voce angelica et de obitu regis quod latebat aperuit. Illis ex hoc Deum benedicentibus et spiritum defuncti in manus Creatoris commendantibus; ecce nuncii post nuncios occurrunt, quodque vox de cœlo sonuit dictis innuunt. Et emenso jam itinere, luctu ululantia palatii mœnia pater reverendus intrat, ubi erat videre quid moneat sors conditionis humanæ. En rex paulo ante milite septus, bysso et purpura splendidus, nunc lamentabile funus, verme et putredine operiendus. Ostendit sane hic vir virtutum fidem et veritatem, qui gratiam, quam præbuit vivo, præbuit et defuncto. Cæteris enim retro abeuntibus, et exsequias regias fastidientibus, ipse cum suis glebam cadaveris in sua suscepit, et sepulturæ honestissimæ tradidit. Sic quoque et fratrem ejus Eadmundum olim funeravit et Glestoniæ matri terræ commendavit.

B. p. 31.

Last illness of Edred.

Dunstan warned of his death.

He finds the body of the king deserted and buries him.

He had before buried Edmund at Glastonbury.

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[1] *veraciter . . credamus*] om. L. | [2] *rex*] præfatus, ins. G.

Lectio VI.

Sepulto rege, beatus Dunstanus remenso itinere monasterio recipitur. Hic eo tempore trabes maxima in culmen templi levabatur, et cum tecto jam foret contigua, in præceps multorum minitans interitum vergi cœpit. Sublatus in cœlum cum fragore ruinæ clamor populi Dunstanum oculos cum dextra signo salutis armata opponere coegit. Cerneres ilico vergenti machinæ Dei potentiam obviare, et invisibili quodam effectu eandem machinam in locum ex quo labi cœperat revehi. Quis ibi a laudibus Creatoris se contineret? Hæc et talia ad lucra animarum fieri dolens, diabolus ut virum sanctum exturbet omnia temptamentorum genera percurrit. Quem, nocte quadam orantem, in ursi effigie aggreditur et cambuttam brachiis complexans, frendens ore et dentibus, de manu sancti auferre conatus est. In quem vir Dei imperterritus insurgens cambutta in altum triumphaliter sublata horrendum monstrum cædendo persequitur. Quo psallente "Exsurgat Deus et dissi- "pentur inimici Ejus, et fugiant qui oderunt Eum "a facie Ejus," per subdola bestiarum transformatum fantasmata evanuit. Contritus hic coluber tortuosus, Edwii regis se ingerit palatio, ubi per aliam Jezabel et palatinos quorum corda noverat, verba sibilans anguina, ad hoc regem provocabat ut columnam lucis[1] eliminare et regno juberet exterminare. Gemente[2] super hoc grege Domini, diabolus horum se incentorem fuisse turpi prodidit cachinno. Dunstanus autem exsilio pro justitia ascriptus mare transiit, regiæ stirpis virum magnum videlicet adiens Arnulfum.[3] Hic tempore eodem nobile quoddam cœnobium nomine Blandinium, a sancto quondam Amando structum,[4] in majori elegantia renovavit, ibique magnum Dei sacerdotem Wan-

Dunstan prevents the fall of a beam by making the sign of the cross.

B. pp. 27, 28.

The devil attacks him in the shape of a bear.

Ps. lxviii. 1.

He inspires the evil woman to provoke Edwy against Dunstan.

B. pp. 32–34.

He goes into exile at Blandinium.

[1] *lucis*] cœnobio, ins. G.

[2] *Gemente*] Veniente, L.; autem, ins. G.

[3] Arnulf, count of Flanders, son of Baldwin II. and Elfthritha, daughter of Alfred: he ruled from 918 to 965.

[4] *structum*] constructum, G.

He stays with count Arnulf.

dregisilum cum sociis archipræsulibus nutu Dei transtulit. Quo beatus Dunstanus aliquamdiu moratus exempla lucis imitanda reliquit. In quo exsilio Tua Christe gratia non est destitutus, Qui inter crebra

He is visited by S. Andrew.

sanctorum solamina sanctum ei Andream apostolum consolationis Tuæ gratia destinasti. In quo Te ipsum magnus ille famulus Tuus amplexus, Alleluia totis animi organis dixit, gratias Tibi et hymnos persolvit.

Lectio vii.

He is recalled by Edgar;

Misertus interea Omnipotens Anglorum ecclesiæ Eadgari adolescentis, futuri scilicet regis, spiritum excitavit, ut necessarium regno exsulem quantocius reduceret, firmataque sapientum consilio sententia, eum ab insigni Arnulfo cum honore et gloria revocavit. Quem honorifice susceptum, Dei plenum gratia, in episcopatum

and made bishop of Worcester.

B. p. 37.

Wigracistris[1] ecclesiæ promovit. In cujus ordinatione cum Odo archiepiscopus debitum omne rite[2] persolveret, titulo ecclesiæ cui episcopus datus est conticito, eum ecclesiæ Christi Dorobernensis metropolis cunctis admirantibus titulavit. Super quo a circumstantibus modeste redargutus, "Scio," inquit, "carissimi, quid "loquatur in me Deus." Dixit hoc[3] sacer pontifex per Spiritum Sanctum, Cujus ministerio fungebatur, futuræ in ordinatum a se sanctum antistitem gratiæ Dei

Odo consecrates him as archbishop.

He becomes bishop of London;

præscius. Adaucto deinde Lundoniensis ecclesiæ præsulatu tanquam a Domino[4] audiret "Amice, ascende "superius," gemini pontificatus claruit insigni. Et ut

S. Luke, xiv. 10.

and at last archbishop of Canterbury.

veniamus ad summam, prædicto archiepiscopo patribus suis apposito, cum electione totius ecclesiæ in cathedra patriarchatus successit, cui eum ordinationis tempore Spiritus Sanctus prætitulavit. Num inter hæc, fratres mei, præclara visio memoriæ occurrit, qua ex apostolica benedictione tres ut dictum est gladios promeruit? In

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[1] *Wigracistris*] Wygracistris, L.
[2] *rite*] om. L.
[3] *hoc*] autem, G.
[4] *a Domino*] om. L.

qua sicut per gladium verbo Dei inscriptum primam Anglorum sedem Christi scilicet ecclesiam sentimus, sic per gladium Pauli Lundoniam ejusdem apostolatu insignem perpendimus. At gladius a Sancto Andrea oblatus Rofecistris infulæ speciem tenet, in qua etsi non[1] sedit, cura tamen et sollicitudine suam fecit. Sic Omnipotens pro justitia patientes non solum in futuro, sed etiam in præsenti, exaltat, Cujus beneficiis æternis sit gratiarum actio in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Fulfilment of the vision of the three apostles.

Lectio viii.

Dunstanus ergo archiepiscopus, doctus[2] uti armatura verbi Dei olim per visum in gladio verbo Dei inscripto præsignata,[3] et sibi tandem a Domino credita, sæculo et principibus sæculi altior, in ipsum serpentem antiquum ut gigas insurrexit, membra ejus debellavit et armis in quibus confidebat denudavit. Humiles erexit, mitibus blanditus est, Deum timentes et colentes provexit, auctoritate et animi virtute ipsis etiam regibus quasi imperator dominatus est. Eadgarum regem pacificum et filium ejus sanctum Eadwardum martyrem, cum rege Æthelredo, in throno patrum suorum sacra unctione perfusos collocavit. Hierarchia ecclesiastica nisi aut claros abbates aut monachos religiosos fungi non permisit, et ipsos divina interdum revelatione designatos, ut subjecto probatur exemplo. Beato igitur Athelwoldo[4] a se educato et in præsulatu Wentoniæ[5] promoto ante se ad cœlestia præmisso, piissimus eique usitatissimus Andreas per visum astitit apostolus, hoc oraculo usus, "Abbatem nomine Elfegum Wentoniæ "consecrabis episcopum." Qui moræ[6] nescius, Athelredum mox regem per internuncios convenit, Dei et sancti apostoli suamque super Elfego abbate aperiens

The excellence of Dunstan as archbishop.

He anointed Edgar, Edward, and Ethelred.

He is miraculously bidden to consecrate Elfege to the see of Winchester.

[1] *etsi non*] et, G.

[2] *doctus*] ductus, L.

[3] *præsignata*] signata, G.

[4] Ethelwold was bishop of Winchester from 963 to 984.

[5] *Wentoniæ*] Wyntoniæ, L.

[6] *moræ*] mox, L.

Ethelred complies with Dunstan's admonition.

voluntatem. Rex autem, Dunstanum fidei et veritatis cubum pernoscens solidissimum, ejusque invincibili auctoritati contraire sciens periculum, præfatum abbatem sua munificentia et beati Dunstani benedictione donatum Wentoniam destinavit ad perennem lætitiam civium, ubi postquam annis sedit viginti tribus, patris sui Dunstani meritis Cantiam translatus et archiepiscopus ibi levatus est. Actum anno incarnati Verbi millesimo sexto.[1] Magna sunt hæc quibus, O pater Dunstane, angelica visione et apostolica visitatione dignissime, nostro attolleris quocunque præconio. At majora tibi debentur, sed hæc polluti labii cymbala tangere non merentur. Quæ ergo majora, quod tibi purissimo cœlestium contemplatori columbam in Jordane Christo baptizato visam, velut alteri Johanni bis videre datum est; primo quidem ante, secundo autem[2] post susceptum episcopatum. Sed tantæ puritatis visione purioris eloquentiæ auctori commissa, utinam in aures ecclesiæ de transitu tuo ad Christum quid digne referam ad Quem semper expeditum te dederat.[3]

Elfege became archbishop in A.D. 1006.

Dunstan twice saw the mystic Dove.

Lectio ix.

The warning to watch and pray, not knowing when the time of death comes.

"Videte," inquit Domínus,[4] "vigilate et orate, nescitis "enim quando tempus sit." Quoniam per viam mira- S. Mark, xiii. 33. culorum Dunstani patris incedentes, et ad sanctum ejus transitum quem die hodierna colimus loquendo tendentes, in hæc verba sancti evangelii offendimus, quibus ipse viam ad cœlestia ducentem, videndo, vigilando et orando direxit;—ad hæc consideranda ita cor erigamus, domini et fratres mei, ut et ea beati Dunstani gloriæ aperte respondeant, et Dunstani gloria eis grata vicissitudine respondeat. "Videte," inquit Dominus, "vigilate et orate." Dunstanus igitur videns

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[1] *millesimo sexto*] quinquagesimo et sexto, G.

[2] *autem*] om. L.

[3] *ad . . dederat*] Ipsi honor et imperium in sæcula sæculorum, Amen, G.

[4] *inquit Dominus*] om. G.

Rev. iv. 6. vidit, qui velut animal cœleste ante et retro oculatum, oculis apertis, laqueos inimici cavit et prudenter declinavit. Vigilavit ut pastor bonus et super se et super B. p. 44. gregem Domini sui, unde et merito cum pastoribus, Christo nato pernoctantibus, crebro est cœlesti visitatione gloriatus, Qui transformans in Se sponsam quæ Cant. v. 2. loquitur in Canticis canticorum, "Ego dormio et cor "meum vigilat," dum corpore interdum dormiebat corde pervigil cœlestibus intendebat. Nonne quod dicimus hoc clarebit exemplo? quod nocte quadam sancto sopori deditus, tanquam ad superna raptus, angelicis mulcebatur concentibus: ibi sanctos spiritus Sanctissimæ Trinitati in laudem et hominibus in salutem audivit B. p. 21. modulantes et dicentes, "Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson." Rursus aliquando cum suis sedenti, et cuidam artificio manibus, sed mente orationi et cœlestibus intendenti, apparuit gloria Dei. Ecce enim cithara ejus, sæpe manibus ejus et digitis sanctificata, ut forte parieti hærebat affixa, cum nil pateretur humani ingenii, ac si arte et pulsu tacta incitaretur, distincte hanc ei antiphonam, sicut ab ecclesia canitur modulando resonabat,[1] "Gaudent in cœlis animæ sancto-"rum qui Christi vestigia sunt secuti," et cætera usque in finem. Dulcedo citharæ aures omnium delectabat, sed signum sine exemplo stupidos reddebat. Ipse vero sanctorum conscius secretorum quibus angelicum quem solus vidit conjubilare intellexit citharœdum, gloriabatur in Domino. Sic ergo sive dormiens sive aliud quid corporaliter agens, semper orando vigilabat et vigilando orabat.

Dunstan obeyed this command.

His heavenly visions.

His harp miraculously sounded an anthem of warning.

Lectio x.

Quare autem vigilandum sit et orandum subinfertur, cum dicitur, "Nescitis enim quando tempus sit;" et interposita similitudine de homine peregre profecto[2]

The time of death uncertain.

[1] *hanc . . resonabat*] om. G. | [2] *peregre profecto*] tr. L.

An argument for being always ready.

sermonem attentius commendat dicens, "Vigilate ergo, S. Mark, xiii. 35.
" nescitis enim quando dominus domus veniat." Plano sermone commendat nobis Dominus diem vocationis nostræ, paratos nos desiderans invenire. Sed cum

Dunstan and others had forewarning of his death.

plures electorum tum etiam beatum Dunstanum diem vocationis suæ certum est præscisse, nec sibi tantum soli, sed aliis quoque super eo revelatum fuisse quid est quod pius magister dicit, "Nescitis quando tempus " sit," et item "nescitis quando dominus domus veniet." Ad quod dicendum quia quod interdum sanctis vocatio eorum revelatur, hoc prius orando, vigilando et legitime certando promeruerunt. Unde cum Paulus diceret, "Ego 2 Tim. iv. 6.
" jam delibor et tempus resolutionis meæ instat," subjunxit, "bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, 2 Tim. iv. 7.
" fidem servavi." Hujusmodi ratione liquet venerabilis Dunstani transitum tum sibi quam etiam aliis revelatum fuisse. Quod si[1] diligenter audieris exempla re-

On the feast of the Ascension, Alfgar, afterwards bishop of Elmham, had a vision of Cherubim and Seraphim calling Dunstan away.

texam. Dies Dominica Ascensione festivus sexto decimo kalendas [Junii][2] effulsit, diem quo sacer Dunstanus cœlos conscendit præcedens tertius. Et erat quidem nocte eadem unus ex clero ecclesiæ Christi nomine Alfgarus,[3] qui post nobilis in Elmham claruit episcopus, somno quidem carnem sed divinæ visionis refectione refovens spiritum. Huic salubriter soporato visum est in ecclesia se fuisse, et ecce dominus Dunstanus in solio pontificali sedens, astanti sibi clero jura canonica dictans. His intendenti visa sunt agmina cœlestia coronis aureis rutilantia et stolis albis candentia per omnes ecclesiæ januas magna irruere frequentia. Hæc sese Cherubin atque Seraphin esse proclamantia, et inthronizatum Christi antistitem festa nimis ambitione circumdantia, "Salve," inquiunt, "Dunstane noster! " si paratus es veni et nostro gratiosus jungere con-
" tubernio." Respondit Dunstanus, "Scitis, O sancti " spiritus, hodie Christum cœlos ascendisse, et mei esse

[1] *si*] om. L.
[2] Blank in C. and L.
[3] Alfgar was bishop of Elmham from 1001 to 1021.

" officii concursum in sinum matris ecclesiæ populum " communicare verbo et sacramento Christi. Ideoque " modo venire nequeo." Et dixerunt, "Paratus esto " die Sabbati nobiscum hinc Romam transire, quia " oportet te coram summo pontifice nobiscum Sanctus, " Sanctus, Sanctus, æternaliter canere." His dictis visio disparuit. Hoc ideo per alterum, fratres carissimi, revelare summæ placuit divinitati, ut sanctitas transituri præconio fulciretur celebris testimonii.[1]

Dunstan is to die on the next Saturday.

Lectio xi.

Se quoque de imminente sibi gloria[2] divinitus edoctum inter sacrosancta ejusdem diei demonstravit solemnia. Cum enim ad locum sanctæ exhortationis suæ ventum est, O qualia, O quanta per organum suum Spiritus Sanctus effudit! Nam in verbis gratiæ quæ procedebant conspectui solis hujus apparuit quem ore et corde gessit. Evangelizavit ergo qualiter nunquam ante evangelizavit, et exemplo Domini passuri discipulis in cœna mystica pacem et caritatem Suam commendantis, Carnem Suam et Sanguinem in cibum spiritualem transferentis, commissam sibi ecclesiam Deo assignavit, verbo erexit atque auctoritate apostolica a peccatis omnibus absolvit; postremo sacrificio Agni Dei oblato, Deo reconciliavit. Ante communionem vero sanctam, data ex more benedictione ad populum, solito Spiritu Sancto afflatus processit, et sanctarum sententias benedictionum gratiosus absolvit. Dein commissa omnibus pace et caritate sua, commissorumque absolutione rursus iterata, cunctis velut in angelum Dei intendentibus " Vale ultimum " dixit. Adhuc autem populo sanctum ejus colloquium desiderante et desiderabilem ejus vultum ardenter sitiente satisfactum judicavit, et vitam suam epulaturus ad sanctum altare rediit; sicque pane vitæ refectus, diem illum spiri-

The wonderful character of his last discourse.

His last public communion.

His farewell.

[1] *Quod si . . . testimonii*] om. G. | [2] *gloria*] hora, G.

tuali lætitia consummavit. Nonne his claret, domnii et patres, beatum Dunstanum pretiosæ mortis suæ tempus præscisse? Sed, ut dictum est, merito præcedentis vitæ. At jam nunc quomodo invenerit eum Dominus vigilantem audiamus. Die ergo Ascensionis Dominicæ prædicta, cœpit columna Dei lente viribus destitui; languore autem prævalente, lectulo suscipitur, in quo tota sexta feria cum nocte sequenti cœlestibus intendens, advenientes et recedentes in Domino confortabat. Mane autem[1] Sabbati hymnis jam[2] matutinalibus peractis, sanctam adesse jubet fratrum[3] congregationem. Quibus iterum[4] spiritum commendans, viaticum sacramentorum Christi coram se celebratum, ex mensa cœlesti suscepit. Unde gratias agens Deo psallere cœpit; "Memoriam fecit mirabilium Suorum misericors " et miserator Dominus; escam dedit timentibus Se." Inter quæ verba spiritum in manibus Creatoris reddens, in pace quievit. O nimis felicem quem Dominus invenit ita vigilantem. Sepultus sane est in sepulcro a seipso condito, ubi quosque transeuntium pontificaliter monet sortis propriæ.

His last hours.

He takes the last sacrament.

Ps. cxi. 4, 5.

His death and burial.

S. Luke, xii. 37.

Lectio xii.

Et factum est in hoc sacro transitu in cœlo gaudium angelis, pius luctus in ecclesiis, confusio in inferis. Certum est enim Jerusalem cœlestem animam hanc sanctam obviis lætitiæ ministris suscepisse. Incitabant enim eam crebra suspiria cum ingenti desiderio post se emissa. Num sanctos angelos laudes Dei in adventu ejus credendum est siluisse, quem totiens organorum suorum demulcebant suavitate? Maxime autem dum per sancta cherubin et seraphin, velut quidam angelus aut archangelus ad concinendum sine fine Sanctus,[5] gloriose per testem idoneum invitari sit visus. Patriarchæ autem

Dunstan enters into the company of the Angels;

of the Patriarchs;

[1] *autem*] facto, ins. G.
[2] *jam*] om. G.
[3] *fratrum*] om. L.
[4] *iterum*] om. G.
[5] *Sanctus*] Sanctus, Sanctus, ins. L.

quasi patriarcham susceperе; et in sinu Abrahæ feliciter condidere. Jure quasi patriarcham quem cæteris patribus et loco et merito præesse noverunt. Quid de sanctis referendum prophetis nisi quod certatim se dederint in oscula prophetæ venientis? Prophetæ, dico, quia inter plura quæ prædixit barbarorum quoque quam patimur impugnationem in spiritu prævidit, et post excessum suum venturam prophetavit, a quibus populum suum liberet omnium liberator Deus, tanti vatis Sui piis intercessionibus. Num ab apostolis est desertus? non utique desertus, immo gloriose receptus. Num desererent ad patriam et ad Christum venientem quem frequentare dignati sunt in terra peregrinantem. Sed nec sancti martyres; et merito, quia si non deesset occasio occumberet utique gladio. Exempli gratia; quidam illustrium pro illicito matrimonio sæpius ab eo redargutus, sed non correctus, gladio tandem evangelico est a Christo divisus. Qui Romam adiens dominum apostolicum pro se Dunstano scriptis satisfacere optinuit. Hic Dunstanus juxta interpretationem nominis sui, montanus utique lapis, ut mons immobilis, ut lapis angulari lapidi affixus, moveri non potuit: sed ipso apostolico mente altior in se solidus perstitit, "Scias," inquiens legato, "nec capitis plexione "me a[1] Domini mei auctoritate movendum." Ecce quomodo cum Johanne propter Herodiadem truncato paratus est gladio occumbere. Jure ergo dictum est eum a sanctis martyribus non desertum. A sanctis autem confessoribus ut cohæres agnoscitur, cum quibus etiam in mensa Domini epulatur. Quid de virginibus dicam? Virginem virgines suscipiunt et reginæ suæ, angelorum videlicet dominatrici, Mariæ a Filio et Domino suo coronatum offerunt. Beatus igitur es, care Dei Dunstane, qui cum angelis angelus, cum patriarchis patriarcha, cum prophetis propheta, cum apostolis apostolicus; cum martyribus martyr, plura pro justitia passus, cum con-

of the Prophets;

of the Apostles;

of the Martyrs.

Example of his boldness in rebuking vice.

He refuses to obey a papal mandate.

He had the spirit of a martyr.

He is numbered also with the virgins.

[1] *a*] ad, L.

fessoribus cohæres, et cum sanctis virginibus virgo esse
Proof of his virgin character. probaris mundissimus. Qui cum nubere quondam voluisti, ut Johannes dilectus Domini, salubriter ægrotans virginitatem perpetuam elegisti. Et ideo cum iis qui
Address of praise and prayer for intercession. non inquinaverunt vestimenta sua Agnum Dei sequeris. Ideo in cœna nuptiarum Agni lætus discumbis.[1] Ergo cum talibus et tot civibus in perpetuum feliciter gaudebis, et in ligno vitæ æternaliter epulaberis. Euge nunc Dunstane pie, euge pater benigne, ex hominibus quidem assumpte, sed[2] angelis atque archangelis conjuncte. Quæsumus ergo per tantas felicitates tuas, servulorum post te suspirantium clementer memorare, jugiter miserere. Offer, egregie[3] Dei antistes, pro nobis hostias placationum et thymiamata precum, quibus expiati te læti quique sequamur ad sancta sanctorum, ubi Christus pontifex ad interpellandum Patrem pro nobis introivit. Ubi et te, die hodierna pontificali gloria coronatum, regnare præcepit. Qui cum coæterno Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat nunc[4] et per immortalia sæcula sæculorum. Amen. Laus Deo. Amen.

[*Explicit*[5] *vita sancti Patris nostri Dunstani abbreviata per Adelardum exiguum famulum Sancti Blandiniensis cœnobii; epistola per eum missa ad Sanctum Elphegum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopum. Soli Deo honor et gloria.*]

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[1] *discumbis*] discumbebis, G.
[2] *sed*] secundus, G.
[3] *egregie*] om. G.
[4] *nunc*] om. G.
[5] *Explicit*, &c.] from MS. L.

III.

VITA SANCTI DUNSTANI AUCTORE OSBERNO.

Prologus.

Epistola de vita Sancti Dunstani, archiepiscopi et confessoris.[1]

1. Universis catholicæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, confrater eorum per eam quæ in Christo est regenerationem, Osbernus, pacem bonam et perpetuam salutem. Multorum sæpe ac venerabilium patrum veneranda mihi auctoritas innuit,[2] ut vitam magnifici patris Dunstani litterarum monimentis tradere, atque ad Dei laudem hominumque utilitatem ecclesiæ deberem auribus insinuare. Quibus dum ego, pro facienda excusatione, illud et verum obtenderem, esse plura a plerisque non ignobilis usquequaque scientiæ viris de hac re conscripta; vererique me hominum reprehensiones, qui forte mimos nos aut certe temerarios vocare possent, dum non tam nihil satis nos habere, quam nihil nobis satis esse posse contenderent; contra illi magis nihil satis se habere quam nihil satis esse posse retulerunt, et hoc probabilibus rationum firmamentis velle se astruere dixerunt. Nam eorum, inquiunt, quorum præcipuam interfuit hujus rei diligentiam habere, alii etsi satis eleganter non tamen satis diligenter, sed quantum ad nocturnum festivitatis officium satis esse judicavere, sermocinandi ad populum modo scripsere.

Osbern has been frequently invited to write the life of Dunstan.

He argued that many wise men had done it already.

It is answered that their work is insufficient.

Adelard, p. 58.

[1] The text of the Prologue is from the Harleian MS. 56. (H.), collated with the Lambeth MS. 159 (L.), and with the other MSS. F. K. M. N. O. mentioned below, p. 71.

[2] *innuit*] imminuit, F. H. L, M.

After alluding to Adelard and B., he mentions that the better writings on the subject were burnt at Canterbury in A.D. 1067.

Alii autem dum nimis diligenter, quemadmodum quæque B. p. 4. res acta sit explicare conarentur, elegantiam perdiderunt, atque in illud dicendi genus quod suffultum Romanæ princeps eloquentiæ vocat, inciderunt, quod facilius tædium legentibus quam aliquod audientibus emolumentum gignere consuevit. Qui vero in utraque parte dicendi elaboraverunt[1] ut essent festivi pariter atque secundum gestas res bene ordinati, horum scripta in illo incendio consumpta sunt, quod ante hos annos sancta Dorobernensis ecclesia cum magno suarum rerum[2] detrimento perpessa fuisse dinoscitur. Sed ab his, inquiunt, aliqua in patrium id est in Anglicum sermonem translata supersunt, ex quibus id quod petimus elicere, et in Latinam denuo poteris linguam Deo suffragante transferre.

Some, however, in English had survived.

Osbern therefore undertakes the work.

2. Itaque his sive rationibus sive rationum auctoribus ad scribendum traductus, malebam alienæ voluntati benedicendo obtemperare quam propriæ serviens voluntati a bene dicendo temperare. Verum ad hoc audendum non sine quadam pudoris suffusione accedo; propterea quod omnium ora in me esse existimo veluti in hominem more Lælii novas dicendi victorias pollicentem, et quasi ea quæ ab aliis commode dicta sunt commodius se dicturum præsumentem. Sed ego neque illos minus commode dixisse reprehendo, neque me commodius dicturum promitto; sed sive id dignum fuerit, sive pro tanta rerum materia digno contrarium; quod intendo illorum meritis aut culpæ ascribo, quorum imperio atque importunitate victus hæc scribo. Quamvis et mea voluntas tantum devotionis erga eundem patrem et dominum nostrum obtinere debeat, ut si nulli vellent ista a me expetere, ego pro persona mea non dubitarem ingerere. Ita namque cum in alios me vidente, tum in meipsum me sentiente, ejus merita valuere. Sed non fuit consilium quid vel in alios me vidente, vel in meipsum me sentiente, hoc in libello dicere; in alio vero qui de signis ad sepulcrum ejus per-

The merits and faults of it must be charged to his advisers.

[1] *elaboraverunt*] laboraverunt, L. | [2] *suarum rerum*] suorum, H.

petratis scribetur, dicere consilium fuit. Nunc autem primordia nativitatis illius, processum ætatis, cum augmento gratiæ cœlestis, commutationem mortalis sæculi pro immortalitate æterni sæculi, quam verissime conabor absolvere; omissis omnibus hiis quæ ita fuere mirabilia ut infidelibus videantur incredibilia. Ac me quidem hiis enarrandis imparem scio; sed in Ejus nomine, in Quem ipse fideliter credidit et Cui ipse fidele operis ministerium exhibuit, ista aggredi temptabo. He adds a book on the Miracles.

Explicit prologus in vitam Sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis per Osbernum monachum et præcentorum ejusdem ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis.

Incipit Vita Sancti Dunstani Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Confessoris.[1]

3. Regnante magnifico Anglorum rege Æthelstano, anno quidem imperii ejus primo, adventus vero Anglorum in Britanniam quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo, cum idem rex hostibus circumquaque subactis pace et concordia regnum tueretur,[2] natus est puer Dei Dunstanus Wessaxonicis[3] Angliæ partibus, magnis quidem pro sæculi dignitate parentibus, sed ad religionem, quæ Christianos decet, longe majoribus. Tanta siquidem virtutis ratione viventes animum colebant, tot piis operibus laborantes insudabant, ut communem mortalibus viam ingressi angelicis spiritibus mererentur associari; sicut eidem filio suo postmodum divina[4] revelatione innotuit. Quod non alienum est divinitatis consilio factum conjicere; ut videlicet tantus infans tales parentes Dunstan was born in the first year of Æthelstan, A.D. 924.

[1] The text is from the Bodleian MS. 285 (R.), collated with the MS. Digby 110 (D.), the Harleian 56 (H.), the Harleian 315 (I.), the Lambeth 159 (L.), the Arundel MS. 16 (F.), the Cottonian Tiberius, D. III. (E.), and Tiberius D. IV. (K.), the MSS. 2475 (M.), 5284 (N.), 5348 (O.), and 5989 (P.), in the Royal Library at Paris; also with the version of Mabillon and the Bollandists.

[2] *tueretur*] teneretur, L.

[3] *Wessaxonicis*] Saxonicis, O.

[4] *divina*] om. R.

The merits of his parents.

haberet, qui cum ipsi bene viverent, tum bene vivendi formam nascituro ex se filio tradere possent. Magnum quippe Deus illum futurum prævidebat, quem ibi dulcedinis Suæ benedictionibus prævenerat, ubi omnes filii Adam nativæ maledictionis sententiam excipiunt, si non per assumptam a Filio Dei humani habitus formam ad pristinam reformentur beatitudinem. Magnum inquam Deus illum futurum prævidebat, cui tantum muneris donatum est, ut ante mundo signis innotesceret[1] quam hunc in hujus mundi lucem mater fudisset. Atque ut cætera dilucide et ordinate procedant, hinc dicendi initia constituam.

The miracle on the feast of the Purification before his birth.

4. Maternis igitur sinibus sacro puerperio intumescentibus, dies Purificationis sanctæ ac perpetuæ Virginis Mariæ illuxit festivus. Cumque vicinus illic undique populus ad ecclesiam eidem Virgini in Glestonia[2] dicatam conflueret, ut devotionis suæ ministerium in tanta solemnitate Regi regum Christo persolveret, contigit patrem pueri Herstanum cum conjuge sua[3] Kynedritha[4] advenisse, accensisque lampadibus sacris Missarum solenniis interfuisse. Jamque plurimam diurni servitii partem clerus absolverat, jam quemadmodum puerum Jesum in templum parentes inducerent, recitari cœperat, cum repente majestas Domini in templo apparuit, quæ omnia omnium luminaria extinxit totamque domum tenebrosa caligine obtexit. Hinc gelidus omnium membra pavor perserpit, rigent comæ, genua colliduntur. Stabant quippe sensu hærentes, et alternis obtutibus stuporem indicantes. Sed ut omnibus clarum fieret quid in hac re ea quæ apparuit majestas[5] intenderet, extemplo lux cœlitus[6] emissa in templo resplenduit, et eum quem puerpera manu tenebat cereum accendit. Si ante populus de amisso lumine miratus est, nunc majori admiratione simul et exultatione detinebatur. Exultabat namque præsentem se

Adelard, p. 54.

[1] *innotesceret*] ignotesceret, O.
[2] *Glestonia*] Glastonia, L.
[3] *sua*] om. L.
[4] *Kynedritha*] Kynedryda, L., Kynedrida, H. M.
[5] *majestas*] Domini, ins. R.
[6] *cœlitus*] om. O.

Dei gratiam vidisse; sed mirabatur hanc sibi per fœminam provenisse. Huc itaque ab omnibus est perrectum et hinc lumen omnibus porrectum. Habemus ergo novum de nova Elisabeth[1] Johannem, habemus nostri temporis Jeremiam: quorum alterum Deus, alterum Dei archangelus, in matris[2] utero sanctificatum asseruit. Atque ut excellentiorem gratiam advertas, qua die Filius Dei[3] a matre virgine in templo est præsentatus, ea nimirum puer Dei in matris utero ad templum est deportatus. Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam Israel Sanctus Symeon exultando proclamabat:[4] lumen nihilominus in terra Anglorum exortum Christus, Qui verum lumen est, lumine declarabat.

Parallel with John the Baptist and Jeremiah.

S. Luke i. 15.
Jerem. i. 5.
S. Luke, ii. 32.

5. Postquam autem edendi partus tempus advenit, mulier genuit filium, quantitate quidem corporis parvulum, sed ea qua præventus fuerat gratia Dei immensum. Inde statim secundæ generationis honore potitus, futuram fidei illius soliditatem jam tunc divinitus præfiguratam in nomine[5] sortitur; Dunstanus, quod petræ firmitatem sonat, parentum suorum annotatione vocitatur.[6] Deinde cum teneros infantiæ annos sequens ætas exclusisset, et linguam in apertos sonos jam formare cœpisset, ad templum nascentiæ illius miraculo quondam insigne cum oblationibus hostiarum defertur, immo ipse hostia viva sancta Deo placens offertur. Ibi illis in oratione pernoctantibus apparuit vir, æthereos habens vultus. Locum dixit non multo post tempore sublimandum, puerum ibidem Deo relinquendum, et beatum illum per sæcula prædicandum. Tum mensoris funiculum per plana atrii extendens, "Sic," inquit, " ædificabitur locus iste ad præparanda corda illorum " Domino qui hoc in loco per hunc puerum Domino " crediturí sunt." Qua illi revelatione vehementer gavisi immensas Omnipotenti Deo laudes persolvunt; com-

Birth, baptism, and naming of Dunstan.

Vision of his future buildings at Glastonbury.

B. p. 7.

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[1] *Elisabeth*] Elizabeth, L.
[2] *matris*] om. R.
[3] *Dei*] om. L.
[4] *proclamabat*] proclamat, L.
[5] *præfiguratam in nomine*] om. R.
[6] *vocitatur*] vocitatus, D. F. K. L. M.

He was a chosen Levi.

mendantes puerum in templo ut esset Levi[1] Domino et portio illius existeret Dominus, quemadmodum Moysi dictum est, cum divideret Judæorum per tribus singulas incolatus[2]; "Non erit tribui Levi sors inter fratres " suos, dicit Dominus; quia Dominus Deus pars illorum Numb. xviii. " est." Unde Petrus ostendens se portionem in Deo habere, non in sæculo, "Argentum," inquit, "et aurum " non habeo; sed quod habeo hoc tibi do. In nomine " Jesu Nazareni surge et ambula." Hoc est; aurum non Acts iii. 6. est portio mea; argentum non est portio mea; portio mea Christus est; hoc nomen munificum, hoc nomen mihi fructuosum est. Talis ergo portionis fructum tirunculus Christi in timore sancto assecutus,[3] assidua ministratione Domino serviebat, proficiens quotidie tam in scientia pietatis quam in virtute sanctitatis.

State of Glastonbury at the time.

6. Ea tempestate Glestonia[4] regalibus stipendiis ad- B. p. 10. dicta, monasticæ religionis penitus erat[5] ignara. Non- Adelard, p. 54. dum enim in Anglia communis vitæ ratio colebatur, non usus deserendi proprias voluntates hominibus affectabatur. Abbatis nomen vix quisquam[6] audierat. Conventus monachorum non satis quispiam viderat. Sed cui forte id voluntatis erat ut peregrinam vellet transigere vitam; is modo solus modo paucos[7] ejusdem propositi comitatus, patrios egrediebatur fines, et qua opportunitas vivendi licentiam dabat, illic alienigena vitam agebat. Hicque mos cum plerosque tum vehe-

Irish pilgrims there.

menter adhuc manet Hibernos, quia quod aliis bona voluntas in consuetudinem hoc illis consuetudo vertit in naturam. Quorum multi atque illustres viri divinis ac sæcularibus litteris nobiliter eruditi, dum relicta Hibernia in terram Anglorum peregrinaturi venissent, locumque habitationis suæ Glestoniam delegissent;

[1] *Levi*] Levis, F. H. O. M.
[2] *incolatus*] incolatum, R.
[3] *assecutus*] est, ins. L.
[4] *Glestonia*] Glastonia, L. The whole paragraph down to *redundaret* is omitted in K.
[5] *erat*] om. L.
[6] *quisquam*] quispiam, L.
[7] *paucos*] So E. F. H. L. D. R.; paucis, Boll. Mab.

propterea quod esset et a civili multitudine sequestratus et humanis usibus accommodus, et, quod maxime affectabant peregrini, Patricii religiosa veneratione, gloriosus, qui olim evangelizando regnum Dei illuc perveniens, vita, doctrina, signis, mirabilibus, multipliciter claruisse et post omnia hæc ibidem in Domino quievisse perhibetur. Cum ergo hi tales viri talibus de causis Glestoniam venissent, nec tamen quicquid sibi necessarium erat sufficientissime in loco repperissent, suscipiunt filios nobilium liberalibus studiis imbuendos, ut quod minus ad usum loci ubertas exhiberet, eorum quos docebant liberalitate redundaret. School of the Irish, where young nobles were taught.

B. p. 8. Adelard, p. 54.

7. Adest ergo nobilissimus in Christo puer Dunstanus, inter alios unus, immo præ aliis solus; ubi paulo diligentius quam imbecilla ætas ferre posset, litterarum studio intentus, acerrimo in tenello corpore languore fatigatur; adeo ut per aliquot dies nec quid ageret nec quid ab aliis ageretur, ipse intenderet. Flebat autem scolasticorum coætanea[1] turba, flebat tota domus familia; ipsi doctores recordantes modestiam pueri, ingenium, nobilitatem, educationem. Cumque jam in limine mors[2] adesse putaretur, nihilque aliud quam funeris obsequium meditaretur, ecce intempesta nocte cœlestis illum medicina revisit, quam ei per angelicum ministerium Christus exhibuit. Ac ne qua salutis mora innecteretur, ubi divina provenerat medicina, confestim de lectulo surgens doloris, ad templum Deo gratias acturus moderata velocitate currit,[3] habens Illum in itinere ductorem, Quem in ægritudine habuit Salvatorem. Stupefacti magnitudine facti qui in domo erant, qui ægrotantis illius curam gerebant, lento pede præeuntis vestigia terunt, finem rei curiosa agilitate explorantes. Necdum medium itineris confecerat cum malignus spiritus, sive ejus saluti invidens seu futuram religionem suspectam habens, latrantium canum multitudine stipatus occurrit, viamque eunti intercludere

Dunstan's progress. His illness, and miraculous recovery. He rises from his bed and goes to the church.

[1] *coætanea*] coætaneorum, R.
[2] *mors*] mortis, R.
[3] *currit*] cucurrit, R.

He drives away the devil's dogs.

contendit. Exclamat itaque puer Christum, pavore conterritus, sed ductoris sui præsidio vallatus; virgam arripit,[1] quam in faciem obsistentis simulacri vibrans, ipsum cum omni comitatu in fugam compellit. O sanctum et terribile Christi Nomen, sapientibus absconditum, parvulis revelatum! Ecce draco quem initium figmenti sui finxit Deus ad illudendum ei, non solum ab angelis Dei illuditur, verum etiam a puero parvulo superatur. Vere detracta est ad inferos superbia ejus, in profundum laci concidit cadaver illius. Sed in quo ista noster potuit parvulus, nisi in Illo Qui cum sit Deus super omnia benedictus in sæcula, parvulus de virgine natus est nobis, Filius a Patre datus est nobis? Dunstanus igitur ad portam templi veniens, sed eandem repagulis obseratam inveniens, scalam cui inniti solebant, qui superiora templi sarciebant, ignoranter et quasi per excessum[2] mentis ascendit. Inde ad alteram tecti partem qua nullus erat descensus progrediens, angelicis manibus ad solum deponitur, et in interiora templi non patentibus claustris inducitur. Orta autem luce dum per vicinas domos quæstio de puero facta fuisset, repertus est in templo cum iis qui nocturnas custodias agebant, leni sopore offusus.[3] Rogatus ut tam mirabilis eventus modum exponeret, non esse hæc in sua conscientia respondit, et ignorantium mentes majori ambiguo deduxit. Sed hii quos explorandi gratia puerum secutos fuisse prædiximus, de omnibus quæ usque ad suprema templi fastigia contigerant, claro et probato[4] sermone testificantur. Cætera vero quoniam et illos et puerum latuerunt, sola Dei potentia mirabiliter patrata fuisse claruerunt. Magno igitur[5] timore concussi omnes qui audierunt cogitabant quidnam esset quod puero contigisset; dicentes ad alterutrum, "Quid sibi vult puer "iste, cui tot et tam sancta præconia attestantur? Qui

Ps. civ. 26.

Isa. xiv. 15.

He finds the church closed: climbs the ladder and descends inside.

Isa. ix. 6.

He declares that he was unconscious at the time.

[1] *arripit*] arripuit, L.; accipit, Boll.

[2] *excessum*] excussum, D.

[3] *offusus*] effusus, L. D.; effessus, R.

[4] *probato*] turbato, L.

[5] *igitur*] ergo, R.

" ante beatus quam natus; ante virtus prodidit glori- The witnesses accept it as a miracle.
" osum quam ætas probaret adultum.[1] Singulari gratia
" hunc præditum videmus, quem angelus ægrotum
" sanavit, diabolus sanatum contremuit, ecclesia signata
" excepit." Et denuo orantes, " Augeat," inquiunt,
" Deus meritum pueri ad gloriam Sui." At ille regentis se Christi Spiritu repletus, aures quidem corporis a suis laudibus avertebat, sed in secreto pectusculi Deum benedicebat. Ab illo itaque die in tanta admiratione habitus est, ut plurima illum utriusque sexus multitudo quamvis adhuc delicatum videre cuperet. Ipse vero quanto excellentiora audiebat, tanto de se minora sentire.[2]

B. p. 10. 8. Jamque vernans ætas adolescentiæ decus induerat, He takes minor orders.
cum eum parentes sui sacros ordines rogarent suscipere, ut qui fuerat a primæva ætate Domino electus per hujusmodi gratiam eidem conjunctius adhæreret. Quorum ille voluntate humiliter parens minores gradus et habitu suscepit et vitæ honestate servavit. Tum vero, quod illi ætati non parvo ornamento[3] est, certabat omnes officio superare, gratia et affabilitate omnes anteire, servare pudicitiam, fugere lasciviam; appetitor honesti, turpitudinis[4] execrator; majorum natu collo- His demeanour in his youth.
quiis adesse, juvenum ludicra declinare; ciborum abstinens, somno temperans, incessu gravis, neque facile moveri loco, neque abrupte loqui; magnæ fiduciæ ad incipiendum bonum, constantiæ ad perficiendum; principium bene agendi Deum semper habere, finem vero Eidem commendare. Moribus[5] quoque bonis accessit studium sacræ lectionis,[6] cujus exercitio et vitiorum importunitates evitabat et virtutum augmenta nutriebat. Et quoniam studium parvam habet efficaciam ubi naturale ingenium non suggerit intelligentiam, auctore Deo sic utraque præditus erat, ut et facilitate ingenii

[1] *Quid . . . adultum*] om. R.
[2] *sentire*] sentiebat, R.
[3] *ornamento*] om. R.
[4] *honesti, turpitudinis*] honesti, turpis, R.; honestatis, turpitudinis, O. L.
[5] *Moribus*] Majoribus, D.
[6] *lectionis*] religionis, R.

His progress in learning.

quamlibet rem acutissime intelligeret, et occupatione studii quodcunque intellectum fuisset firmissime retineret. Ex quo in brevi factum est ut neque præceptoribus suis imperitior, et condiscipulorum peritissimis[1] multo esset ipse peritior. Philosophorum scientias quas earum rerum quæ sunt et quæ aliter esse non[2] possunt cognitionem[3] veritatis vetustas esse diffinit, ut sunt magnitudines, et earum aliæ manentes motuque carentes, aliæ vero quæ mobili semper ratione vertuntur nec ullis temporibus adquiescunt; multitudines quoque, et earum nihilominus aliæ per se, aliæ in ratione positæ;—horum inquam scientias diligenti excoluit ratione, magnam in his et constantem prospiciens esse perfectionem.

He learns music; but not as a piece of luxury.

Et quamvis his omnibus artibus magnifice polleret, ejus tamen multitudinis quæ musicam instruit, eam videlicet quæ instrumentis agitatur, speciali quadam affectione vendicabat scientiam; sicut David psalterium sumens, citharam percutiens, modificans organa, cimbala tangens; sed non sicut hii quorum inertiam et luxuriosum otium propheticus noster increpat armentarius; "Qui dormitis," inquit, "in lectis eburneis, et lascivitis "in stratis vestris; qui comeditis agnum de grege et "vitulos de medio armenti; qui canitis ad vocem "psalterii, sicut David. Putaverunt se vasa cantici "habere, bibentes in phialis vinum." Nec eo ista com- Amos, vi. 4-6.
memoramus quo hiis opus esse ad perfectionem tendenti arbitremur, sed ut multiplices Dei gratias in

He loved piety above all things.

juvene commendemus. Nam omnibus sæcularibus studiis præferebat scientiam pietatis, quæ in evangelicis et apostolicis continetur litteris, dum sua semper ingenia sanctorum patrum auctoritati contradens, et ambas res ad easdem litteras conferens,[4] fidem veram, morum disciplinam, et quod unum ac solum præ omnibus quærendum est, vitam æternam se invenisse

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[1] *peritissimis*] peritissimorum, R.

[2] *non*] om. L.

[3] *cognitionem*] cognitione, R.

This is a quotation from Böetius *de Arithmetica*, Opp. p. 1296.

[4] *conferens*] Here the Harleian MS. 315 (I.) begins.

gaudebat. Sicut ergo David nostri simphonista vasa cantici habuit, quia usum illorum non nisi in divinis laudibus expendit. Præterea manu aptus ad omnia, posse facere picturam, litteras formare, scalpello[1] imprimere, ex auro, argento, ære et ferro, quicquid liberet operari.

He could paint and carve.

Adelard, p. 55.

9. Tunc audita fama venerabilis viri Cantuariorum archiepiscopi Athelmi, cujus ipse erat nepos et filius fratris, permissu parentum suorum proficiscitur ad eundem, quatenus tanti parentis et cognitionem haberet et vitæ illius exemplo juveniles mores informaret. Lætabatur itaque episcopus nimis in adventu nepotis, considerans in illo venustatem corporis, animi vigorem ac totius honestatis eminentiam. Unde eo quo afflatus est Dei Spiritu vas electionis illum futurum prænoscens, potiori gradu decorare et regi Æthelstano familiari contestatione eum studuit commendare. "Hunc," ait, "juvenem mihi quidem plurimum, regiæ vero stirpi non- "nullo consanguinitatis jure devinctum, vestræ excel- "lentiæ commendo, ut stet jugiter in conspectu vestro, "audiatque verbum ex ore domini mei regis. Expe- "riar[2] in illo gratiam vestram, quam multiplicem "sæpe in maximis rebus expertus sum, et deinceps "amplius me experturum confido." Quod rex prompta cordis alacritate accipiens, oblatum juvenem gratissime excepit, unice dilexit, post hæc necessariis quoque rebus regia vice præesse constituit. Dunstanus igitur, terreno degens in palatio, egrediebatur et ingrediebatur ad imperium regis, et prosperatum est in manibus ipsius quicquid operis ipse cœpisset. Et nunc quidem surgens ad orandum Deum, nunc sedens ad dijudicandas causas hominum, ita se sapienter ac circumspecte agebat, ut et Deo per omnia placeret, nec aliquem pie viventium sua culpa offenderet. Dominus enim erat cum illo, et omnia ejus opera dirigebat. Iterum cum

He goes to visit the archbishop, who introduces him to the king. He becomes a favourite of Athelstan.

Gen. xxxix. 23.

[1] *scalpello*] sculpello, L., scapello, I. N.

[2] *Experiar*] circa me, ins. R.

He plays on his harp before the king.

videret dominum regem sæcularibus curis fatigatum, psallebat in tympano sive in cithara, sive alio quolibet musici generis instrumento; quo facto tam regis quam omnium corda principum exhilarabat.

He is asked to draw a design for a stole.

10. Tunc cujusdam matronæ frequenti ac religioso rogatu compellatus est, ut ei stolam sacerdotalem artificiosa operatione præpingeret, quam postea ad divinos cultus aurifactoria imitatione figuraret. Qui assumpta in manibus cithara, ad domum tendit religiosæ, citharam in pariete suspendit, opus ad quod venerat diligenter instituit. Cumque manum operi, cor autem atque labia Deo præpararet, apparuit in domo gloria Domini, quæ illum jocunda suavitate reficiebat, cæteros vero insolita admiratione exterritos reddebat. Nam cithara illius quam affixam parieti fuisse diximus, ita ut erat, pendens in paxillo, absque ullo moventis dumtaxat hominis impulsu, consuetam omnibus hujus antiphonæ melodiam acutissima simul ac discretissima modulatione personuit; "Gaudent in cœlis animæ sanctorum qui Christi "vestigia sunt secuti, et quia pro Ejus amore sangui- "nem suum fuderunt, ideo cum Christo gaudebunt[1] in "æternum." Exsiliunt itaque obstrepentes puellulæ,[2] materfamilias, omnisque domus clientela, vociferans[3] hominem nimium esse sapientem, amplius eum quam quod expediat scire. At ille mundissimo mundissimi cordis intuitu cœlestem illum musicum intendens, admoneri se intelligit, ut vias duriores arripiat, ut Christi vestigia propius sequatur, ut sanguinis sui effusionem non metuat, si[4] Dei regnum et vitam delectat[5] habere æternam.[6] Audivimus olim rudentem asinam verba edidisse; citharam vero sine humano impulsu[7] sensualiter cecinisse nunquam audivimus. Illa insidentem ne moreretur retinuit; ista ne mors timeretur admonuit.[8]

B. pp. 20–21.

His harp plays an anthem whilst he is so employed.

[1] *gaudebunt*] regnabunt, L. *See* above, p. 21.
[2] *puellulæ*] puellæ, R.
[3] *vociferans*] vociferantes, R.
[4] *si*] sed, D.
[5] *delectat*] delectet, L.
[6] *æternam*] perpetuam, R.
[7] *impulsu*] pulsu, L.
[8] *Illa . . admonuit*] om. L.

Illa angelicos vultus pertimescens subsedit, ista ad aspectum[1] Dei et angelorum Illius omnes audientes invitavit. Sed Tua hæc sunt, Christe, magnalia, quæ in Tuo Dunstano operari et per nostrum ministerium prædicari hominibus voluisti. This was a miracle indeed.

B. pp. 11–13. 11. Accensus ergo[2] furore diabolus, quod tam sanctis principiis juvenem niti conspiceret, in invidiam aliquorum eum conatus est adducere, ignorans malam voluntatem suam Deo famulari, ad perficiendam Dei bonam voluntatem in homine, quem ad conregnandum et congaudendum ipse prædestinaverat. Inflammat itaque invidentiæ stimulos, operarios iniquitatis, qui conficto mendacio opinionem juvenis apud regem lædant; asserentes[3] illum malis artibus imbutum, nec quicquam divino auxilio sed pleraque dæmonum præstigio operari. Advertens autem Dunstanus faciem regis non esse sicut heri et nudiustertius, palatio discedere parat; malens regem sponte sua deserere quam ipse invitus a rege derelinqui. Quod ubi compertum est ab his qui probitatis illius improbissimi æmulatores exstiterant, insidiis iter obsident, socios disturbant, illum equo dejiciunt; suppliciis affligunt; postremo vinculis irretitum in cisternam quæ juxta erat depellunt. Cum interim horrendo molossorum agmine defensus, a quibusdam hominibus invenitur, quorum studio ac pietate ad vicum fovendus transfertur. Tum ille ex profundo cordis suspirio ingemiscens ait, "O sæva propinquorum meorum "vesania, in caninam sævitiam ex dilectionis humani- "tate mutata. Nam irrationalis canum natura dilec- "tionem mihi humanitatis blandiendo exhibuit, pro- "pinquitas vero humanitatem oblita infestantium canum "me severitatem ostendit." Intellexit ergo hoc esse principium certaminis ad quod illum divinus nuper citharœdus præmonuit.

The devil contrives Dunstan's overthrow.

He leaves the palace.

He is attacked and plunged in a cistern, but delivered by dogs.

B. p. 13.

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[1] *aspectum*] affectum, L.
[2] *ergo*] igitur, D. F. K. L. M.
[3] *asserentes*] affirmantes, R.

Dunstan is invited by Elfege to become a monk.

12. Profectus autem inde cognatum pontificem adiit Ælphegum,[1] qui tunc temporis, Wentanæ præsidens ecclesiæ, vitam virtutibus decorabat. A quo frequenti supplicatione rogatus ut monachum indueret, quatenus qui angelicæ conversationis initia haberet, perseverantiam in habitu demonstraret; respondit ille excellentioris gratiæ esse qui in sæculo consenuit et tamen quæ monacho digna sunt fecit, eo qui se monasterio dedit, nec quicquam aliud præterquam quod sibi statutum est post hæc facere potuit. "Alterum," inquit, "necessi- B. pp. 13, 14.

His argument in reply, and Elfege's answer.

"tatis est, alterum libertatis." Ad hæc episcopus, "Omnibus," ait, "in commune summa necessitas est, "ut qui ignem gehennæ voluerit effugere, ignem con- "cupiscentiæ studeat extinguere. Ignis vero concu- "piscentiæ non multum extinguitur, si fomenta illius "humanis sensibus non subtrahuntur. Sicut enim "ligna ad ignem, sic ea quæ sensibus subjacent, ad "concupiscentiam. Sed nulla erit fomentorum sub- "tractio, si sæcularium negotiorum non fuerit renun- "ciatio. Ex quibus omnibus id elicitur; ut si ignem "gehennæ volueris effugere, sæculo studeas renunciare. "Ad hæc quod præcipue in mundo appetitur, libertas "est hominis. Hac enim omissa, cætera possideri ne- "queunt.[2] Quod si possidentur, illa non desinit ha- "beri. Quapropter quamdiu illam retinueris, illud "Deo non dedisti, quod maxime dilexisti: ut ergo "des quod maxime diligis, illa desinat haberi." Cum ergo[3] hiis et hujuscemodi verbis per singulos dies

Dunstan deliberates.

episcopus insisteret; et Dunstanus aut veris aut verisimillimis rationibus insistentem differret, quadam die vehementer hoc cogitationis ambiguo pulsatus est, ut quid in vita quam maxime appetendum fuisset, virtus an voluptas, uxor an virginitas, magnopere deliberaret. Quem sub tali ambiguo positum gravissima febris invasit, atque ad desperationem vitæ perduxit. Jacebat

[1] *Ælphegum*] Elphegum, H. L.; Elfegum, D.

[2] *nequeunt*] non queunt, L.

[3] *ergo*] igitur, D. F. H. L. M.

itaque sine exspectatione salutis ægrotans, nec ullum intuentibus viventis sensum præbens. Tum ex inspe- After a severe illness he determines to become a monk,
rato recalescens, "Hic," ait, "legibus voluptatis renun-
" cio, hic me sempiternum sibi adversarium promitto.
" Nil cum uxore fœderis paciscar; sola me virtus mili-
" tem habebit. Insanum quippe est illam animi mei
" dominatricem sustinere, quæ nec viventes reddit sa-
" tiatos, et morientes relinquit desperatos. Virginem
" me Virginis Filius huc usque servavit; virginem me
" virginum regina Maria habebit." Confestim accito ad se episcopo, postulat sibi dilatæ religionis benedictionem dari. Episcopus, immensa lætitia pro salute and is received as one by Elfege.
simul et conversione juvenis perfusus, celeriter illum monachali ac sacerdotali gratia promovit, attitulans ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ[1] Virginis, cui eum ab initio parentum suorum sponsio dicavit.

13. Consummatis autem primis inceptæ conversionis He goes to live in the church at Glastonbury.
diebus, cum eum episcopus adversus insidias diaboli et sermone instruxisset et auctoritate roborasset, dimisit eum proficiscentem ad locum suæ generationis principium; ibique in ecclesia præfatæ[2] Virginis mansitabat, operans ea quæ piæ religionis norma exigebat. Cui etiam adhærentem cellam sive destinam sive spelæum, sive alio quolibet nomine rectius nominari potest, non enim invenio qua id appellatione quam proxime vocem, Account of the cell which he built there.
cum non tam humani habitaculi quam formam gerat sepulcri; propriis laboribus fabricavit. Ut enim de re quam ipse vidi, testimonium feram, quantum mea fert æstimatio, longitudo ejusdem cellæ non amplius quinque pedum, latitudo vero duos semis pedes habet. Porro altitudo staturam exprimit hominis, si quis in defossa terra constiterit. Aliter enim neque satis ad pectus porrigitur, ut, sicut dixi, magis mortui videatur sepulcrum quam viventis habitaculum. Unde manifestum

[1] *Mariæ*] om. B. | [2] *præfatæ*] beatæ, L.

Dunstan's cell.

est illum neque[1] jacendo somnos cepisse et[2] stando semper Deum orasse. Ostiolum autem idem est quod[3] paries. Quod enim ingredienti ostium, idem ingresso paries fiebat. Neque vero in tantillo opere ostium nisi in toto fieri valebat. Medium ostioli fenestella aperit, per quam lumen operanti irradiavit. Miserum me ac peccatorem fateor inspexisse sanctum sessionis ipsius locum, vidisseque etiam manuum illius opera, pecca-

Visited by the author.

tricibus manibus contrectasse, oculis apposuisse, rigasse lacrymis et flexis genibus adorasse. Recordatus namque sum quam sæpe clamantem me in periculis exaudierit, quam misericorditer auxiliatus fuerit, et idcirco neque lacrymis temperare, neque si fieri potuisset inde recedere volebam.[4] Hæc juveni domus, hic lectus, hoc de toto mundo spectaculum. Sed his angustiis ampla et spatiosa urbium mœnia comparari non possunt, cum per easdem angustias hodie et febricitantes[5] salutem obtineant, et dæmonum furores quiescant, et plurima invalitudo convalescat.

A visit from the devil.

14. Verum ne paupertatem illius diabolus misereri[6] videatur, quem antea non sinebat in palatio habitare, eum nunc nititur depellere tugurio. Fallax ergo fallacem hominis adopertus imaginem, sub obscuro vespere cellam petit[7] adolescentis, immisso capite fenestræ incumbit, cernit illum fabrili opere occupatum, postulat sibi quippiam operis fabricari. Dunstanus autem neque calliditatem ejus advertens, neque importunitatem ferens, operi quod postulabatur animum intendit. Interim ille

Dunstan heats his tongs.

perversa compositione verba facere, mulierum nomina inserere, luxurias[8] commemorare; deinde religionem ostendere, et denuo eadem[9] repetere. Tum vero athleta Christi quis esset intelligens, tenacula quibus ferrum tenebat fortiter ignire, suppressis labiis Christum invocare.

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[1] *neque*] om. L.
[2] *somnos . . et*] somnum . . sed, R.
[3] *quod*] qui, R.
[4] *Miserum . . . volebam*] om. R.
[5] *febricitantes*] fabricantes, L.
[6] *misereri*] miserari, H. I. K. L. M.
[7] *petit*] om. R.
[8] *luxurias*] luxuriam, R.
[9] *eadem*] eam, R.

Cumque per summos fines eadem tenacula candentia videret, sancto actus furore, celeriter ea de igne rapit, larvalem faciem tenaculis includit, et totis viribus renitens monstrum introrsum trahit. Jam stando vires sumebat Dunstanus, cum is[1] qui tenebatur avulso pariete tenentis se manibus aufugerat, tales immani rugitu fremens ululatus: "O quid fecit calvus iste, O quid fecit calvus iste." Tenui namque sed formosa cæsarie erat, et ea re talia de homine clamitabat. Mane autem facto congregata est ad eum non parva propinqui populi[2] multitudo, sciscitans quisnam ille clamor fuisset, qui tanta eos vehementia dormientes terruisset. "Dæmonis," ait, "furor ille fuit, "qui nusquam me vivere sinit, e cella quoque ejicere "temptat. Caute vos agite ab illo; quia si vocem "irati ferre non potuistis, societatem damnati quo pacto "sustinebitis?" Post hunc diem Dunstanus quasi in procinctu belli manere,[3] virtutibus diabolum ad certamen lacessere, corpus inedia macerare, animam orationibus decorare, sciens in nulla re magis diabolum superari posse quam in ea quam Dominus dicebat, "in jejunio "et oratione." Unde cum pudicitia corporis tantam cordis munditiam obtinuit, ut vix eum latere posset quicquid sinister spiritus molitus fuisset.

He seises the devil by the face.

Outcry of the devil.

Wonder of the people.

S. Mark, ix. 28.

Fama itaque nominis ejus universam percurrit regionem, quæ[4] ad visendum hominem Dei omnium corda accendit. Omnis ætas, uterque sexus, clarus et ignobilis, tenuis et pecuniosus, privatus et cum potestate, omnes omnino Dunstanum loquuntur, sapientiam prædicant, virtutem magnificant.

His great fame.

B. pp. 11, 18.

15. Mulier quædam nomine Ælfgiva,[5] regali exorta progenie, magnarum divitiarum, quæ omne semen regium materno semper affectu dilexerat, foverat, nutriverat, innisa manibus suorum ad hominem Dei accessit, sanc-

The lady Elfgifu.

[1] *is*] om. L.; hic, Boll.
[2] *propinqui populi*] propinquorum, R.
[3] *manere*] cœpit, ins. D. L.
[4] *quæ*] qui, R.
[5] *Ælfgiva*] Ethelgifu, L.; nomine, om. R.; Elgifu, Mab.; Elgive, Boll.; Elfgifu, O. D.; Elfgiva, H.; Ælfgifu, F.; Ælfgiva, E.; Ælfgifa, K.; Ælfgiva, R.

Her devotion and attachment to Dunstan.

tissimo illius colloquio perfrui desiderans. Quæ cum ex ore illius verbum audisset, adeo delectata est dulcedine vitæ æternæ, ut ulterius neque domum repetere, neque loco discedere, sed cum beato Dunstano manere, vivere, mori diligeret. Proinde habitationem sibi in affinitate sacri templi constituens, audiendo verbo Dei sedula adesse, famelicis stipem dare, vestem algentibus, ipsa multæ continentiæ operam dare, prorsus ad omne opus justitiæ promptissima existere. Circa venerationem beatæ Virginis[1] Mariæ ita fervens erat, ut in templo illius[2] quamplures sacri ordinis viros locaret, quibus ipsa quæcunque necessaria forent sua liberalitate exhiberet. Qua de re in tantum apud eandem Virginem ejus merita valuere, ut si quando, necessitate coacta, quippiam postularet, vix aliqua intercedente morula, ab eadem susciperet. Ut enim sine tædio legentium aliquantulum ab incepto digressionem faciam (neque enim a re quam tenemus multum deviat); dum quodam tempore præfatus rex Æthelstanus[3] propter loci religionem Glestoniam venisset, illa veterem volens servare consuetudinem, qua regibus ministrare solebat, orat eundem ut ad se divertat, prandium quod sibi paraverat dignanter suscipiat. Quod rex non sine verecundia annuens, non enim ignorabat quid in pauperes Christi ipsa expenderet, præcepit regiæ ministrationis provisoribus, ut scirent si omnia commode ac moderate parata fuissent. Illi autem circumspectis omnibus abunde omnia esse[4] renunciant; si ejus tantummodo potus, qui mellis ac myrti aspergine[5] conficitur, sufficientiam haberent. Quibus illa, "Non "patiatur," inquit, "Domina mea mater Domini mei "Jesu Christi Maria, ut in omnibus rebus quæ regiam "decent magnificentiam deesse quippiam valeat." Et accurrens in templum beatissimæ Virginis[6] rogat per ejus largifluam bonitatem augeri quod in regali ministerio minus videbatur haberi. Sedit itaque rex multo

B. pp. 17, 18.

Visit of Athelstan.

Deficiency of mead miraculously supplied.

[1] *Virginis*] om. R.
[2] *illius*] illi, R.
[3] *Æthelstanus*] om. F. H. I. D. L. M.
[4] *esse*] om. R.
[5] *aspergine*] aspersione, R.
[6] *Virginis*] Mariæ, ins. L.

stipatus militum[1] satellite; hauriunt ministri modicum illud confecti liquoris. Ita vasculum permansit imminutum ut mulieris Sareptenæ[2] vel hydriam farinæ vel lecythum olei putares. Denique tota die de vasculo hauriunt, tota nihilominus die inexhaustum reperiunt. Ad quod factum rex mente immutatus, "Peccavimus," inquit, "nimis in famulam Dei, multitudinis nostræ su- " perfluitate eam aggravantes." Ita dixit; post dictum faciem avertit, via qua cœpit[3] profectus est. Abundance instead of want.

B. pp. 18–20. 16. Sed jam ut ad id quod instituimus attingamus; transacto laborum suorum glorioso certamine, gravi corporis infirmitate cœpit hæc eadem laborare. Ad quam dum mœrens pater Dunstanus intraret, post uberrimas alterutrarum lacrymarum inundationes, post humillimam piæ confessionis devotionem, post dulcissimam de beata spe et adventu Domini Salvatoris consolationem, hortatur illam, ut nudam se ab omni mundana specie faciat, ne in transeunte quicquam suum princeps mundi inveniat. Cui illa, "Neminem," inquit, "in mundo sicut " te carissimum habeo, propterea quod te præcipuum " salutis meæ auctorem scio, salvo eo quod Deum om- " nipotentem totius bonitatis principatum tenere credo. " Illum ergo rerum mearum hæredem facio, te vero " hæreditatis tutorem constituo; ut quicquid Illum " cognoveris[4] velle, tui arbitrii sit effectui mancipare." Quod beatus Dunstanus audiens, et quamvis invitus ejus voluntati morem[5] gerere volens, universas gazas ejus quæ in rebus mobilibus superesse poterant, extemplo pauperibus erogabat: cætera autem[6] ad ecclesiarum sublevationem reservabat. Jam sol vergebat[7] ad occasum, et[8] Dunstanus nocturnas fugiens tenebras, ad suum remeat ergastulum. Et ecce dum ostium ecclesiæ psallendo præteriret, erectis ad cœlum oculis, Illness of Elfgifu. Her final disposition of her property, entrusted to Dunstan.

[1] *militum*] om. F. H. I. D. L. M.
[2] *Sareptenæ*] Sareptinæ, L.; Sareptanæ, Boll.
[3] *cœpit*] fecit, R.
[4] *cognoveris*] noveris, L.
[5] *morem*] favorem, R.
[6] *autem*] om. R.
[7] *vergebat*] urgebat, L.
[8] *et*] om. L.

Dunstan sees the mystic Dove.

omnipotentis Dei Patris et Filii cœternum Spiritum in[1] columbæ specie videt descendentem; Cujus corpus omni candore nitidius, alarum vero remigia scintillantis ignis splendorem per aera spargebant.[2] Quam[3] ille tunc vere beatus pia mentis aviditate contemplatus, penetral illud morientis matronæ subintrantem conspicit. Concite igitur unde venerat regressus, videt domum Divini splendoris fulgore splendescere, audit fœminam intra septa oppansi veli gratias agentem, miratur colloquium ac dicendi finem patiens auditor exspectat. Deinde velo levato penetral subintrat; stelliferi illius nomen requirit, nuncium interrogat. Illa excellenti quadam gratia vultus perfusa modeste arridens ait, B. pp. 18–20.

Elfgifu explains who her wonderful visitor is, and prepares for death.

" Tu stelliferum antequam huc venires vidisti; et nunc
" cui sum locuta interrogas? Ipse est Qui tibi ad
" ostium ecclesiæ psallenti apparuit, Qui et me de
" pavore imminentis mortis conterritam visitationis suæ
" gratia consolari dignatus est. Annuncio itaque om-
" nibus amicis meis tristandum de mea morte non esse,
" quoniam morientem me æternæ vitæ claritas susci-
" piet. Tibi autem, carissimo ac singulari amico, ube-
" res gratias refero, propterea quod tuis semper in-
" structa admonitionibus et adjuta orationibus, ecce ad
" Deum vado; unum tibi et ultimum si ausim dicere,
" facio præceptum; ut summo[4] diluculo unguinis[5] sacri
" ac Dominici Corporis participem me facias, quatenus
" his vivificis munita mysteriis non confundar in
" porta, dum ibi fuero inimicis meis locuta." Cujus imperio venerabilis pater Dunstanus annuens abiit, mane juxta condictum rediit; itaque omnia peregit, ut finita fere Missa, cum ipsa Corpus et Sanguinem Christi suscepisset, animam pariter Christo tradidisset. Qua honorifice in ecclesia beatæ Mariæ sepulta, Dunstanus cum de illius tum etiam de sui ipsius patrimonio sollicitus, nam uterque parens obierat, nec præter eum alium

Ps. cxxvii. 5.

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[1] *in*] om. R.
[2] *spargebant*] spargebat, R.
[3] *quam*] quem, H. K. R.
[4] *summo*] om. L.
[5] *unguinis*] sanguinis, R.; sacræ unctionis, E.

hæredem reliquerant, primo quidem eandem ecclesiam vicinioribus atque uberioribus terris, quæ in omni patrimonio erant, muneravit. Cæteras vero fundandis quinque monasteriis pro situ terrarum ab invicem sejunctis reservavit. Quæ monasteria, sequentium regum temporibus in tantum per ejus industriam sic aucta sunt,[1] ut singulis complurium monachorum turbæ inessent, qui omnes secundum regulam ab eodem patre institutam viverent.

Dunstan founds and endows monasteries.

B. pp. 15, 16.

17. Exinde sanctus vir majoribus sese virtutum profectibus dedens, deprecatus est Dominum ostendi sibi gloriam justorum, ut qui eam per fidem bene creditam haberet, per manifestationem cognitam dulcius amaret. Talia ex corde meditanti astitit juvenis, decore insignis, quem puerum olim in corpore ipse puer noverat et sancta semper familiaritate dilexerat, referens ea quæ sunt æternæ vitæ gaudia, illum vero in hoc sæculo plura passurum, dæmonum insidias, malignitates hominum; post omnia hæc ad summos gradus perventurum, multa hominum millia Deo lucraturum, cumque iis cœli regna scansurum. Sed cum ille propter cautelam dicenti assensum non dedisset, apprehensum illum juvenis in atrium templi induxit; ostendensque locum eatenus inconvulsum, ait, "Ut nulla te credendis hiis "quæ audisti dubietas attingat, ante triduum pres- "byter quidam hic sepelietur, qui nondum infirmatur." Exsurgens autem mane ab oratione Dunstanus, convocatis in unum clericis ad locum venit,[3] positoque signo ait "Si vera sunt quæ mihi nocturno tempore "ostensa sunt, ante tres dies presbyter quidam hic "sepelietur; et nondum infirmatur." Vix illis ab invicem digressis[4] supervenit ejus fœminæ, quam proxime laudavimus, curialis quondam presbyter; qui facta cum clericis conventione præfatum locum in sepulturam obtinuit, dicens, "Cum me Deus e corpore migrare jus-

He has a vision of a dead friend who reveals to him his future life.

As a sign of his truth, he points to a place where a priest, now in good health, will be buried within three days.

[1] *aucta sunt*] creverunt, R.
[2] *in*] om. R.
[3] *venit*] pervenit, R.
[4] *ab invicem digressis*] abeuntibus . . . digredientibus, R.

" serit, hoc in loco meas precor reliquias sepelite." B. p. 16.

Fulfilment of the sign.

Recessit ergo presbyter vespera[1] sanus; noctu rediit ægrotus; decubuit, agonizatus est, defungitur, in loco beato patri signato sepelitur. Stupor ingens circumdedit omnes propterea quod idem vir tam mira de loco, tempore, ac persona prædixisset; quæ omnia post hæc vera ipsi et manifesta vidissent. Ipse autem de ostensa ac promissa sibi æternæ vitæ[2] gloria lætissimus efficitur; de cæteris vero non parum tristis ac sollicitus redditur.

Edmund becomes king.

18. Defuncto autem rege Æthelstano, frater ejus Eadmundus imperii monarchiam suscepit. Qui cum sciret quanta olim virtute venerandus pater Dunstanus in palatio fulsisset, quam justis operibus et rectis consiliis præditus fuisset,[3] ac per hoc fraterno semper eum amore dilexisset, directis ad eum nunciis orat, ad se[4] dignetur venire, ut quem omnipotenti Deo noverat acceptum, eum inter regios proceres et palatinos principes summum faceret principatum tenere. At Dunstanus sive præceptis apostolicis obedire volens, quibus omnis anima potestati sublimiori subdita esse debere præcipitur, sive regnum justitiæ, quod ex[5] magna parte obsoleverat, in terra Anglorum exaltare cupiens, regiis petitionibus assensum tribuit, consistens pro temporum vicissitudine in palatio, et tam ipsum regem quam omnes Anglorum principes justitiæ legibus summittens. Sed cum fere semper[6] fiat ut ex aliorum industria aliorum crescat invidia, cumque ad quam virtutem pessimus quisque non valet assurgere, eam in assurgente[7] conetur expugnare; iterum sicut olim a plerisque nobilium in prosperos Dunstani successus est offensum, et regi ut a consortio illorum pelleretur falsa criminatione suggestum. Rex autem plus honesto falsis favorem attri-

B. pp. 21, 22.

His confidence in Dunstan.

Rom. xiii. 1.

Dunstan's power under Edmund.

Envy of the nobles against him: he is disgraced.

[1] *vespera*] vespere, L.
[2] *æternæ vitæ*] om. R.
[3] *quam . . . fuisset*] om. R.
[4] *dignetur ad se*] ut, ins. L.; interl. R.; om. Boll. Mab.
[5] *ex*] et, L.
[6] *semper*] om. D. E. F. H. I. L. M.
[7] *assurgente*] assurgentem, R.

B. pp. 23, 24.

buens, Dunstanum et rebus et regia gratia privatum curiâ proturbari jubet. Sic primo, sic secundo die transitum. Jamque[1] tertia lux advenerat et rex cum suis venatum ibat. Nemus autem quod venandi gratia intraverat mons Ceddrorum[2] perexcelsus concipit,[3] qui[4] medio sui interruptus ingens baratrum et immane præcipitium de summo spectantibus ostendit. Igitur rex per devexa montis frœna laxare, et per devia quæque fugientem cervum insectari. Fatigantur utrique, rex pro cervo, cervus pro semet ipso. Omni tandem fugiendi[5] libertate negata, bestia præcipitium petit, ruit, ac in partes minutissimas conscissa deperit. Sequentium canum similis interitus; ultimum regem sonipes advexit; qui viso comminus quod præ se fortuna pararat, retraxit habenas, vectorem quoque reflectere nisus; cum repente ruptis frœnis et de manu porro rejectis, volucri cursu sessorem regem equus asportat. Quid plura? Omnino de se diffidens, de Dei vero misericordia nonnihil confidens, cœleste auxilium implorat, sicque confitendo orat, "Deus Rex omnipotens Qui, cum sis super omnia " excelsus, humilia respicis et alta semper[6] a longe cog- Ps. cxxxviii. 6. " noscis, adesto nunc non[7] regi sed[8] homini cæteris " mortalibus simili, inque supremo mortis periculo con- " sistenti; nec reminiscaris injuriarum fideli Tuo Dun- " stano per me illatarum; quoniam si me ipsius meritis " a præsenti morte eripueris, quoad vivam, devotum " me[9] Tui nominis et illius laudatorem habebis." Necdum plene verba finierat, et quod dictu[10] est incredibile, sed Deo nihil impossibile, quasi Divina manu retentum animal in summo voraginis fixum manebat. At ille corde pariter et ore excelsas Deo gratias

On the third day the king hunting in Cheddar, comes to the edge of a precipice.

He confesses his sin against Dunstan, and is miraculously preserved.

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[1] *Jamque*] Itaque, Boll.
[2] *Ceddrorum*] Cedrorum, E. H. R.
[3] *concipit*] conspicit, L.
[4] *qui*] in, ins. L.
[5] *tandem fugiendi*] itaque fugienti, R.
[6] *semper*] om. L.
[7] *non*] om. L.
[8] *sed*] om. L.
[9] *me*] om. R.
[10] *dictu*] dictum, D.

Edmund proclaims his deliverance.

referens, Dunstanum suæ liberationis auctorem adesse jubet, et quæ per illum Divinitas operata sit, coram omni principe[1] exponit. Et apprehensa dextera viri osculatus est eam et dixit, "Agnosco, virorum sanctis- "sime, quid in te commiserim mali; non per fidem "meam quod ego voluerim, sed quod a pessimis ego[2] "hominibus coactus id fecerim. Grates ergo clementiæ "Dei, quæ non modo debitum mihi supplicium non[3] "inferre, verum etiam indebitum voluit beneficium "prærogare, dum me a præcipitio mortis eripiens lon- "gioris vitæ spatia in tuis nominibus[4] concessit. Sit "ergo deinceps inter nos perfectæ familiaritatis per- "petua integritas; sit disponendis in palatio rebus "libera tibi semper facultas; sit in toto Anglorum "imperio judicandi inter virum et proximum ejus

He gives Glastonbury to Dunstan.

"summa potestas. Atque ut animi mei affectum[5] circa "te cognitum habeas, illum locum tibi in quo te geni- "tum, educatum, conversatum accepi, perpetuo jure "possidendum trado, ut quodcunque de illo velis sta- "tuere, tui arbitrii sit considerare. Quod si id cordi "tuo potissimum sederit, ut ejusdem ordinis viros cujus "tu habitum geris, ibidem aggregare placuerit, quidquid "eis in quacunque re defuerit ego ob gratiam tui regia "liberalitate supplebo."

R. pp. 24, 25.

Dunstan's reforms at Glastonbury.

19. Igitur Dunstanus, accepta potestate super regiam mansionem, quæ Glestonia vocabatur,[6] post paucos dies augustioris ecclesiæ fundamenta jacere, officinas secundum exemplar olim sibi ostensum construere, et consummatis omnibus magnum pariter atque egregium monachorum agmen ibidem coadunare.[7] Quibus ipse primus[8] abbas effectus, ad tantam perfectionem justitiæ omnes cohabitantes adduxit, ut quasi cœli luminaria

B. p. 25.

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[1] *principe*] plebe, R.
[2] *ego*] om. L. M.
[3] *non*] noluit, R., on an erasure.
[4] *in tuis nominibus*] tuis orationibus, R.
[5] *affectum*] effectum, D.
[6] *vocabatur*] vocatur, D., with the correction to *vocabatur*.
[7] *coadunare*] cœpit, ins. L.
[8] *primus*] om. K.

B. p. 26. ad effugandas totius erroris nebulas et peccatorum tenebras viderentur. Tunc ad omnes circumquaque ecclesias ex hisdem monachis pontifices eligi, tunc abbates assumi, tunc denique diversorum officiorum præpositi institui, propterea quod essent et religionis merito præcipui et doctrinæ sapientia clarissimi, et ad catholicæ fidei defensionem præstantissimi. Sed tantæ religionis spiritus Domini[1] malus impatiens, quo pacto virum a statu rectitudinis dejiciat, quantis valet insidiis elaborat. Cujus oculis in cubiculo quadam nocte orantis immanem se lupum ingerit; iterumque post paululum vulpem blandientem confingit. Quam ille specierum varietatem subridens, "O te," inquit, "per omnia simi-
" lem tibi! O formas tuæ actioni congruas dum in
" altero cruentum, in altero te comprobes fraudulen-
" tum! Vade jam, inimice, quoniam in Ejus nomine te
" vincam in lupo et vulpe, Qui te in leone superavit et
" dracone." Cernens autem magnam se a dæmonibus invidiam pati; nec suis nec filiorum suorum viribus satis confidens, adhibuit vitæ suæ patronum Andream apostolum, ut esset fidus interpres apud Deum, assiduus in terra comes, atque in omnibus hujus mundi turbinibus custos indeficiens. Hujus ipse assidua protectione quasi muro vallatus, securus infra cellam agebat ætatem, excelsa mente universa mundi transcendens, et in amore Divinitatis jugi meditatione requiescens. Adelard, p. 56. Unde suavissimis superorum spirituum concentibus sæpe interesse promeruit, bonam futuræ mercedis spem Deo tribuente, ut qui angelorum conversationem agebat in terra, illorum societatem agnosceret in cœlo. Denique dum præfato regi Eadmundo filius nasceretur nomine Eadgarus, puer videlicet pacis ac justitiæ bajulus futurus, audivit idem beatus beatos in cœlo angelos gratulantes, et cum magna gratulatione psallentes,
" Sit pax, sit magna Anglorum ecclesiæ lætitia, quam-
" diu puer natus regnum tenuerit, et noster Dunsta-
" nus mortalis vitæ metas transegerit." Quod dictum

1 Sam. xvi. 23.

The flourishing condition of the monastery provokes the anger of the devil.

B. pp. 26, 27. Dunstan detects him in two disguises.

Dunstan chooses S. Andrew for his patron.

His warning at the birth of Edgar.

[1] *domini*] dæmonis, Mab.; om. Boll.

quanta rerum veritate subnixum sit congruus ordo præsentis lectionis faciet manifestum.

Dunstan at Bath has a miraculous warning of the death of one of his scholars.

20. Qua etiam tempestate vir Dei[1] precibus regiis devinctus, Bathensem ecclesiam Divinis cultibus instituendam invisere peregit. Ubi dum facta refectione[2] solitarius oraret, repente ad[3] superna raptus cujusdam discipuli nobiliter a se apud Glestoniam educati animam innumera angelorum frequentia hinc inde stipatam, atque immensi luminis fulgore perfusam ad cœli palatium provehi conspicit. Moxque in manus Divinæ pietatis eam[4] commendans, dominos quoque loci ad commendandum invitat. Stupentibus quidem omnibus et vix fidem dictis exhibentibus, velocis cursoris testimonio et mors et mortis hora secundum Dei viri testificationem vera probatur. B. pp. 46, 47.

He sees the devil before the death of Edmund.

21. Regressus autem a loco ut regem loquendi sibi cupidissimum adiret, diabolum scurræ simillimum coram equitantibus deprendit saltantem, et quasi de futuro aliquo lucro gloriantem. Cujus præsentiam dum coessenti populo indicasset, formamque omnium conspectibus horribilem ex imperio denudasset, requisitus postea quid ejusdem monstri tam petulans lætitia portenderet, ille mortem regis regnique mutationem proximam esse denunciat. Cui mox prophetiæ rerum veritas contestata respondit. Nondum enim sol septies diem creaverat, et rex occiditur, et regnum mutatur. Ex quo satis est advertere quanta hujus viri pectus gratia Dei regebat, qui invisibilem hostem tam facile deprehendere et ejus vestigia tam[5] veraciter posset denudare. Translatæ sunt autem exsequiæ regis Glestoniam, ibique a beato Dunstano sub magna lugentis populi frequentia terræ commendatæ. B. pp. 44, 45.

Edred becomes king.

22. Successit in regnum jure fratris egregius vir Edredus, homo cultor justitiæ ac pietatis, Deum valde diligens B. p. 29.

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[1] *Dei*] pretiosus, ins. L.
[2] *facta refectione*] facta oratione post refectionem, R.
[3] *ad*] de, D.
[4] *eam*] om. R.
[5] *tam*] om. R.

B. p. 29. et ipse a Deo multum dilectus ac per hoc[1] paterno verbere quasi bonus filius crebro ab Illo flagellatus. In hujus conspectu venerabilis pater Dunstanus adeo erat pretiosus, ut omni humano generi eum præferret, principem testamentorum statueret, thesauros ei delegaret, animam, corpus, et regnum committeret; nec quisquam in toto regno Anglorum esset, qui absque ejus imperio manum vel pedem moveret. Proinde Dunstanus quasi rex et regis imperator effectus, virgam æquitatis, virgam regni Dei per omnes Anglorum fines extendere; ecclesias quas aut ipse fundaverat, aut ab aliis fundatas egestas oppresserat, amplis hæreditatibus munerare, prorsus magnam lætitiam populis in sua potentia facere, dum pax et justitia in mutuos amplexus concurrerent, et osculandi munus per invicem libarent.

His esteem for Dunstan

Dunstan is all powerful at court.

B. pp. 29, 30. Adelard, p. 56. Dum hæc ita geruntur Ælfegus,[2] apud quem illum olim conversatum fuisse prædiximus, ad vitam spiritualis sæculi[3] dispositus est. Existimans autem rex tempus se opportunum accepisse, quo majoris honoris Dunstanum compotem faceret, aggreditur rogare illum ut ecclesiam pastorali solatio destitutam ipse pastor suscipiat. Sed cum videret se quod suadebat persuadere non posse, reginæ matri[4] Eadivæ[5] verbum imposuit suadelæ.[6] "Scio," inquit, "carissima mater, ac totius "imperii Anglorum regina, quod te communis[7] noster "amicus Dunstanus præcipue inter homines diligat, in "tuis quam maxime operibus delectetur; dum quicquid "pro consilio vitæ æternæ ipse tibi præceperit, sive id "esset in sustentatione pauperum, sive in muneratione "ecclesiarum, tu sedula semper executione implere[8] non "cessaveris. Qua de re magna animus meus spe de-"tinetur, ut si quid ab eo quod me atque illum deceat

Bishop Elfege dies.

The king asks his mother to persuade Dunstan to take the See of Winchester.

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[1] *per hoc*] om. R.
[2] *Ælfegus*] Aelphegus primus, L.
[3] *spiritualis sæculi*] spiritualem, R.
[4] *matri*] om. D.
[5] *Eadivæ*] Eadgivæ, D.; Eadithæ, Boll.; Edivæ, O.
[6] *suadelæ*] om. R.
[7] *communis*] om. L.
[8] *implere*] om. R.

Argument to be used with Dunstan.

" postulaveris, nulla tibi ratione denegare velit. De- B. p. 30. Adelard, p. 57.
" cere autem utrumque nostrum ut summum ipse at-
" tingat sacerdotium, omnibus manifestum est, qui
" omnes honores vita et sapientia illius scimus esse
" inferiores, et regem Anglorum multis cæterarum terrar-
" rum regibus noscimus[1] potentiorem. Aggredere igitur,
" mater[2] mi dulcissima hominem fœminali facundia;
" hortare ea qua apud illum niteris gratia, ut tibi con-
" sentiat, quatenus ex hoc Deo familiarius adhærere,
" et nos potentius valeat a peccatorum vinculis absol-
" vere." Paret igitur regi filio mater regina, Dunstanum asciscit convivio, demulcet alloquio. Sed ille juxta etymologiam nominis sui, ut mons persistens immobilis,

He refuses to become a bishop whilst the king lives.

" Nolo," ait, " domina, illud a me expeti, quod vel con-
" cessum meos animos perturbet, vel non concessum
" tuos offendat. Neque enim nescio quam difficulter
" suam quisque ante tribunal Christi causam agat,
" nedum alienæ causæ cognitor aut judex existat.
" Quod si ista rationum maxima non esset; illa nimi-
" rum a suscipiendo episcopatu multum me cohiberet,
" quod dominum regem constanti video languore peri-
" clitari, nec multum me ab eo posse separari, cum
" me tam sui patrem quam regni totius dominum ipse
" statuerit." Cumque illa negitantem[3] suis adhuc rationibus tenere voluisset, motus ille aliquantisper, " Certis-
" simum," inquit, " habeto, in diebus filii tui ponti-
" ficali infula me non esse sublimandum." Inde fluctuantes animos gerens cubiculo se dedit; ibique secum

His vision of the three Apostles.

multa volventi somnus obrepsit. Et ecce assunt prin- B. pp. 30, 31. Adelard, p. 57.
cipes regni Dei et judices sæculi, venerabiles Christi apostoli, Petrus et Paulus cum Sancto Andrea, et quasi de urbe Roma egredienti occurrentes et ad Montem Gaudii sibi se adjungentes. A quibus gratiosissime salutatus, videbat singulos in singulorum manibus gladios

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[1] *noscimus*] noscamus, D.
[2] *mater*] om. M.
[3] *negitantem*] negantem, E. R.; vegitantem, L.; restitantem, Mab.; negitantem, Boll.

B. pp. 30, 31. enitere, quos omnes officiosa benignitate sibi obtulere. The legends on the three swords.

Adelard, p. 57. Cumque visum per extensos ante se gladios duceret, hanc in gladio beati Petri legebat scripturam aureis litteris intextam: "In principio erat Verbum, et Ver-

S. John, i. 1. "bum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum." Cæterorum vero gladii propria tenentium illos nomina habebant inscripta, Pauli Paulus, Andreæ Andreas. Interea Andream exhilarato vultu aspicit conniventem, et evangelicis verbis audit præcinentem; "Tollite jugum "meum super vos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum et

S. Matt. xi. 29. "humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris." Tunc a beato Petro jussus lævam extendere modicum crepitantis ferulæ ictum excepit, hoc ab illo audiens, "Hoc tibi sit pœna abjecti, et signum ulterius non ab- "jiciendi pontificatus." Ad cujus virgulæ tactum a somno evigilans, divinitus se intelligit visitatum. Agit gratias Deo Cujus munere ita se conspicit honoratum. Cumque die illucescente regi quæ viderat enarrasset, miratus ille tali enodatione visionem absolvit; "Quo- "niam per arma apostolicæ benedictionis potestas ex- "primitur pontificalis, noveris te pro eo quod hesterno "die jugum Domini contempseris, increpatum ac divina "electione futurum pontificem designatum. Porro quod "'In principio erat Verbum' gladio beati Petri Apostoli "inscriptum vidisti, cum Verbum Dei sit Unigenitus "Filius Dei, Deus apud Deum semper, homo autem "pro hominibus inter homines factus; profecto scias te "ejus sedis principem futurum, quæ Christi nomine in "urbe Cantuariorum cæteris ecclesiis insignior celebra- "tur." Hoc signo divinæ prænunciationis Dunstanus est glorificatus, et hac regiæ interpretationis conjectura pontifex designatus. O signum insigne! O gratiam gratis homini datam! O cordis illius sinceram puritatem! Adhuc summus Anglorum pontifex Odo in humanis rebus vitam agebat, et Dunstanus in oculis Superni Inspectoris summus pontifex erat. Mirandum valde quod ipse adhuc terrigena angelicis concentibus admisceretur in

S. Peter's rebuke and chastisement.

Adelard, p. 57. Edred interprets the vision.

Dunstan is to be archbishop of Canterbury.

Spiritual privileges of Dunstan.

cœlis; mirandum nihilominus quod cum cœli civès frequentabant in terris. Quid cui præponam, hominem cœlicolis adjunctum, an cœlicolas homini destinatos, non satis comperio, nisi quod in altero felicior, in altero erat ille securior. Stupeant alii diversas diversarum virtutum donationes quibusdam hominibus divinitus collatas; ego nihil ita magni pendo, quomodo hominem in hujus mundi turbinibus consistentem, universa mundi animo transcendentem, et in amore Conditoris quiescentem, Martham videre ministerio, Mariam desiderio, fidem operantem, caritatem ardentem. Sed nihil diximus, si [1] ea quæ reliqua sunt dixerimus.

Illness of Edred: he sends for Dunstan.

24. At rex Edredus, letali morbo correptus, decidit in lectum; nec ullam evadendæ mortis spem medici promittebant. Celeriter itaque nuncios legat, qui patrem vitæ suæ Dunstanum accersiant, ut sit ultimi arbitrii testis, confessionum susceptor, et fidelis apud Deum intercessor. Contristatus ergo ad animam Dunstanus, quanta velocitate potuit, amicum regem invisere pergit. Videns autem illum Deus et cordis dolore affligi et corporis laborem pati, non est passus ut ultra eum afflictio tangeret, quin et dolorem lenivit et laborem imminuit. Nam cum esset in itinere, tendens ad palatium,[2] et membra jejuniis confecta infatigabiliter fatigaret, vox de summo æthere delapsa insonuit, "Ecce rex Edredus "obdormivit in Domino." Cujus vocis emissione equus cui insidebat percussus interiit. Comites tremuerunt, audientes quidem fragorem tonantis, sed qui tonaret non intelligentes. Quibus ipse rem aperiens, commendat animam defuncti regis in manu æterni Regis, statimque deferentibus nunciis audit quod ante sibi de cœlo angelus absolvit. Ingressus ergo [3] palatium Dunstanus contemplatur dilecti hominis cadaver jacere, co-

B. p. 31. Adelard, p. 58.

Dunstan has a divine warning of Edred's death.

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[1] *si*] nisi, D. E. Mab.; non, ins. R.

[2] *et laborem . . palatium*] om. R.

[3] *ergo*] om. R.; vero, L.

mitum turbas qui olim aurati solebant assistere procul recedere; miratur commutationem, miseratur conditionem. Deinde fidem qua viventem dilexerat defuncto quoque impendere studens, corporis involucrum in sua suscepit, debitumque sepeliendi officium debito illi honore persolvit. He buries him.

B. p. 32. Adelard, p. 59.

25. Post hunc surrexit Eadwi,[1] filius Edmundi regis, ætate quidem juvenis et nulla regnandi gratia pollens; qui neque ipse sapiens, neque[2] sapientum consilio adquiescens; sed alter Roboam despectis majoribus natu, puerorum consilia sectabatur. Hos ille perniciosissimos satellites nactus, et eorum consiliis, non tam consiliis quam insaniis fretus, optimum quemque rebus exspoliare, locupletes proscribere, exhæredare[3] ecclesias, detrahere religioni, multiplices in civitatibus exercere exactiones. Nec solum alienis ab ejus cognatione illius obfuit crudelitas, verum etiam Neronis Cæsaris more in homines sua stirpe oriundos, in ipsam quoque regum[4] matrem reginam Eadivam[5] sua dementia debacchari. Præter hæc libidinis ardens sine intermissione æstuabat ad coitum. Quibus rebus venerabilis pater Dunstanus graviter offensus, frequenter eum simul et acriter in locis opportunis increpare, ille increpantem ridere, simulque multa mala illi minari. Postquam autem[6] industriam suam nihil videt prævalere, omnino decernit ejus colloquio abstinendum. Folly and wickedness of Edwy. He persecutes his grandmother. Dunstan quits the court.

Adelard, p. 59.

26. Itaque relicto illo, monasterio recipitur; ibique in tanta celsitate deguit religionis ut mensuram sancta excederet devotio. Hoc in loco turris extructa erat, quam necdum ulla in supremo cacumine tectura claudebat. Cumque populus trabem totius operis sustentatricem summis muris applicare contenderet, repente ruptis funibus eadem trabes deorsum ruere cœpit. Clamor At Glastonbury, a beam in the new building threatens to fall.

[1] *Eadwi*] Edwi, D. F. H.; Edwy, L.
[2] *neque*] ipse, ins. L.
[3] *exhæredare*] exhæreditare, L.
[4] *regum*] om. L.
[5] *Eadivam*] Edgivam, D. F. H. Mab.; Elgivam, Boll.
[6] *autem*] om. L.

Dunstan arrests the fall by making the sign of the cross.

ingens oritur[1] totius populi Dunstanum iteratis vocibus perstrepentis; advolat itaque ocior sanctus, elatam dexteram machinæ opposuit, e regione crucem depingit. Necdum sancta manus sanctos extraxerat digitos, cum ea quæ vergere cœperat trabes, non vinculis astricta, non machinis levata, non denique ullo humani ingenii apparatu sustentata, ad locum de quo ruere cœperat revehi videbatur. Si tantæ gloriæ malignus spiritus non invideret, cui invideret? Si tunc virus malignitatis suæ non effunderet, quando effunderet? Nihil ergo dubietatis ulterius de viro Dei habens, semel atque simul omnes insidiarum suarum laqueos illi intendere statuit. Translatus itaque in speciem ursi consimilem hianti rictu orantem aggreditur, injectis ungulis pastoralem quam manu tenebat virgam complectitur, atque ad se trahere conatur. At divinus Dunstanus divinitatis spiritu fortiter roboratus, retractum ad se baculum erigit in sublime, fugientem beluam dirissime cædit, nec prius monstrum cædendo desistit, quam flagellum tergo illius tribus in partibus comminutum apparuit. Adelard, p. 59.

He is tempted by the devil in the shape of a bear.

B. pp. 27, 28.

Edwy's wanton behaviour on the day of his coronation.

27. Victus ergo in se diabolus in aliis victorem suum vincere quærit. Neque enim rerum occasiones longe abfuerant, quibus id quod perverse moliebatur[2] in usus malignos transferret. Nam rege præfato eodem quo consecratus fuerat die, in turpes concubitus publice devoluto, ac per hoc omni senatorio ordine offenso, nemine tamen ejus lasciviam redarguere auso, pari ac communi omnium voto Dunstanus compellatur,[3] qui regem constanter adeat, regium stuprum divina humanaque ratione compescat, mulieris adulteræ meretricium suspendii comminatione percellat. Fecit ille hoc, et parum est hoc. Repertum insuper cum adultera simul et filia illius principem a mœchali toro violenter abstraxit, positaque in capite ejus corona, ante sum-

B. pp. 32, 33.

Dunstan drags the king back to the feast.

[1] *oritur*] om. E. F. H. I. K. L. M.
[2] *moliebatur*] moliebantur, D.
[3] *compellatur*] compellitur, L.

B. pp. 32, 33. mum pontificem Odonem adduxit. At ganea sanguineos intorquens oculos, "Tu," inquit, "mortis me "suspendio addixisti? Ego te membrorum decore "privatum sempiterno exsilio damnabo." Cujus invectionis tenore spiritus nequam arrectus[1] ultionem de viro Dei nefandæ meretricis impulsu exspectat. Itaque mulieris animum diabolus instigat, regis iram mulier exaltat; ambo exsilium Dunstano intentant. Et primo quidem urgente regis edicto omnes monasticæ religionis ecclesiæ suis rebus spoliabantur, ut quæ præcipuæ semper fuere viro lætitiæ, nunc eidem quam maximo

Threats of the wicked woman.

Persecution of monks.

B. p. 33. fierent mœrori. Deinde cum ventum fuisset Glestoniam, et descriptis omnibus ipse proscriptus fuisset, inter lacrymas monachorum ejus manu nutritorum, inter lamenta venientium ad se ex omnibus locis amicorum, inter gemitus pauperum consuetis stipendiis per singulos dies ab illo recreatorum, audita est in atrio templi vox plaudentis diaboli, quasi vox juvenculæ acriter atque minute cachinnantis. Quem sanctus[2] severa fronte suspiciens, "Nihil," ait, "super exsilio meo gra- "tuleris, quoniam plus est quod me redeunte doleas, "quam quicquid me exulante lætari valeas." Ad quod dictum pallidi regni pallidus minister abscessit. Dunstanus autem non immemor quid sibi divinus olim

Glastonbury seized.

Laughter of the devil.

Dunstan's rebuke.

B. p. 34. Adelard, p. 59. citharœdus præcinuerit, immo Dominicæ memor promissionis, qua beatos fore qui pro justitia persecutionem patiuntur Christus asseruit, marinis se fluctibus tradidit, contrarium littus in gente Flandritarum[3] attingens. Ubi eminenti coram principe terræ illius gratia inventa, manebat in monasterio beati Petri, quod situm est Gandavi, propterea quod illud cæteris illius regionis monasteriis et professione virtutis et philosophiæ documentis excellere videbatur. Nec tamen cessat vesana furentis mulieris insania, quin omnibus qui virum Dei tempore suæ recessionis hospitio foverant, perscrutatis,

He goes to Flanders,

and stays at Ghent.

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[1] *arrectus*] arreptus, K. R.

[2] *sanctus*] Dunstanus, ins. L.

[3] *Flandritarum*] Flandrensium, R

The messengers sent to put out Dunstan's eyes are disappointed.

proscriptis, damnatis, ipsius quoque oculis eruendis malignos transmitteret ministros. Verum miserante divina clementia, cujus nunquam [1] auxilio destituebatur, ante illum Gallia susceperat, quam æquoreos servi Jezabelis fluctus attigissent. Exultat itaque sanctus, nulla exsilii per gratiam Dei damna deplorans, dum suis meritis ita omnes sibi devinciret, ut patriam esse exsilium putaret. Super hæc illum amici apostoli consolatio fovit; qui nullius rei quam ipse expeteret eum indigere permisit.

B. p. 34.

B. p. 34. Adelard, p. 59.

Revolt of the north people.

28. Respiciens ergo Christi clementia Anglorum populum tanto patrono destitutum, suscitavit corda virorum ab Humbre [2] fluvio usque ad fluvium Tamisium supra quod [3] urbs Lundonia [4] est fundata, adversus impium [5] regem Eadwium; qui omnes quasi in unum hominem translati non modo regnum ipsius abjicere,[6] verum etiam ipsum regno expellere moliti sunt, propterea quod in commisso regimine insipienter egisset, sapientes disperderet, ignaros boni suis consiliis ascisceret, prorsus libidine atque arrogantia præceps abiret. Coacti itaque in turbam regem cum adultera fugitantem atque in inviis sese occultantem armis persequi non desistunt. Et ipsam quidem juxta Claudiam civitatem repertam subnervavere, deinde qua morte digna fuerat mulctavere.

B. pp. 35, 36.

The wicked woman is hamstrung.

Edwy driven beyond the Thames.

Porro regem per diversa locorum semetra deviantem, ultra flumen Tamisium compulere. Deinde accito fratre illius optimæ indolis adolescente, nomine Eadgaro, quem futurum regem cœlesti quondam oraculo designatum fuisse prædiximus, dum pacem regnique salutem suis ac Dunstani temporibus angeli prædicarent; statuunt illum regem super omnes provincias ab Humbre magno[7]

[1] *nunquam*] nusquam, R.
[2] *Humbre*] Umbre, D.
[3] *quod*] quem, L.
[4] *urbs Lundonia*] civitas Lundoniarum, L.
[5] *impium*] om. L.
[6] *abjicere*] abjecere, R.
[7] *magno*] om. R.

B. p. 36. flumine usque ad flumen Tamisium, quo flumine amborum regnum ab invicem dirimebatur. Ita regnum, quod unum fuerat, in duos reges divisum gravibus aliquantisper conflictibus bellorum sudabat. Impleta tunc veridica illa Salvatoris sententia, qua omne regnum in seipsum divisum destruendum asserit, et domum super[1] domum esse casuram, Eadgarus quotidie erat proficiens, ut David pietate ac fortitudine, atque ut Salomon sapientia, divitiis et gloria. Domus autem Eadwii indies decrescere, cum ipse in flagitiis crescere non desiverit.

Edgar rules north of the Thames.

S. Luke, xi. 17.

B. p. 36. Adelard, p. 60. 29. Post paucos autem electionis suæ dies præcepit Edgarus diarcha,[2] totius regni sui concilium celebrari, in quo annihilatis omnibus quæ a fratre suo iniquis fuerant legibus decreta, ac restitutis omnibus quæ violenta illius[3] fuerant dominatione ablata, Dunstanum quoque venerabilem[4] abbatem in magna gloria de exsilio revocavit, et majore quam ab omnibus ante regibus honoratus fuisset gloria sublimavit. Cui etiam ut pontificale decus susciperet, vehementi petitione innuit,[5] nec ante a precibus quiescere voluit quam illum a sententia ad consentiendum retraheret, et ecclesiæ Wigornensi, quæ sub honore beatæ virginis Mariæ pollebat, pontificem præficeret. Qui cum Doroberniam sacrandus advenisset, et recitata[6] petitione cleri ac populi, summus Dei sacerdos Odo gaudenter annuisset, mirabile dictu, cæterum consecrationis ministerium, non quasi super antistitem Wicciorum,[7] sed sicut super archiepiscopum Cantuariorum, mirabiliter atque hilariter absolvit. Qua de re a circumstante clero reprehensus, quod contra patrum decreta ageret, qui unius ecclesiæ duos prohibent esse sacerdotes, nec per jus hæreditatis fieri electionem successionis, tale fertur dedisse respon-

Edgar recalls Dunstan.

He is made bishop of Worcester.

Adelard, p. 60.

Odo consecrates him as archbishop.

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[1] *super*] supra, L.

[2] *Edgarus diarcha*] rex Edgarus, K. R.

[3] *illius*] om. R.

[4] *venerabilem*] patrem, ins. L.

[5] *innuit*] imminuit, F. I. R.

[6] *recitata*] citata, R.

[7] *Wicciorum*] Wigorniorum, L. and R. as a correction.

His argument in defence of the act.

sum; "Si divinis humana non cederent, jure mihi "hominum auctoritas prætendi posset. Nunc vero "quoniam[1] auctor omnium Deus est, non possum illud "non facere, quod faciendum[2] Spiritus Dei dignatus "est præcipere. Erit namque beatus iste proximus "post mortem meam hujus sedis archiepiscopus, et "adversus mundi principem fortissimus præliator." Hac ille summi pontificis ratione defensus, procedit ad populum, summus et ille pontifex Cantuariorum prætitulatus, gestans insignia Aaron non legis velamine adumbrata, sed divinæ propitiationis munere per gratiam Christi insignita. Inde ad ecclesiam quæ sibi fuerat consignata reversus, atque in cathedra pontificali sublimatus, recordatus est quid olim exsultanti diabolo promisisset, cum illum regalis impietas exsilio ascripsisset. Itaque obviis in illum manibus insurgere, membra ejus evangelico gladio dividere, et oves quæ circumquaque errabundæ ferebantur ad Dominicum ovile revocare. Adelard, p. 60.

Dunstan's government of his church.

He has a vision of Edwy's soul carried off by devils.

30. Interea mortuo impio rege Edwio, atque in sortem malignorum spirituum translato, Dunstanus in ecclesia cui prærat, Deividis meditationibus inserviebat, nihil sciens quid de rege actum fuisset. Et ecce tartarea cohors sub ejus aspectu exultando quasi chorum ducere, et veluti capta præda lætas victorias agere. Perscrutatur itaque sanctus causam lætitiæ; audit regem obiisse, animam illius statim gehennalibus incendiis tradendam, sed prius hoc Dunstano ex divino imperio nunciandum. Motus itaque pietate Dunstanus solotenus prosternitur; largifluus ex oculis lacrymarum imber producitur; pulsat Deum precibus, nec ab Illo orando quiescit, quousque spiritum regis liberatum agnoscit. Brevi autem morula peracta, redit tristis legio infernalis, magnoque clamore in has voces erumpit; "O te "hominem hominum! O fidei alienum! O nostris "beneficiis semper ingratum! Nos detulimus obse-

He obtains his deliverance.

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[1] *quoniam*] quia, L. | [2] *faciendum*] om. L.

" quium; tu nobis retulisti supplicium; ad ulciscendas Complaints of the devils.
" injurias tuas de regione tenebrarum venimus, et ecce!
" adversis imprecationibus tuis confusi redimus."

Cumque ille depromendæ veritatis præceptum dæmonibus indiceret, agnoscit animam regis angelica virtute illis sublatam, ad statutum terminum sub signaculo servatam, nihil juris in illam dæmones habere, sed in sortem pœnitentium animarum eandem cedere.[1] Tum ille exultans in Domino furores illorum tali ratiocinatione compescuit; "Quid," inquit, "injuste actum est vobis? " Si peccavit homo iste, in Christum et in me peccavit. " Sed quoniam meas propter Christum dimisi injurias, " dimisit et Suas Christus, cujus ego clementiam de- " precatus sum. Quod ergo Christus et ego dignati su- " mus clementer[2] indulgere, vos qua temeritate audetis " improbe reprehendere?" Qua sententia tetri spiritus, quasi Parthica percussi sagitta, muscarum modo a vento raptarum dissiliunt. Dunstan silences them by argument.

B. pp. 36, 37. 31. At Edgarus totius imperii monarcha effectus, cogitabat beatum virum super omne regnum constituere, nolens in regno sine illo crescere, quem ante regnum præ cæteris studuerat familiarius[3] diligere: unde apposito patribus suis Lundoniensi episcopo, rogatu regis ac principum Dunstanus successione[4] donatur, annuentibus quoque omnibus ejusdem urbis habitatoribus et importunis vocibus illius nomen acclamantibus. Audierant namque quam fuerat a primæva ætate Deo acceptissimus, quam in illa cui præerat ecclesia sollicitus, quam denique in omni re bona et optima probatissimus;[5] et ea re noluerunt habere alium cum possent habere lectissimum. Neque[6] illum juvit excusatio canonum auctoritate prætensa, qui sicut unam ecclesiam duobus esse episcopis contradicunt, ita duas ecclesias uni episcopo fieri[7] posse non permittunt, Edgar, now sole king, makes Dunstan bishop of London.

B. p. 37. Adelard, p. 60.

[1] *cedere*] sedere, L.
[2] *clementer*] om. R.
[3] *familiarius*] om. R.
[4] *successione*] successioni, L.
[5] *probatissimus*] promptissimus, L.
[6] *Neque*] enim, ins. L.
[7] *fieri*] committi, R.

Argument for his pluralities.

cum Johannes, inquiunt, dilectus Domini[1] septem ecclesiis atque earum episcopis præfuerit, et beatus. Paulus omnium sollicitudinem ecclesiarum simul et magisterium habuerit. Talibus beatus pontifex rationum testimoniis victus, Lundanæ urbis antistes inthronizatur, non relinquens eam quam ante habuerat ecclesiam; sed utrique præsidens, utramque regens, utriusque verus ac proprius

Fulfilment of the vision of the Apostles.

pontifex existens. Habes ergo sanctissime pater gladium Pauli, quem tibi cœlitus destinatum olim ipse detulerat, et ad dividendos ecclesiæ inimicos habendum tradiderat; et quamvis prior tua pontificalis potestas non absque vigore evangelicæ disciplinæ administrata sit, non tamen eam aut gladio aut persona præsidentis præmonstrari oportuit, propterea quod neque Virginem gladius decet, viros autem decet, neque mutando locum mutasti obsequium, cum a Virgine transires ad virginem, a matre Domini ad matrem Domini,[2] a beata Maria[3] ad ejusdem nominis fœminam.[4] Accingere ergo bellator fortissime, accingere gladio potentiæ Dei, factus potens per eum

Adelard, p. 61.

Ps. xlv. 4.

His rigour against unlawful marriages:

qui supra femur quoque est potentissimus ad dimicandum adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiæ in cœlestibus. Divide illos qui per nefarium scelus illicito[5] abutuntur matrimonio, nec te revocet ab inferenda ultione; aut regalis potestas, aut Romani pontificis singularis sublimitas. Da sententiam in populi seductores argentarios, et non prius ad sacrum altare die Pentecostes oblaturus procedas quam et illos

Eph. vi. 12.

Adelard, p. 67.

for strict justice.

vindicta feriat et populo Dei justitia proveniat.[6] Ubique tuarum signa virtutum relinque; ubique Dominicæ Crucis trophæa erige. Promereberis etenim post modicum gladium Petri in quo innumera omnium generum sicut Petrus animalia occides, et in corpus ecclesiæ man-

Acts, x. 13.

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[1] *dilectus Domini*] om. R.

[2] *cum . . . ad matrem Domini*] cum a virgine matre Domini transires ad apostolum Domini, Boll., MSS. F. M.

[3] *a beata . . fœminam*] a Wigracistra ad Lundoniam, Mab., F. M.; Wirecestra, Boll.

[4] *ejusdem . . fœminam*] eandem dominam, L.

[5] *illicito*] licito, R.

[6] *proveniat*] præveniat, L.

ducando[1] trajicies; promereberis, inquam, gladium Petri insignitum nomine Omnipotentis Filii Dei, ut in omni Anglorum latitudine ligandi solvendique potestas per illum tibi augeatur, nec valeat in ovile intrare ovium qui te ductore non ascenderit per ostium. Quam merito ostium horrei Dorobernia sonat, ut horreum sit amplitudo imperii Anglorum, ostium vero principatus ecclesiæ Cantuariorum.

His use of the sword of Peter.

Dorobernia the door of the barn.

B. pp. 37, 38. Adelard, p. 60.

32. Excessit ergo humanis rebus deductus angelorum manibus ad Paradisum princeps sacerdotum Odo, vir clarus sapientia et virtute laudabilis, et, nisi Dunstanus succederet, ab omni Anglorum orbe semper deflendus.[2] Post cujus obitum, cum rex Dunstanum adjuraret ut princeps fieret sacerdotum, nec ille adjuranti ulla ratione assensum accommodaret, assistunt quidam, quorum manus Wentoniæ episcopus Ælfsinus[3] impleverat, postulantes confirmari illi summum sacerdotium. Hic enim et ante Odonem summum sacerdotium ambierat, sed custos ecclesiæ Suæ Christus ambitionem illius impediebat. Itaque rex eos qui muneribus pontificis corrupti fuerant nihil suspiciens, et ob hoc simplici eos animo exaudiens, orbatam pastore ecclesiam eidem tradidit gubernandam. Sed cum Romam profectus fuisset ut pallium a sede apostolica susciperet, gravi inter Alpes frigore correptus misere interiit, digna sibi ultione divinitus recompensata, ut qui ab amore cœlestium friguisset in corde, per frigoris asperitatem periret in corpore; et qui alienos honores ambire præsumpsisset, ipse in aliena regione mortuus honorem pariter et vitam amitteret. Iterum preces de archiepiscopatu Dunstano funduntur, nec quicquam in animo illius consensionis operantur. Quapropter dirigitur[4] ad patriarchatum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Beorhtelmus[5] Dorsatensium episcopus, homo mansuetior

Death of Odo.

Succession of Elfsin.

He dies on the Alps.

Appointment of Brihthelm.

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[1] *manducando*] mandendo, R.

[2] *deflendus*] esset, ins. L.

[3] *Ælfsinus*] Elfegus, R.; Alfsinus, L.

[4] *dirigitur*] deligitur, Mab. eligitur, L.

[5] *Beorhtelmus*] Bryhtelmus, L.; Brihtelmus, I.; Berchtelmus, F. H.

He is sent back to his diocese.

quam industrior, et qui suæ magis quam alienæ vitæ nosceret consulere. Is post paucos suscepti pontificatus dies, cognitus quod ad tantam rem minus esset idoneus, jussus a rege et ab omni populo Cantuaria discedit, atque ad relictam nuper ecclesiam suam non sine verecundia redit. Dominus namque agebat pro Dunstano, ut impleret verbum Suum quod promiserat in manu principum regni Sui. Advertens autem rex Edgarus horum reprobationem melioris esse vocationem, solumque in omnibus hominibus esse Dunstanum cui nemo conferri, immo omnibus posset præferri, tertio illum precibus fatigatum, tandemque tum sui ipsius tum omnium episcoporum importunitate superatum, primæ metropolis Anglorum primatem ac patriarcham instituit. Quem statim ob robur apostolicæ fidei vel auctoritatis ad Romuleam urbem profectum, Romanus pontifex videre promeruit, eumque sacris pontificalibus decoratum, quasi angelum Domini exercituum ad exhibendam divinæ legis scientiam, aut quasi columnam lucis ad illuminandam faciem terræ, genti Anglorum transmisit. Ecce quemadmodum impleta sunt quæ per gladium verbo Dei inscriptum, ac beati principis apostolorum Petri legatione exhibitum, tanto ante prænunciata fuerunt. Sed quid sibi vult quod de manu tertii apostoli tertium gladium acceperit, cum in ecclesia quæ sub ejus nomine apud Rovecestrem [1] venerabilis habetur, pontifex nunquam sederit? Sedit plane potestate, etsi non corporali sessione. Sedit inquam potestate; imperio sedit; defensione sedit; beneficiis sedit. Sed ne virtutum illius gratia urbs Cantuaria esset privata, aut augmentum suscepti [2] honoris diminutio præteritæ videretur fuisse virtutis, dignatus est Spiritus Sanctus novis quibusdam gratiæ suæ principiis ita virum in ecclesia Salvatoris clarificare, ut mirabilis ipse extra hominis naturam videretur esse. Nam cum die adventus sui primo sacris altaribus assisteret, et

B. p. 38. Adelard, p. 60.

Dunstan appointed.

He goes to Rome for the pall.

Adelard, p. 61.

Question about the sword of S. Andrew.

The answer.

[1] *Rovecestrem*] Rovecistrem, D. F. I.; Roffensem, L.; Rovecestram, Boll.; Rovecestriam, E.; Roveceastram, H.

[2] *suscepti*] suscepit, L.

Adelard, p. 62. populo Dei vivificum panem distribuendo porrigeret, repente contecta nube domo columba in Jordane a Johanne olim visa iterum apparuit; quæ quousque sacrificium fuisset consumptum super illum mansit. Cumque consumptum fuisset sacrificium, requievit supra memoriam beati Odonis, quæ ad australem partem altaris in modum pyramidis exstructa fuit. Ex qua die ita pontifex meritum ejusdem hominis Dei reveritus est, ut nunquam pertransiret nisi genua flecteret, bonumque illum vocaret, ita dicens, " Hic requiescit Odo bonus."

Vision of the dove.

Dunstan's reverence for Odo.

34. Per idem tempus quidam magnus videlicet et potens Salvatori ædiculam instituit, ad quam sacrandam et jure proprio possidendam venerabilis pontifex Dunstanus invitatus accessit. Ubi cum ad ministerium dedicationis aqua defuisset, et per hoc invitatori verecundia accessisset, ad vocem viri, quam per naturam non habuit per gratiam Dei arida rupes aquam profudit. Quæ de eadem rupe usque hodie manat, ac salutiferum fidelibus poculum præbens, Dunstani nomen celebre facit.

At the consecration of a new church, Dunstan calls water out of a rock.

B. p. 40. Dunstanus igitur candida apostolatus sui stola a Romano pontifice, ut diximus, infulatus, et universæ Anglorum genti necnon et aliis regionibus Anglorum regno suppositis patriarcha destinatus, festinabat singulas regionis[1] digredi civitates, ut si quibus nomen fidei incognitum fuisset, prædicaret, et domesticos fidei apostolica traditione ad bonum opus instrueret. Nec facile erat quempiam auditorum ejus non esse docibilem, propterea quod tanta illi rerum subtilitas inerat, tanta dicendi facultas, ut nihil esset aut inventu sapientius, aut dictu ornatius, aut auditu jocundius. Cum autem a forinsecis rebus requies data fuisset, tunc conjunctius cum Deo manere sacris vigiliis insistendo, divinas scripturas legendo, aut earum codices emendando. Summumque studium erat ut nunquam a divinis operibus vacaret; sed nunc verum judicium inter virum

He travels about preaching in the country.

His ordinary employment.

[1] *regionis*] regionum, R.

His habits of business.

ct virum discernere, nunc impacatas hominum mentes placido sermone tranquillare; horum inepta dissolvere conjugia; illorum hæreticam refutare opinionem; hic neglecta renovare, illic nova construere; neque aut superfluas ædificationes aggredi aut necessarias prætermittere. Viduis, orphanis ac peregrinis, ex justis ecclesiæ redditibus subvenire, pecuniam non lucri æstimatione sed pietatis adquisitione habere. Totam operam suam patriæ impendere et magis repellere ejus excidia[1] quam propria pericula. Proinde rex consilio ejus ut vitæ suæ credens, et omne quod ab eo diceretur quasi ab Omnipotentis ore prolatum fuisset suscipiens, quæcunque erant statuenda statuit, quæcunque damnanda[2] damnavit: hoc consiliario omnes diabolicæ malignitatis ministros, fures, sacrilegos, perjuros, fidei violatores, veneficii compositores, libidinis appetitores; adhæc quicunque contra patriam[3] conspirassent, qui in parentes manus extendissent; mulieres etiam quæ adulterina fraude viros suos interfecissent; postremo omnes quos irato Deo vivere sciebat, ex omnibus regni sui finibus proturbatos diuturno aut perpetuo relegavit exsilio. Hujus quoque consilio omnes ecclesiarum ministros, qui spreto professionis suæ ministerio, aut venandi studio intenti, aut quæstuosis negotiis dediti, seu concumbendi insolentia deturpati, ætatem agere solebant, omnes hos aut districta animadversione decrevit coercendos aut cita subversione de ecclesiis[4] expellendos. Ex quo factum est, ut quarundam clarissimarum ministri ecclesiarum, dum in eligendo quodcunque deliberarent voluptatem honestati præferrent, regali sanctione de eisdem ecclesiis expulsi, melioribus se et alterius ordinis hominibus sua loca relinquerent.

B. pp. 40, 49.

His influence with Edgar.

General reforms.

His discipline of the clergy.

B. p. 26.

Revival of monachism.

Propter hæc igitur sanctissimæ instituta disciplinæ tantus in regno Anglorum divinitatis cultus excrevit, ut

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[1] *repellere . . excidia*] expellere . . excidiam, L.

[2] *erant . . damnanda*] damnanda damnavit, D.; statuenda damnavit, L.

[3] *patriam*] om. R.

[4] *ecclesiis*] ecclesia, R.

et nobilissimi quique aut in sæculo præpotentissimi, spretis omnibus mundi pompis, ad divina confugerent servitia; et hii quos jam ecclesiasticus ordo admiserat de virtute contenderent, scientes neminem ad honorem posse pertingere quem non virtutum merita juvarent. Ob hujus quoque disciplinæ excellentiam tanta pacis constantia, tanta rerum exstitit opulentia, ut omnia mundi elementa Ipsum quoque elementorum Creatorem Deum regiis temporibus arridere putares. Sic pontificis sapientia dictabat regis justitiam; regis justitia obtinuit Dei misericordiam, Dei autem misericordia omnium rerum præstitit abundantiam.

Harmony between Edgar and Dunstan.

35. Sed hæc communia totius ecclesiæ gaudia cupiens disturbare, malignus accendit animum Christianissimi regis in amorem Deo devotæ virginis, ut quoniam a tramite justitiæ Dunstanum dejicere non potuisset, eum quem præcipue Dunstanus diligebat, et super quem totius religionis vigor incumbebat, dejicere temptaret. Perpetrato itaque in virginem velatam[1] peccato, atque ad publicam populi audientiam perlato, Dunstanus tam pro culpa quam pro infamia regis gravissimo dolore affectus, mox illum veluti alterum David cum Bethsabee[2] dormientem, alter ille sed longe[3] severior Nathan intrepidus adiit; furibundus ad eum introiit. Assurgens autem rex venienti obviam pontifici, extendit manum ut eum ad regium deduceret thronum. Qui renuens manum dare, oculos cum quadam animi indignatione in illum torsit, et ait, "Tu pontificis manum audes con-
" tingere, qui virginem Deitatis munere arratam non
" timuisti præripere? Sponsam tui Conditoris adulte-
" rasti, et amicum sponsi aliquo tuo obsequio existimas
" posse placari? Nolo amicus esse cui Christus fuerit
" inimicus." Territus ergo verborum tonitruo rex, objurgantis se pedibus pontificis extemplo prosternitur,

Snare of the devil.

Edgar corrupts a veiled virgin.

Dunstan refuses to touch him.

The king's humiliation.

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[1] *velatam*] om. L.
[2] *Bethsabee*] Bersabee, L.
[3] *longe*] valde, L.

scelus flebiliter[1] fatetur; veniam humiliter precatur. Quod ut vidit pontifex, expavit, perfusumque regem lacrymis, lacrymis[2] et ipse madens tellure levavit. Deinde cum magnitudinem peccati per amplificationem exposuisset, et paratum illum ad omnem satisfactionem reddidisset, septennem ei pœnitentiam indixit, ut in hoc toto spatio coronam regni sui non gestaret; jejunium in hebdomada biduale transigeret: avitos pauperibus thesauros large dispergeret. Super hæc sacrandis Deo virginibus monasterium Sceftoniæ[3] fundaret, quatenus qui unam per peccatum Deo virginem abstulisset, plures Ei per plura sæculi volumina aggregaret. Clericos autem male actionales de ecclesiis expelleret; monachorum agmina introduceret, justas Deoque acceptas legum rationes sanciret, sanctas conscriberet, conscriptas per omnes fines imperii sui populis custodiendas mandaret. Nihil ergo residuum fuit quod minus aut segnius rex implevit quam a rectore vitæ suæ præceptum fuisset. Septimo autem anno, cum redeunte quasi jubileo termino pœnitentiæ tempus exactum[4] fuisset, sacer præsul accitis omnibus imperii Anglorum principibus, episcopis, abbatibus, et universis ecclesiæ dignitatum ordinibus, imposuit regi coronam coram omni multitudine populi Anglorum, lætantibus cunctis et ineffabilibus jubilationis vocibus Deum in Dunstano laudantibus. Puerum quoque ex peccatrice quondam progenitum sacro fonte regeneratum levavit, et aptato illi nomine Edwardo, in filium sibi adoptavit.[5]

His seven years penance.

He is crowned at the end of it.

Reforms in the church.

36. Interea tanta clericalis ordo quibusdam in locis confusione agebatur, ut non solum a vita sæcularium excedentius nihil haberet, verum etiam improbis actibus longe inferior jaceret. Qua de re pastores ecclesiarum turbati, Dunstanum ut proprium primatem

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[1] *flebiliter*] om. R.

[2] *lacrymis*] om. R.

[3] *Sceftoniæ*] Scephtoniæ, R.; aliquod, M.; quoddam, D. I. L.; sentence omitted in K.

[4] *exactum*] adactum, D.

[5] *Puerum . . adoptavit*] om. D. L. M.; erased in F. and I. The importance of these variations is remarked on in the Preface.

adeunt, res male gestas exponunt, correctionis[1] consilia perquirunt. At ille in homines infandos suæ auctoritatis proferens sententiam, "Aut canonice," inquit, "est "vivendum aut ecclesiis exeundum." Ex quo factum est ut complurium ecclesiarum clerici dum contempnerent proposita conditione corrigi, auctoritate pontificis sint expulsi. Qui rege adito vel quos regis gratia proximos effecerat, Dunstanum injuriarum accusant; se virtutis amatores pronunciant, ut in præsentia regis conveniatur orant. Dunstanus itaque his quæ quasi rationabiliter[2] postulabantur contraire nolens, coacto concilio Wintoniam venit; ubi ex sententia totius concilii de adversariis victoriam cepit. Cumque ex jure nihil sibi superesse conspicerent, usi auxilio regis et principum, ad preces se vertunt, quibus episcopum flagitant quatenus intromissæ personæ de ecclesiis expellantur, expulsæ restituantur. Dubitante viro Dei nullumque ad rogata responsum porrigente, res mira et sæculis inaudita, ecce Dominici Corporis forma vexillo crucis infixa atque in editiore domus parte locata, humanos exprimens modos, omnium voces compescuit dicens, "Absit hoc ut fiat, absit hoc ut fiat." Ad quam vocem rex omnesque majores natu fere usque ad exhalationem perterriti, clamore pariter et Dei laudatione aream[3] complent. Et his quidem adversariis viventibus cessatum est a contentionibus, quousque per successionem filiorum prior discordia renovata est. Qui abeuntes et iniquitatis suæ defensorem Beornelmum[4] Scottorum pontificem assumentes, hominem videlicet tam ingenio quam loquacitate fere[5] insuperabilem, ad hominem Dei in villam quæ Kalne vocatur tendunt, turgenti spiritu scandalum proponunt. Dunstanus autem longo quidem senio et magnis ecclesiæ laboribus effractus, jam præter orationem post tergum omnia posuerat; attamen ne pars iniqua divino quondam miraculo victa,

He turns out the secular clerks.

At a council at Winchester their complaints are heard.

Miraculous utterance of a crucifix, which decides the case.

It is revived in the next generation, at Calne.

[1] *correctionis*] correptionis, O.
[2] *rationabiliter*] irrationabiliter, L.
[3] *aream*] aerem, L.
[4] *Beornelmum*] Heornelinum, M.; Byornnelmum, R.]
[5] *fere*] om. R.

Dunstan declines to contest the matter.

nunc de adipiscenda gloriaretur victoria, hoc in hostes responsionis jaculum vibrat, "Quoniam," inquit, "tanto "tempore elapso calumniæ ansam[1] non prætendistis,[2] "nunc autem senescente me ac taciturnitati operam "dante, antiquis querelis deservire contenditis, fateor, "vincere vos nolo, ecclesiæ Suæ causam Christo judici "committo." Dixit, et quod dixit irati Dei censura firmavit, mox etenim concussa[3] domus; cœnaculum sub pedibus solutum; hostes solo præcipitati ac ruentium trabium pondere oppressi;[4] ubi vero cum suis sanctus accubitabat ibi nulla ruinæ suffusio fiebat.

Fall of the floor of the room where the council was held.

Dunstan obtains the election of Edward as king.

37. At rex Edgarus immatura morte præreptus, Edwardum filium suum et regni et morum hæredem reliquit. In cujus electione dum quidam principes palatini adquiescere nollent, Dunstanus arrepto crucis vexillo, quod præ se ex more ferebatur, in medio constitit, Edwardum illis ostendit, elegit, sacravit, patrisque ac magistri affectum quoad vixit impendit. Versumque omnibus in gaudium est quod paulo ante triste putaverant, existimantes juvenem regem inhumanum futurum, consilia sapientium non curaturum, sed pro libidine omnia acturum. Sed postquam secus esse cognovere, secus et ipsi rem tenuere, et displicuisse sibi regem vehementer displicuit. Sed illo post triennii tempus novercali fraude occiso, Ethelredus, quem fama fratrem ejus loquebatur, regnandi sceptra obtinuit. Quæ res quamvis infesto fieret Dunstano, vel quia per effusionem sanguinis innocentis ad regnum perveniret, vel quia parum prudentiæ ac fortitudinis illi inesset, non[5] erat tamen consilium resistere, propterea quod filius regis et proximus tunc hæres videretur esse. Attamen in die consecrationis suæ, post impositam coronam, fertur hoc illi prædixisse Dunstanus, "Quoniam aspirasti ad

Adelard, p. 61.

On his death Ethelred is chosen.

Adelard, p. 61.

[1] *ansam*] causam, E. L. R. Mabillon reads *ansam*, and the Bollandists also, as well as MSS. F. H. I. K. D. M. N. and O.

[2] *prætendistis*] protendistis, L.

[3] *concussa*] est, ins. L.

[4] *oppressi*] sunt, ins. L.

[5] *non*] ei, ins. L.; tamen, om. R.

" regnum per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit ignomi- Dunstan prophesies Ethelred's misfortunes.
" niosa mater tua, non deficiet gladius de domo tua
" sæviens in te omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, interficiens
" de semine tuo, quousque regnum tuum transferatur in
" regnum alienum cujus ritum et linguam gens cui præ-
" sides [1] non novit. Nec expiabitur nisi longa vindicta
" peccatum tuum et peccatum matris tuæ et peccatum
" virorum illorum qui interfuere consilio illius nequam."[2]

38. His temporibus contigit Æthelwoldum [3] Wentanæ ecclesiæ antistitem, cum alio quodam Rofensi episcopo, Cantuariam venire, magnumque Dunstano de adventu suo gaudium præstare, propterea quod ejus doctrina ac cura, alti, docti ac per varias virtutum disciplinas ad summos ecclesiæ honores fuissent provecti. Plerisque ergo diebus in mutua sermocinatione simul et exultatione peractis, egreditur archiepiscopus de civitate, volens ad locum ecclesiæ Christi [4] mansionarium proficisci. Illi vero comitabantur deducentes eum quousque illos via dirimeret, quæ unumquemque ab altero separatum ad locum quo ire disponebat dirigeret. Cumque imminente jam vespera procul adhuc a loco distarent, tardiuscule enim quam hora postulabat de urbe exierant, archiepiscopum deprecatur Rofensis antistes ut ad vicinum ecclesiæ suæ patrimonium divertat, nocturnum tempus secum transigat, mane vero si ita placuerit migrationem faciat. Cujus ille postulationi dignanter annuens ait, " Si confrater noster Æthelwoldus mecum venire volue-
" rit, in me nulla veniendi mora erit." Assenserunt ergo pontifices in eodem, pariterque [5] paratum sibi habitaculum subeunt. Jam aurea lux noctis fugaverat umbras, cum beati illi, in viam progressi, collem ascendunt, inde ab invicem vicaria pacis relatione dividendi; ex-

The bishops of Winchester and Rochester visit Canterbury.

On their journey home Dunstan accompanies them a part of the way.

[1] *præsides*] præes, R.
[2] *nequam*] neci, R.
[3] *Æthelwoldum*] Ethelwold died Aug. 1, 984: the name of the bishop of Rochester at the time was Elfstan: if this story is true, two Elfstans must have been bishops in succession, one of whom is otherwise unknown.
[4] *Christi*] om. R.
[5] *pariterque*] om. R.

Dunstan tells them that they are both about to die.

tendens autem manum summus Dei sacerdos ut coessentes secum minores pontifices benediceret atque dimitteret, extemplo erupit in fletum, fletum adeo magnum ut vix de sancto[1] pectore vocem valeret efferre. Expavescunt ad factum pontifices insolitum. Fletuum causas solliciti perquirunt, et post modicum hoc ad quæsita responsum accipiunt, "Ea," inquit, "re fleo quoniam " vos in proximo morituros scio." Cumque illi referrent, "Noli, sanctissime pater, tam dira nobis prophe- " tia occurrere, non enim moriemur, sed iterum atque " iterum pariter nos incolumes videbimus," tali quod dixerat responsione firmabat; "Quod dixi necesse est " fieri; moriemini namque huic sæculo sed vivetis Deo; " moriemini in hac vita diutius non mansuri, sed ad " Deum vadetis æternaliter cum illo victuri." Divertunt ergo ab invicem pontifices mœrentes pro invicem, magis tamen pro se quisque pio timore sollicitus. Sed Rofensis episcopus abiens in civitatem suam, mox ut intravit vehementer ægrotavit, postque paucos dies, prout veriloquus vates prædixerat, e sæculo migravit. Æthelwoldus vero priusquam ad propriæ sedis urbem veniret, ultimo corporis languore correptus cœlestis sedis habitationem suscepit.

The prophecy is fulfilled.

Dunstan has a revelation directing him to promote Elfege to Winchester.

Super cujus morte venerabilis pater admodum contristatus, sive quod sanctissimæ semper religionis fuerit, seu quod magnam de substituendo sacerdote litis occasionem viventibus dereliquerit, deprecatus est Dominum desertæ ecclesiæ benignum fore provisorem. Cui mox deprecanti assistit familiaris amicus suus Andreas apostolus, precibus ejus Deum dicit annuere, Bathensem abbatem nomine Alfegum monet adducendum et ex divinitatis consilio Wentanæ ecclesiæ antistitem præficiendum. Ita quicquid rerum ipse desiderasset per interpretem apostolum confestim a Deo consequebatur. Sed et ille vicem honoris apostolo persolvens in omni obsequio illi studebat deferre, basilicas in ejus nomine fabricare, fabricatas muneribus decorare.

Adelard, pp. 61, 62.

[1] *sancto*] om. R.

39. Dum ergo quodam tempore præfatus rex Athelredus propter quasdam dissensiones civitatem obsideret Rofensem, et facta capiendi illam difficultate, patrimonium beati apostoli devastando invaderet, mandavit eidem beatissimus pontifex ab stultitia quiescere, Andream sicut ad præstandum facilem, sic ad ulciscendum virilem, in promptu esse ut potentiam ipsius ipse experiatur si hæreditatem illius vexare non destiterit. Contemptus a rege Dunstanus, iterum currentibus nunciis eadem suggerit, insuper argenti pondo centum transmittit. Qui accipiens recessit ab obsidione. Quod simul atque[1] pontifici[2] renunciatum fuisset, miratus cupiditatem hominis hoc illi scribere curavit, "Quo- "niam prætulisti pecuniam Deo, argentum apostolo, "meæ voluntati tuam cupiditatem, velociter venient "super te mala quæ locutus est Dominus, mala qualia "non fuerunt ex quo gens Anglorum regnare cœpit "usque ad tempus illud. Attamen vivente me ista "non erunt,[3] quoniam et hoc locutus est Dominus." Quæ omnia ita[4] contigisse in annalibus legere, et nostris temporibus est videre.

Ethelred besieges Rochester; Dunstan bribes him to leave it alone. Dunstan's contempt for him. His prophecy concerning him.

B. pp. 40–44.

40. Sed ut jam beatum illum de quo loquimur fidentius pro obsequio alloquamur, et sic ad felicem ejus transitum madentibus oculis transeamus, quantæ illud contemplationis est, pater mirabilis, pater inæstimabilis, quantæ illud contemplationis est,[5] quam excedens omnium mortalium mentes, quod vel Dei genitricem in hac mortali vita vel tuam genitricem in[6] æterna videbas vita. In cœlum namque deducebaris, intereras beatis agminibus illis, oblectabaris modulationibus angelorum, eandem genitricem tuam quasi nuptiali thalamo æterno regi copulantium, et suave Kyrieleyson modulantibus organis resonantium. Cumque de tuæ taciturnitatis silentio arguereris, quod inter tanta æternæ vitæ gaudia solus tu a divinis laudibus cessares, cum

Dunstan's visions of heaven. His vision of his mother's marriage.

[1] *simul atque*] postquam, R.
[2] *pontifici*] Dunstano, L.
[3] *erunt*] fuerunt, L.
[4] *ita*] ista, D.
[5] *quantæ . . est*] om. L.
[6] *hac mortali . . in*] om. D.

He is taught a hymn in the vision.

præcipue tibi pro honore parentis gaudendum fuisset, referresque hujus tantæ suavitatis inscium te[1] esse, quam breviter, quamque dulciter, a civibus civitatis[2] illius edoctus in has voces cantando erupisti, "O rex domi- " nator gentium, salva genus[3] Christianorum in terra " adhuc peregrinantium, ut et ipsi post inimicitias ad " gratiam revertantur et angelicæ ruinæ per illos damna " reparentur." B. p. 41.

His vision of the virgins.

Jam vero quibus exultationis labiis edicam, quod matrem Domini Salvatoris, reginam mundi,[4] dominam angelorum, virgineis oculis vidisti, non vestali choro circumdatam, sed virginali corona circumfusam. Feli- ces oculi tui qui illam videre potuerunt cujus castis- sima viscera cœli ac terræ Opificem portare meruerunt. Felices oculi tui quibus datum est illam videre quam speciosam super filias Jerusalem angeli venerantur, ho- mines desiderant, pavescit tartarus, et omnis creatura heram miratur. Nec inde solummodo felix quod illud singulare totius orbis decus videre potuisti; potuisti etiam[5] mellifluas ejus voces audire quibus socias vir- gines ad collaudandum Regem sæculorum ex sua carne temporaliter procreatum hortabatur, concinens illud viri sapientis ac senatoris Sedulii, B. pp. 48, 49.

They sing the hymn of Sedulius.

" Cantemus Domino, sociæ, cantemus honorem!
" Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio;"

cumque ab aliis virginibus hoc fuisset exceptum, aliæ[6] qui sequuntur versus pronunciabant,

" Primus ad ima ruit magna de luce superbus
" Sic homo cum tumuit[7] primus ad ima ruit.
" Unius ob meritum cuncti periere minores,
" Cuncti salvantur unius ob meritum;
" Sola fuit mulier patuit qua janua lethi,
" Ex qua vita redit, sola fuit mulier."

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[1] *te*] om. R.
[2] *civitatis*] cœlestibus, R.
[3] *genus*] humanum, ins. L.
[4] *mundi*] cœli, L.
[5] *etiam*] om. L.
[6] *aliæ*] alii, R.
[7] *tumuit*] timuit, L.

Atque in hunc modum totius carminis bini ac bini versus procurrebant, illis semper repetitis qui primi a matre Domini dicebantur; Hymn of the virgins.

" Cantemus Domino, sociæ, cantemus honorem!
" Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio."

Hæc tu, pontificum dignissime, acutissima vi corporalium oculorum in spiritualem potentiam translatorum videre potuisti; hæc tu, intime cœlestium arcanorum perscrutator, audire potuisti, his tantis tamque stupendis rebus interesse potuisti. O sancta animi tui puritas et pura sanctitas, quam sic honorat supernæ civitatis suprema dignitas! O decus ac præmium virginitatis, cui sic adgaudet natura virgineæ simul atque angelicæ dignitatis! Sed ecce supra vires viventium est viventis tui in corpore laudibus immorari, quanto minus transeuntis tui et cum Christo æternaliter regnantis condignas laudes valebimus effari. Præstet omnipotens Deus per potentissima[1] merita tua, ut vel finem vitæ tuæ quantulumcunque laudabili valeamus sermone describere, quatenus quem semper nobiscum corporaliter viventem non licuit habere, liceat saltem ex consideratione pretiosissimæ mortis sempiternam tui vitam agnoscere, et agnoscendo diligere, et diligendo beatæ mercedis aliquid per te piissimum patrem a Deo obtinere. Discant interim devoti tantorum mirabilium auditores exemplo tui sobrie vivere, sacras frequenter excubias celebrare, castis orationibus inservire, quoniam[2] et tu idcirco talibus tantisque gaudiis interesse meruisti, quod aliis dormientibus ipse in sanctis desideriis vigilasti, orasti, horamque ultimam sine intermissione cogitasti. Nec tamen sufficiens erat in secreto cubiculi[3] tui ista operari, nisi etiam nocturnis frigoribus ædem beati patris Augustini frequentares, et inde ad vicinum præfatæ virginis templum hanc gloriam Dei visurus procederes. Apostrophe to Dunstan. His visit to the church of S. Augustine by night.

B. p. 48.

[1] *potentissima*] omnipotentissima, R.

[2] *quoniam*] quomodo, R.

[3] *cubiculi*] cubili, R.

The year of Dunstan's death, A.D. 988.

41. Anno igitur Verbi incarnati duodecim minus a millesimo, adventus Anglorum in Britanniam quingentesimo sexagesimo tertio, sanctissimus Deoque dilectissimus Dunstanus transitoriam præsentis vitæ deserens lucem, ad lucem beata atque æterna jocunditate[1] prædítam pervenit, ubi sicut sol ex claritate Dei resplendet,[2] et diem æternum æternaliter possidet; anno patriarchatus sui tricesimo tertio, nativitatis etiam[3] circiter septuagesimo, cum jam esset omnium virtutum charismate plenus et Deum videndi desiderio fatigatus; cujus venerabilis transitus tam a se quam ab aliis multiplici revelatione præscitus, sibi gaudium aliis gravem ingessit mœrorem; sibi gaudium, quoniam quod per spem in vita jocundius habebat, id per rem se visurum et eo perpetuo fruiturum gaudebat; cæteris mœrorem, quoniam qui similiter divinis et humanis rationibus excelleret, neminem deinceps in terra appariturum[4] existimabant. Sed nos, multiplicium revelationum multimoda relatione postposita,[5] eorum quæ proposuimus singula singulis tantum rationibus demonstrabimus.

Vision of Alfgar, betokening Dunstan's death.

Dies ergo ascensionis Christi festivus diem clarificationis beati Dunstani præcessit tertius. Tantæ itaque diei surgente aurora, sacerdos quidam nomine Algarus doctrinæ et actionis merito præcipuus, quem postea nobilem in Elmham episcopum claruisse accepimus, dum sacros Dominicæ Ascensioni honores in ecclesia Salvatoris pervigil impenderet et mentem ad cœlestia contemplanda extenderet,[6] se ipso et omnibus mundi hujus rebus transcensis, Dunstanum pontificali throno conspicit præsidentem et clero jura canonica dictantem. Et ecce per omnes ecclesiæ januas irruentium angelorum infinita ingrediuntur agmina, stolis candidissimis fulgentia,

Adelard, pp. 64, 65.

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[1] *jocunditate*] immortalitate, R.

[2] *resplendet*] resplendent, D.

[3] *etiam*] om. R.; autem, L. Boll. Mab.

[4] *appariturum*] om. R.

[5] *multimoda relatione postposita*] multimodis relationibus postpositis, R.

[6] *et . . . extenderet*] om. R.

coronis aureis rutilantia,[1] cherubin atque seraphin[2] sese proclamantia, et quasi divinum nuncium deferentia. Qui dum coactis ordinibus sedenti astarent pontifici, hoc illi salutationis alloquium persolvunt, "Salve," inquiunt, "Dunstane noster, si paratus es veni et nostro "gratiosus utere contubernio." Respondit Dunstanus, "Scitis, O sancti spiritus, hodie Christum cœlos con- "scendisse, nostrique officii esse tam verbo quam sa- "cramento populum Dei reficere, ideoque venire hodie "nequeo." Dixerunt itaque sancti spiritus, "Paratus "esto die Sabbati hinc nobiscum Romam transire, et "ante summum pontificem *sanctus* æternaliter canere."

The angels invite him to join their band.

He is to go with them to Rome on the Saturday after the Ascension.

42. Postquam ergo dies æternæ retributionis est indictus, et Dunstanus divina[3] fide ad consentiendum inductus, confestim qui apparuerunt angeli disparuerunt. At sacerdos, qui rerum tam evidens contemplator exstiterat, exitum earum stupidus simul et tacitus explorator observabat.

B. p. 51. Adelard, p. 65.

Cumque inter sacrosancta ejusdem diei gaudia illa evangelii lectio recitaretur, in qua Dominus noster Jesus Christus post resurrectionem Suam discipulis apparuisse, et exprobrata incredulitate illorum atque duritia cordis, mandatum legitur dedisse ut in toto mundo evangelium regni prædicarent, fidem ac baptismum annunciarent, salutem proponerent credentibus, non credentibus minarentur condemnationem; cumque[4] ad hæc confirmanda signorum illis faciendorum potestatem delegaret, dæmonum ejectionem, linguarum novitatem, tollere serpentes, mortiferæ potionis virus extinguere, et super omnem ægritudinem salutiferam manuum impositionem; cum ergo ista evangelii lectio pronunciaretur, et post hæc quemadmodum videntibus illis, quibus hæc potestas[5] delegata esset, Christus in cœlum ascenderit, subjiceretur, processit pontifex de sacrario latius hæc eadem in populo tractaturus, et memoriam misericordiarum Dei cordibus

The Gospel on the feast of the Ascension.

S. Mark, xvi. 14.

Dunstan expounds it.

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[1] *rutilantia*] radiantia, R.
[2] *seraphin*] sanctus, ins. M.
[3] *divina*] divinus, R.
[4] *cumque*] om. R.
[5] *post hæc . . . potestas*] om. R.

His sermon on the Gospel.

eorum arctius impressurus. Locutus est ergo qualiter nunquam antea fuerat[1] locutus, ostendens qua ratione. Filius Dei carnem induerit, cur humani generis salvationem non nisi moriendo compleverit, quemadmodum resurgens a mortuis mortis principem superaverit, et famulantibus angelis cœlum ingressus fuerit: deinde sanguinem Christi incomparabiliter omnibus creaturis docuit esse præstantiorem, tantamque fiduciam in effusione sanguinis Illius mundum habere posse, ut si unus aliquis totius mundi peccata haberet, neque de multitudine neque de magnitudine criminum illi esset desperandum, si Mediatorem Dei et hominum haberet Advocatum. Inter hæc felicia felicis sponsionis gaudia pontifex ad aram reducitur, transferens omnipotentissimis Domini verbis speciem panis et vini in veram substantiam carnis et sanguinis Christi. Jamque hora benedicendi populum advenerat, et iterata vice beatus ille ad populum procedebat volens illis abscessum suum denunciare, sed amore dulcedinis filiorum revocabatur. Proinde exhortatus est omnes ut illuc tota mentis intentione tendant, quo Caput nostrum principiumque Jesus Christus eadem die processerat. Dataque super illos suæ auctoritatis benedictione, orabat Spiritum Sanctum illis adesse quemadmodum Filius Dei promiserat cum redeuntem Illum ad Patrem cœlestis nubes suscipiebat. "Ego," inquit, "mittam vobis Spiritum veritatis ut maneat vobiscum in æternum." Cum his igitur disserendis beatissimus pontifex immoratus diutius fuisset, videbant faciem ejus tanquam faciem angeli Dei, ut vere ac visibiliter esset agnoscere, quod Is Quem invocabat Spiritus Sanctus majestatis Suæ præsentiam dignatus fuerit[2] demonstrare. Volente autem illo ad altare converti, suspirabat populus post eum, desiderans adhuc desiderabiles vultus ejus videre, et colloquio perfrui; proinde quasi ejusdem Spiritus Sancti magisterio edocti quod illum ulterius in carne non essent visuri. Quibus in amore æternæ

B. p. 51. Adelard, p. 65.

He consecrates the elements.

His second exhortation.

He gives the blessing.

S. John, xiv. 16.

The people are conscious of his near departure.

[1] *fuerat*] est, R. | [2] *fuerit*] sit, R.

B. p. 51. Adelard, p. 65. Trinitatis tertio confirmatis, post libatum pacis suæ et caritatis osculum, non valuit sibi imminentem gloriam diutius contegere, sed rogat ut sui memores existant, diemque vocationis suæ dicit instare, nec se ulterius in hoc mundo cum illis manere. Tunc tantam lugentis populi videres confusionem, tam permixtam lacrymis cleri conclamationem, viduarum ac pupillorum miserabilem perturbationem, ut diem judicii adesse, et omnia sæcula in supremam horam coisse putares. Sacerdos etiam qui tam mirabilem in ecclesia extasim induerat, cognito quod non in imagine sed in rerum veritate eandem sustinuisset, palam omnibus et cum magnis gemitibus quæ viderat absolvit. Quorum mœstitiam pater[1] pretiosissimus prout potuit benigne consolatus, ad altare rediit, susceptoque vitæ æternæ epulo, tam se quam omnes sibi commissos æterno Pastori consignavit.

His third address to them.

Alfgar reveals his vision.

43. Inde refectionis domum lætabundus ingrediens omnes ad se confluentes et cibo corporis et spiritualis vitæ alimonia saginavit. Post prandium vero, vel magis ultimam cœnam, denuo cum fratribus ecclesiam Christi ingreditur, signatoque sepulcri sui loco, omnibus ad altare Christi ascendentibus conspicuo, cœnaculum pro modo æstivi temporis requieturus ascendit. Circumdat pausantem luctifica ecclesiæ familia, quæ sive metu sui seu morte illius turbata, horrendos lacrymando questus insonuit. Quos illo sanctissimis ut semper[2] rationibus fovente atque ad spem futuri sæculi diligentius informante, conspiciunt virum invisibili quadam Dei virtute e terra moveri, motum ad suprema domus fastigia tolli. Hi autem qui paulo ante propinquiores astiterant, miraculi insolentia territi, relictis sedibus devolant omnes. Stant tamen innixi parietibus et maceriarum liminibus de longe sursum aspicientes, rei exitum[3] videre cupientes. Existimabant namque aut sicut Helyam cum carne eum transferen-

Dunstan goes to the refectory.

After dinner he goes to rest in an upper chamber.

B. p. 52.

He is lifted up on his couch to the roof of the house.

[1] *pater*] om. L.; Dunstanus, R. in marg.

[2] *ut semper*] om. R.

[3] *exitum*] eventum, R.

His speech to his companions on the miracle.

dum, aut alio quovis et insolito modo ab eis tollendum. B. p. 52. Sed mox ea qua subvectus fuerat suavitate depositus, convocat omnes qui fugam inierant, tali eos allocutione demulcens. "Vidistis," ait, "filii, vidistis, carissimi, quo "me Deus vocat, quo Dei ineffabilis misericordia in- "vitat. Semita itineris mei præ oculis ostensa est "vobis, ut nullus vestrum de præmio capiendi cœli "diffidat, qui vitæ meæ diligens sectator exstiterit. "Non herebi sedes animam meam tenebit, non fœda "facies profundi ditis[1] animam meam terrebit, non "ignis inextinguibilis, et vermis non moriens animam "meam tenebit.[2] Sursum est quod amplector, sursum "quo gradior. Estote ergo vitæ imitatores, si itineris "mei cupitis esse sectatores. Discite voluntatem Dei "semper nosse, et cum eam noveritis nihil ei velitis

His last exhortation.

"præferre. Quod si ab Ejus voluntate facienda quan- "tulumcunque vos exorbitasse cognoveritis, statim "ad deprecandam Ejus clementiam convertimini, ne "dum minorem quam oporteat reverentiam exhibue- "ritis, non solum prævaricatores verum etiam infideles[3] "judicemini. Nolite boni videri, sed esse; nec tam "mali non videri quam non esse; hoc enim maximum "inter homines malum est, quod omnes cupiunt boni vi- "deri et esse nolunt; nulli volunt mali videri, et nolunt "non esse mali. Pacem semper sectamini, nec prius "ab illa sectanda desinatis, quam illam in cœlo appre- "hendatis. Atque ut hanc efficaciter attingere valea- "tis, Illum semper in animo dulcissimum habete, Illi "continuo gratias agite, Illius præceptis humiliter obe- "dite, Qui singulare pro omnibus sacrificium immolari "voluit, in Quo complacuit omnem plenitudinem in- "habitare, et per Eum reconciliari omnia in Ipso Coloss. i. 20. "pacificans per sanguinem crucis Ejus, sive quæ in "terris sunt sive quæ in cœlis. Prædico etiam[4] vobis "Anglorum gentem dira ac diuturna mala ab exteris

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[1] *ditis*] om. R.; profunditatis, L. Mab. Boll., and so altered in K.

[2] *tenebit*] cruciabit, R.

[3] *infideles*] infidi, R.

[4] *etiam*] om. R.

" gentibus esse passuram, sed in fine dierum misera- He holds out hopes for England after her miseries.
" tionem Dei super eam stillaturam, vobis autem
" commodum erit horum verborum reminisci, ut sive
" hæc ad peccatorum emendationem, seu ad perficien-
" dam virtutem contigerint, animas vestras divinæ
" semper[1] dispositioni subjiciatis, ne sicut mali filii
" diligatis blandientem, erudientem, quod a vobis re-
" motum sit, contempnatis. Profecto nullius hominum
" vel tam grave supplicium vel tam excellens est meri-
" tum quo Dei omnipotentis visionem, visionem beatæ
" æternitatis, visionem æternæ veritatis Patris et Filii
" et Spiritus Sancti, valeat promereri; magis autem si
" naturalem clementiæ Suæ bonitatem Deus non at-
" tenderit; nihil homo patitur quod sibi justo Dei
" judicio ex sua culpa non debeatur."

44. In his verbis sensit[2] beatissimus pater vires cor- He begins to sink.
poris paulatim deficere, cum spiritus ab integritate sui deficere nesciret;[3] ita namque facie serenus, sensu sobrius, docendi locutione assiduus tota illa die ac sequenti feria sexta permanebat, ut quicunque se commendaturi et benedictionem tanti patris postulaturi advenissent, recreatos se et multipliciter in amore Divinitatis confirmatos assererent. Et jam promissæ beatitudinis sabbatum The Saturday arrives.
illuxerat, jam tempus requiescendi ab omnibus laboribus suis Dunstano instabat; cum ecce multiplex filiorum caterva concurrit,[4] filiorum quos ipse infra gremium matris ecclesiæ tenerius nutrierat, atque ad excellen- Lamentations of the people.
tiorem spiritualis gratiæ perfectionem adduxerat, clamoribus atque ejulatibus nimiis queritans quod se derelictis recederet, nec illis commori liceret. At ille in manus Dei omnipotentis eos commendans, et gratiosa benedictione confirmans, jubet sanctæ communionis mysterium ante se celebrari: quod cum protensis manibus de cœlesti His last prayer.
mensa porrectum suscepisset, hac oratione Deo supplicare cœpit; "Gloria Tibi, omnipotens Pater, Qui timen-

[1] *semper*] om. R.
[2] *sensit*] sentit, Mab.
[3] *cum . . nesciret*] om. L.
[4] *concurrit*] occurrit, R.

Dunstan's last prayer.

" tibus Te panem vitæ de cœlo dedisti, ut memores B. p. 52.
" simus mirabilium Tuorum quæ in medio terræ ope- Adelard, p. 66.
" ratus es, mittendo nobis unigenitum Tuum verum
" Hominem vera de virgine natum; Tibi, Sancte Pater,
" meritas referimus grates, Qui et nos dum non eramus
" creasti, et dum peccatores essemus hujus gratiæ par-
" ticipes fecisti per eundem Filium Tuum Deum et
" Dominum nostrum, omnia Tecum et cum Spiritu
" Sancto facientem, gubernantem et per infinita sæcu-
He dies. " lorum sæcula regnantem." Inter quæ verba ex omnibus animi medullis ad Deum Quem semper desideraverat effusa, videt illos qui se ad cœleste convivium invitaverant, beatos angelos assistentes, et cœleste illi obsequium præparantes. Quorum veneranda præsentia felix anima illius gratulata, læta egreditur de habitaculo sanctissimi corporis, proficiscens cum illis ad contemplandam claritatem æterni Conditoris. Ecce! quomodo honoratus est, quem Deus honore dignum judicavit! Ecce quomodo in gaudium Domini sui intravit, qui in commissa sibi[1] doctrinæ pecunia fidelis erogator exstitit! O viscera misericordiæ Dei, quæ sic semper dulcia expertus fuerat iste homo Dei. O cor viri ad voluntatem Dei semper parati, qui potuit dicere " Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum!" Ecce Ps. lvii. 8. nunc psallit in gloria sua illustratus lumine visionis gloriæ Dei.

He is buried in the place appointed.

45. Suscipiunt autem venerabiles Domini sacerdotes Adelard, p. 66. venerabile corpus summi sacerdotis, deferentes illud ad basilicam magni Basilei Domini Salvatoris, sub immenso murmure lugentium populorum feretrum densissime ambientium, facies suas dissecantium, palmis sese ferientium, atque amaris vocibus " Heu, heu, caris-
" sime pater!"[2] clamantium. Et ibi in eo loco quem ante biduum ipse dictaverat cum omni[3] diligentia sepultus, et post hæc eminentioris operis structura decenter

[1] *sibi*] om. R.
[2] *pater*] om. R.
[3] *omni*] om. L.

opertus, flebilem simul et amabilem cunctis, sive in choro psallentibus seu per gradus ad altare ascendentibus, sui memoriam dereliquit. Flebilem ideo dixerim, quod ejus quotidie monumentum præ oculis haberent, cujus venerandos aspectus videre non possent. Amabilem propterea quod, licet ejus visibili præsentia carerent, invisibilem tamen et incorporeum ejus spiritum in cœlesti sede gaudere, et pro eis apud Deum misericordiam enixius orare sciebant.[1] Mixed feeling about the loss of him.

Adelard, p. 67.

46. Post cujus mortem, si mors dicenda est cui vita successit æterna, ita omnes res contrarium motum sumpsere, ut Dunstani mortem omnia deflere, nec ejus absentiam ferre posse viderentur. A summa quippe pace fit commutatio ad bellum intolerabile; ab immensa lætitia ad enormem tristitiam; ob omnium rerum abundantia ad omnium rerum indigentiam. Denique aer ipse immutatus est, naturales temporum vicissitudines dissidebant invicem; cœlum non exaudivit tellurem, nec tellus ea quæ seminabantur, in ea. Hostilis incursio Danorum fœdam ubique faciem dereliquit, dum eorum irruptione urbes diruerentur, ecclesiæ spoliarentur, suffoderentur altaria, et sacerdotes Domini interficerentur. Calamities that followed his death.

E quibus vir virtutum Ælfegus, qui quartus erat a magno Dunstano Cantuariorum archiepiscopus, cum multam hostium multitudinem ad Christianam religionem convertisset, et eos quos ab infidelitatis errore convertere non posset, quotidiana invectione[2] reprehenderet, tentus ab eisdem post dirutam illius urbem, post cruentam innocentis populi cædem, post templi sacri exspoliationem,[3] simul et combustionem, vinctus abductus est, et per septem menses variis tormentorum cruciatibus vexatus, et post hæc omnia eorundem manibus lapidatus, spiritum cum triumpho direxit ad cœlum. Sic ergo impleta sunt quæ vel de rerum prosperitate Martyrdom of S. Elfege.

[1] *flebilem . . . sciebant*] om. R.
[2] *invectione*] invocatione, L.
[3] *exspoliationem*] expilationem, Boll.

angeli Dunstano, vel de adversitate earum Dunstanus regi Ethelredo,[1] prædixerunt. Sed in his tam gravibus tumultuantis populi angustiis non defuit supernæ miseratio pietatis, quæ tanta coruscantis gratiæ prodigia ad memoriam illius ostendit ut et reprobis terrori et afflictis essent consolationi. Neque enim aliter cœlestis ejus Spiritus operatus est, quam si in terra redivivo corpore suo quotidie veniret.[2] Verum nos non omnia quæ de illo sunt propter infinitatem dicere poterimus, nec ab omnibus abstinendum putamus, ne nulla esse videantur quæ dicamus. Et quædam quidem de libris miraculorum ejus qui nunc minime supersunt excerpsimus; quædam vero nostra ætate aut in alios facta vidimus aut in nos patrata ipsi experti sumus. Sed hic libelli hujus sit finis, ut quod intendimus ab alio principio sumi possit.

Mercy in the midst of judgment.

Dunstan's miracles are to be told in another Book.

Explicit vita Sancti Dunstani Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et confessoris.[3]

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[1] *Ethelredo*] Ailredo, R.

[2] *veniret*] With this word the life in the MS. Bodl. 285 (R.) ends.

[3] MS. N. proceeds: "donante "Domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui "cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto honor "potestas et imperium per infinita "sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

Mabillon adds the following verses, which are not given by the Bollandists, but are found in MS. M. only:—

Justus homo, nudus vitio, sedes subit almas,
Ex quibus expulsam se dolet atra cohors.
Iste polum petit, illa rogum Stygis ardua moles
Deserit, atque levis gleba natare solet.
Mansio diversa, diversaque præmia, quantum
Ortus solaris distat ab occiduis.
Imperat huic Agnus circumdatus agmine læto,
Illi cum prava Pluto cohorte præest.
Uritur illa gelu, nive, grandine perpetuali,
Vernos ista dies mansio semper habet.
Hæc generosa duce jocundo cive decora,
Carmine festiva pace quieta jugi.
Tu venerande piis mixtus, Dunstane, catervis,
Exerces hilares hac regione dies;
Quanti sis meriti, plebs indicat astricolarum,
Quæ famulata tuam vexit ad astra animam.

INCIPIT LIBER MIRACULORUM BEATISSIMI PATRIS NOSTRI DUNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS ET CONFESSORIS.[1]

1. Diximus in superiori libello quibus parentibus venerabilis pater Dunstanus ortus claruerit, quorum regum tempora nobilitaverit, quos virtutum processus habuerit, et quemadmodum ad cœlestia regna gloriosus migraverit. Nunc autem propositum habemus ea narrare, quæ, post depositionem corporalis sarcinæ, felix spiritus ejus in hoc sæculo dignatus est operari, ut omnes futuri temporis Angligenæ populi agnoscant quid tanti nominis viro honoris ac reverentiæ debeant. Verum quoniam eorum quæ scribenda sunt pleraque ac fere omnia nostris temporibus facta cognovimus, pauca vero aliis quidem temporibus facta sed nobis verissima verissimorum virorum relatione exposita accepimus, hac ratione omnes qui hæc dignabuntur legere[2] ad credendum invitamus, ut sicuti sibi credi volent, si forte aliqua suis temporibus facta scribere voluerint, ita nobis credant, cum audierint ea narrari quæ a nobis potuere videri. Quam enim de se veri æstimationem a sequentibus haberi volent, eam recte præcedentibus concedere debent. Quod si nulla quæ scribi debeant suis temporibus fieri contingant, non ideo nos statim falsitatis arguant, quasi quod alio tempore occulta Dei providentia non fit, alio tempore pro corrigendis vel corripiendis hominibus fieri non possit, cum semper opportunitatem rerum et temporum exigat gratia miraculorum. Num enim idcirco minus credendum est principem apostolorum Petrum ad portam templi

Having in the former book described the life of Dunstan.

we now undertake to relate some of his miracles performed after his death.

They are to be believed by all who wish their own stories to be believed.

The disuse of particular forms of miracle is not proof against miracles in general.

[1] The text is from the Arundel MS. 16 (F.), collated with the Lambeth MS. 159 (L.), MS. Harl. 56 (H.)., MS. Tiberius D. 4 (K.), and the Paris MSS. M. and O.

[2] Here the Harleian MS. 315 ends.

It is no disproof of a miracle that the unbeliever has not seen anything of the kind.

speciosam claudum sanasse, quod nostris temporibus istud non fecerit? Aut ideo beatus evangelista Johannes venenum sine læsione non bibit, et qui veneno deperierant non resuscitavit, quod ista nescio quis impostor et calumniator non viderit? Quasi si quis nauclerum vel aurigam laudari audierit, quod hic navim in procella naviter regere, ille equos artificio sciat in cursum ducere, supra humanam naturam hoc esse contendat, ideo quod[1] ille fieri posse non credat. Non itaque hoc admittendum,[2] sed quod unaquæque res tempus et ordinem spectet credendum. Dignentur ergo credere, qui hæc dignabuntur legere, ut quemadmodum merito fidei nostræ qua credebamus vera esse quæ non videramus, actum est ut aliqua videre possemus, ita illi præmium fidei habeant quandoque videre posse quod narrantibus nobis indubitata fide potuerunt credere. Jam ad proposita transibimus, et quo ordine quæque res acta sit, quantum possumus breviter atque dilucide narrabimus.

Miraculous cure of a blind man at Lenham in Kent.

2. Vicus est urbi Cantuariæ vicinus, Leonham[3] ab incolis dictus. Hunc quidam vir inhabitabat, quem longa oculorum cæcitas gravabat. Admonitus ergo in somnis est, ut patrem patriæ Dunstanum adeat, commissa mala deplangat, futurum esse ut amissum lumen per eum recipiat. Narrat suis homo quæ viderat; favebant et auctores illi itineris procurabant. Ingreditur itaque cæcus ecclesiam Christi, orat sibi pernoctandi ibidem licentiam dari, "Tale," inquiens, "præceptum suscepi." Sequenti vero et media nocte cœpit de tumulo viri Dei omne genus odoramentorum sentiri, et cæcus[4] interim gravissimis oculorum punctionibus gravissime torqueri. Clamavit itaque fortiter, sanatus est mirabiliter; laudavit Deum et Dunstanum hilariter.

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[1] *quod*] om. L.
[2] *admittendum*] ad imitandum, Boll.
[3] *Leonham*] Leoham, Boll. Mab.
[4] *cæcus*] secus, Mab.

3. Tres etiam mulieres in una domo commanebant, simili ex longo tempore cæcitate percussæ, et onere paupertatis oppressæ. Has magnus ille Dunstanus dum in corpore vixisset, inter cæteros ecclesiæ stipendiarios[1] pauperes alere solebat; quæ, accepto rumore patrati miraculi, alternis se hortabantur sermonibus, "Quid "hic,"[2] inquiunt, "sedemus,[3] quæ patrem vitæ nostræ "reviviscere audimus?[4] eamus ad illum; calamitatem "deploremus, auxilium flagitemus. Qui nostram suevit "depellere paupertatem, dignabitur corporis nostri pro- "fligare cæcitatem; compatietur fame morituris, ut "reddita luce gratiam præstet pauperculis, operibus "manuum suarum deinceps victuris." Dixerunt et rectore baculo viam quæ ducit ad civitatem pergere cœperunt. Cumque ad portam ecclesiæ venissent, junctis[5] ad invicem manibus ingressæ sunt, procidentesque[6] ante memoriam viri hac mœrorem supplicatione depromunt; "Pater sancte, pater serene, ad has tuæ "misericordiæ stipendiarias intende, ut aut solito more "victum eis tribuas, aut lumen oculorum per quod "vitam transigere possint restituas." Et iterum dixerunt, "Piissime, potentissime, his tuis misellulis[7] mise- "rere." Sic oraverunt, et inter orandum clare viderunt, magnumque gaudium populo præstiterunt.

Three blind women who had been pensioners of Dunstan, are restored to sight at his tomb.

4. Sacerdos quidam Folcanensium præpositus, nomine Ceowlfus,[8] vir locuples valde erat, multaque nobilitate inter suos pollebat. Hic per multos annos ita omnium membrorum paralysi dissolutus fuerat, ut neque vicinas possessiones adire, neque ecclesiæ limina contingere, nisi in grabato deportatus, valeret. Suasus itaque ab intimis suis, ut ad memoriam domini Dunstani miserum cadaver sineret transferri, primo quidem verecunde[9]

Ceowulf the provost of Folkstone was a paralytic.

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[1] *stipendiarios*] stipendarios, L.
[2] *hic*] hinc, Mab.
[3] *sedemus*] sedimus, Mab.
[4] *audimus*] vidimus, L.
[5] *junctis*] vinctis, L.
[6] *procidentesque*] procedentesque, L.
[7] *misellulis*] misellis, L.
[8] *Ceowlfus*] Ceonulfus, Boll.
[9] *verecunde*] verecundia, Mab.

He is persuaded to have recourse to Dunstan,

distulit homo dives, dedignans consortium paupertatis, ex omnibus locis propter spem recuperandæ salutis illuc confluentis. Sed cum jam præ doloris magnitudine sibi ipsi esset intolerabilis, jussit feretralem equorum lateribus machinam coaptari, seque in ea positum ad ecclesiæ januas, ubi memoratus sanctus requiescit, pertrahi. Ibi clientum suorum humeris sustentatus intro illatus est, prosequente illum non parva multitudine agnatorum, flebilibus vocibus Dunstani nomen invocantium. Secunda autem die factus in agonia, ægrotus sensit quasi manum hominis per totum corpus discurrentem, omnesque totius corporis nervos distringentem.[1] Inde vociferans e terra exsiliit, in pedibus suis constitit, et restituta ad integrum sanitate, exclamare cœpit, "Benedictus Filius Dei viventis in bono servo "Suo Dunstano, et benedictus bonus servus Ejus Dun- "stanus in Illo. Vere pius, vere omnipotens Christus, "Qui servos tam potentes, tantaque pietate præditos "habet." Mox hymnis et laudibus devotissime Domino persolutis, qui alienis manibus fuerat deportatus suis pedibus cucurrit, equum ascendit, et cum omni comitatu gaudens et hilaris recessit. Sed post paucos dies facto convivio in domo sua, convocavit omnes amicos et notos, ut sibi de adepta sanitate congauderent et congratularentur. Cumque in magno gaudio convivarentur, cœperunt Deum laudare et glorificare Qui, cum sit potens, potentem non abjecerit, sed cum pauperibus Suis pœnitentiæ ei spatia concesserit. Super quo indignatus ille respondit, "Num me inter cæteros pauperes "computatis, quia inter eos sanatum asseritis? Non "ita est, quoniam, etsi Dunstanus non fuisset, ita mihi "contigisset." Ad hanc vocem toto corpore intremuit, itaque uno momento eadem quæ illum dimiserat infirmitate percussus est, ut nihil in omnibus membris esset quod ab hac percussione intactum remaneret.

and is healed.

He gives a feast on the occasion,

and speaking with contempt of Dunstan, has another paralytic stroke.

[1] *distringentem*] distinguentem, Mab.

Vociferabatur ergo miserabiliter et post paulum exspirabat infeliciter. He dies.

5. Ex illo die multus timor, multaque circa sanctum Dei veneratio excrevit, restitutis ad integram sanitatis perfectionem nunc unis, nunc pluribus per singulos dies ægrotis ex diversarum regionum longinquitate porro adductis. Inter hæc multorum cervicibus impendens juvenis ferebatur, formosa quidem facie sed a nativitate fandi impotens, ut qui undenis[1] annorum temporibus nec caput sursum erexerit nec deorsum gressum direxerit. Quem super capita illorum celsius elevatum hiis precibus fletu permixtis sancto obtulerunt; "O Christe," inquiunt, "Salus et Creator "omnium, Qui homines hac[2] etiam in parte cæteris "animantibus excellere voluisti, quod loqui possunt[3] "et erecto capite incedere, reforma in hoc filio nos-"tro vel quod natura informatum reliquit, vel quod "formatum inimica saluti ægritudo corrupit. Solius "enim Tui est ex eo quod non est in id quod est "perducere, et quod est in quascunque volueris formas "mutare. Exaudi ergo preces supplicantium propter "Temetipsum et propter Dunstanum dilectum Tuum." Tunc demissus ex humeris bajulantium se ægrotus, ut ad memoriam sancti vicinius applicari[4] deberet, mox ut tumbam tetigit, in pedibus suis constitit, caput cum scapulis sursum erexit, et resoluta lingua quæ nunquam antea fuerat locuta, excelsa voce clamare cœpit, "Gloria in excelsis Deo, Alleluia." Sicque perseveravit in integritate susceptæ locutionis, ut usque ad finem vitæ non solum expedite verum etiam diserte omnia loqueretur.

Multiplication of miracles.

A dumb cripple is brought to Dunstan's tomb.

He touches it, is healed, and speaks.

6. Paupercula etiam cum cætera multitudine advenit ferens in ulnis triennem natam ex utero suo sine lu- A poor woman brings her

[1] *qui undenis*] quindenis, Mab.
[2] *hac*] ac, L.; here MS. E. ends.
[3] *possunt*] possint, Mab.
[4] *applicari*] applicare, L.

little daughter who was born blind.

mine natam; quæ cum per aliquot dies orationi pro salute filiæ suæ sollicita incubuisset, nec exauditam se aliquatenus sentiret, deprecata est omnem clerum auxilio sibi apud Dei sanctum fore, confidens eos tanto citius impetraturos quod vellent, quanto ei præ cæteris hominibus familiarius servirent. Affecti itaque pietate monachi pro dolore matris et languore puellæ cœperunt instantissima prece sanctum deposcere, ut earum afflictioni solita bonitate dignaretur subvenire. Decima autem die dum forte materno gremio puella incumberet, subito apertis oculis clare omnia videbat, et præ gaudio exsiliens dicebat, "Mater mi, quæ sunt hæc "pulcra quæ video?" Cui illa, "Videsne," inquit, "mi "cara?" Quæ dixit, "Pulcher homo ille jussit me "hæc pulchra videre." Clamatum itaque est per totam ecclesiam puellam a nativitate cæcam a magno pontifice Dunstano illuminatam. Fit concursus omnium matrem cum filia constipantium. Sed cum aliqui ex clero credere non possent quod patentibus oculis acumen visionis inesset, volentes indagandæ veritatis signum videre, jactant poma, sicut pueris alludi solet, per pavimentum ecclesiæ, ut experirentur si absque errore infantula posset ea sequendo comprehendere. Quæ confestim de sinu matris exsiliens, rotantia poma per diversos anfractus insectabatur, eisque apprehensis celeri cursu ad matrem revertebatur. Tunc deprehensum est puellam patentibus oculis posse videre, qui antea sine lumine videbantur patere.

On the tenth day the child sees.

The bystanders try whether she can really see.

An old blind woman comes in vain to be healed, and loses her guide.

7. Item anus quædam ad memoriam sancti pontificis perducta est, ut quod in juventute perdiderat, in extrema ætate lumen oculorum reciperet. Vacans ergo orationi nec ulla salutis remedia consequens, egreditur de civitate volens ad locum unde venerat remeare. Jamque pontem fluminis Sturæ ascendere cœperat, cum forte ductoris sui auxilio destituta clamabat, "Dunstane, Dunstane, nec "speratum a te lumen obtinui, et ductorem nunc per-

" didi." Mirabile dictu et malefidis difficile creditu, protenus illa juvenes per medium pontis ligna ferentes clarissime vidit, quibuscum in civitatem rediit et quid factum sit omnibus indicavit. She cries to Dunstan and recovers her sight.

8. Quid de Clemente Teutone dicam, cui magis aptum nomen est *Demens* quam Clemens, quem sacerdos pro culpa voluptatis et contumaciæ in interitum carnis Satanæ tradiderat, et ita maledictionis sententia septem annis devinxerat ut non solum in eodem loco toto corpore tremendo, verum etiam de loco ad locum cursitando, instabili ferretur motu. In basilica vero Salvatoris ante memoriam magni Dunstani præsentatus, cum forte ad nocturnas vigilias responsorium "Videte miraculum" inciperetur, saltum in sublime dedit, dæmonium cum sanguine evomuit, et post hæc omni tempore secundum omnimodam sensatorum qualitatem quietus et loco et corpore [1] mansit. Clement the German, possessed by an evil spirit, is cured.

9. Aut quo modo factum in te miraculum, Elwarde,[2] narrabo? hominem giganteæ magnitudinis si repentem te in terra tota[3] mole corporis per triginta annos pondus non[4] premeret gravissimæ infirmitatis; postea vero caro patri Dunstano oblatus, atque ab eo mirabiliter sanatus, non solum cunctis factus es amabilis propter adeptæ sanitatis miraculum, verum etiam admirabilis propter corporeæ quantitatis spectaculum. Tu musicus in conviviis didicisti posthæc convivantium animos carmine demulcere, et inter cantandum tibiis carmen modificare. Sed inde tibi excelsi honoris insigne accessit, quod universitas hominum concordi voce Dunstani te hominem servulumque vocavit.[5] Elward, a cripple of great stature, after thirty years infirmity is restored.

10. Sed et illud[6] non parva dignum est admiratione, quod quodam venerabili sene et re[7] in omni religione probato referente agnovimus. Ait namque eundem pa-

[1] *corpore*] tempore, L.
[2] *Elwarde*] Edwarde, O. Boll.; Elvarde, F. L. M.
[3] *terra tota*] tota terra, Boll. Mab.
[4] *non*] om. L.
[5] *Aut . . vocavit*] om. H.
[6] *Sed et illud*] Illud quoque, K.
[7] *re*] om. Mab.

Dunstan appears in a dream to a cripple and directs him to visit his tomb.

trem et dominum nostrum cuidam loripedi in somnis apparuisse atque ut ad requiem corporis sui sanandus veniret præcepisse. Qui ad locum veniens, nec quicquam per multos dies orando salutis inveniens, tædio sive desperatione fractus recessit, itinere quo venerat redire temptavit; jamque mediam pene viam peregerat, cum is qui dudum dormienti apparuerat, vultu severus, veste decorus occurrit, sciscitans unde veniret, vel quo pergendo tenderet. "Recuperandæ," inquit, "salutis gratia jussus "ad sanctum Dei Dunstanum perrexi, sed nihil profi- "ciens ad domum meam redeundum putavi." Tum ille, "Ego," inquit, "sum Dunstanus, omnium servorum Dei "conservus; necessariis quibusdam causis occupatus, non "poteram his diebus requiem corporis mei visitare, nec "præsentiam meam filiis ibidem manentibus exhibere. "Nam ecclesiam Dei Alfricus, cognomento Bata,[1] ex- "hæredare temptavit, sed me tutore nihil efficere potuit. "Nunc autem confecto negotio ad locum requietionis "meæ vado. Vide ergo ut illa die et hora ibi te inve- "niam, quatenus per te gratiam meam meis civibus os- "tendam." Regressus itaque est languidus in civitatem, narravit omnibus quæ audierat, indictum diem patienter expectabat. Stupendum valde, die et hora qua sanctus sese venturum prædixerat, de suscepta sanitate loripes gaudebat, et ineffabili totam urbem lætitia replebat. Hactenus ea quæ aliorum testimoniis ad nostram notitiam perlata sunt enarravimus; nunc iis quæ nostra ætate facta sunt enarrandis operam dabimus.[2]

He does so in vain and on his return meets Dunstan, who says that he has been engaged elsewhere and bids him return.

He returns and is cured.

A girl blind from her birth visits Canterbury.

11. Virgo quædam Deo devota orationis gratia in civitatem venit, inde misera quod ex quo nata est hujus mundi lucem non viderat, sed ex hoc beata quod æternam lucem ardenti semper desiderio quæsiverat. Et cum forte natalitius dies sanctorum Bartholomæi apostoli et[3]

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[1] *Bata*] Beta, Boll.

[2] *Hactenus . . dabimus*] om. H.

[3] *sanctorum . . . et*] om. Mab. Boll. L. M.; erased in F.; found in K. and O.

confessoris Christi Audoeni episcopi instaret, in quo pariter et aliorum omnium quorum reliquiæ in ecclesia Salvatoris continentur, præcipua veneratione memoria celebrabatur; postulabat illa a custodibus ecclesiæ ut sibi liceret eadem nocte vigilias ibidem celebrare; quod dum facile propter vitæ religionem obtinuisset, remansit in ecclesia juxta requiem beati patris Dunstani stans, totaque nocte vigiliis et orationibus vacans. Jam nocturnas laudes inceperamus, jam octavum responsorium, "Sint " lumbi vestri præcincti," modulatis vocibus concinebamus,[1] cum virgo Dei vehementem in facie sustinens pruritum, arctissima digitorum impressione cœpit oculos perfricare. Inde statim sanguis ubertim exiens, in suppositum capitis sui velamen defluxit, modesteque illa circumstantibus innuens, "Præbete" inquit, "mihi vas, sanguinis "susceptorium, ne terra sancta ejus colluvione maculetur." Quod postquam illi fecissent, lympham quoque lavandis oculorum orbibus præbuerunt. Interim nos pueri vultus illuc dirigere, oculis subaspicere, iterumque ad invicem mutuis aspectibus simul ac nutibus lætitiam significare; suspicati namque sumus, quod res erat, bonum patrem nostrum boni aliquid operatum fuisse. Jam cantus de præcinctione lumborum et ardentium lucernarum gestatione secundo terminabatur: jam a cantoribus gloria sanctæ et individuæ Trinitati reddebatur; et ecce illa quæ lumbos suos castitate semper præcinctos habuerat, ad gloriam Dei lucernas in ecclesia ardentes in magna cordis lætitia videbat. Mirata est ergo de omnibus quæ videbat. Ostendebantur ei laminæ aureæ, cruces, baccilia, claves ecclesiæ; omnia mirata ridebat. Ipsas quoque hominum figuras cum ingenti stupore considerabat.[2] Videres ergo omnes in ecclesia lacrymas exprimere, et cum vocis modulatione cordis jubilatione Deum laudare. Orto autem mane forte ad magistros intravimus, vapulaturi pro culpis quas commiseramus. Et ecce de

On the eve of S. Bartholomew and S. Ouen, Aug. 23, she keeps watch, and, at nocturns, is cured.

Her wonder at the things shown her.

The next day the boys were to be whipped.

[1] *concinebamus*] concinabamus, Mab.

[2] *Ipsas . . considerabat*] om. L.

Godric forbids the whipping, on account of S. Dunstan's miracle.

transverso vir bonus Godricus furibundus irrupit, ita clamitans; "Vos hic homines ineptissimi,[1] crudelitatem "in innocentiam evomitis, et dulcissimus pater noster "Dunstanus suavitatem misericordiæ suæ in nos peccatores ostendit. Exite: prærogativam miraculi quondam "a Salvatore in cæco nato celebratam iterum celebrari "videtis, et aliquid crudeliter facere audetis? Exite." Ita impias manus evasimus et post hæc ecclesiam ingressi

S. Dunstan's bell is rung and the whole city comes to return thanks.

sumus. Tunc pulsato signo beatissimi patris nostri, quod ipse manibus suis olim fecisse dicebatur, quo nullum dulcius neque ad commovendos hominum animos flebilius, concurrit universa civitas volens oculis videre quod fama reserante audierat. Cœpimus itaque excelsis vocibus simul et lacrymabilibus Dominum Deum nostrum laudare, Qui per beatum servum Suum Dunstanum tantis lætitiis nostra tempora dignatus est beatificare. Et cum multa populorum millia in ecclesia starent, neminem inter omnes videres, qui non præ gaudio pie ac dulciter fleret.

On the eve of S. Peter and S. Paul, June 28, the author and another boy were appealed to, by a poor woman with a crippled daughter.

12. Vigilia beatorum Christi apostolorum Petri et Pauli erat, et inclinata jam die vespertinas orationes clerus in ecclesia agebat. Forte ego cum alio puerulo cœtaneo meo ad altare Christi ministraveram, consummatoque ministerio per gradus descendere incipiebam; et ecce in occursum nostrum vetula quædam cum filia bene adulta obviam sè dedit, procumbens gradibus simul et clamitans, "Miseremini mei,[2] pueri Dei, ut Deus omnipotens "misereatur vestri,[3] profectum virtutis concedens et "ætatem puerilem ad maturos annos feliciter perducens." Nos autem, ut id ætatis pueri, factum fœminæ expavescentes, hæsimus loco, miseriæ causas flebiliter sciscitantes. Tum illa, "Hanc," inquit, "quam videtis "filiam meam, a summis humeris usque ad extremos "manuum articulos collisam, obstetricis suæ nescio aut

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[1] *ineptissimi*] om. Mab.
[2] *mei*] om. L.
[3] *vestri*] nostri, Mab.

" furor aut negligentia fœdam atque inutilem reddidit.
" Audivi magnam quandam in hoc loco Dei virtutem
" esse, et ideo ad supplicandum Ei longo itinere temp-
" tavimus huc venire; vos nobis quid agendum sit, edi-
" cite." Aspiciebamus interim manus sine forma manus, Description of the cripple.
juncturæ juncturis non cohærebant, sed quædam discors deformitas informem[1] quandam ossium concretionem[2] faciebat, pollices retrorsum deflexi immobilem gerebant sensibilitatem.[3] Cæterorum namque digitorum figura nulla, sed radices quædam de palma prominentes introrsum curvabantur, quæ in vola confixæ unguibus eam perforabant; quæ res intolerabiles patienti angustias inferebat. Avertimus ergo oculos hoc solum dicentes, They send her to Dunstan's tomb.
" Non nos, bona mulier, non nos quid agendum sit con-
" sulere velis; juxta est qui et tibi consulere et[4] filiæ
" tuæ salutem valet procurare: solet namque secundum
" fidem suam omnibus illum invocantibus subvenire."
Tum illa comprehensa lacinia vestis filiæ suæ traxit eam ad locum, moxque toto corpore in terram prostratæ adorant sanctum ambæ, fletibus et ejulatibus illius bonitatem pulsantes. Et vere pulsabant, quibus tam cito misericordiæ illius viscera patebant. Necdum enim Phœbus marinis fluctibus caput intulerat, et illa quæ morbo contracta fuerat, ruptis venis brachia extollebat, manuum articulos omnes extendebat; et quæ ab annis puerilibus digitos movere non poterat, expedite jam omnia contrectabat.[5] Itaque accurrimus, vidimus, flevimus, et facto mane cum exultatione totius urbis, Dominum Deum nostrum Jesum Christum[6] laudavimus. where she is healed.

13. Epheborum aliquis prope civitatem manebat, ita a puero debilitatus, ut a lumbis ac deorsum per totum emortuus duobus inniteretur bacillis, totius corporis A young man, a cripple, on Good Friday, adores the

[1] *informem*] informam, L.
[2] *concretionem*] connexionem, Boll.
[3] *pollices . . sensibilitatem*] om. L.
[4] *juxta . . et*] om. L.
[5] *contrectabat*] contractabat, L.
[6] *Jesum Christum*] Deum, Mab. Boll.

cross, and stays by Dunstan's tomb.

post se trahens medietatem. Hic ea die in qua Filius Dei in assumpta carne dignatus est mori, Ejus ecclesiam ingressus, vexillum crucis, in qua moriens mortem nostram destruxit, cum cætera multitudine adorabat, et futuræ festivitatis gaudia juxta corpus venerandi patris[1] Dunstani manens exspectabat. Adveniente autem

On Easter morning he is cured.

hora in qua Dominus noster Jesus Christus triumphato diabolo a mortuis resurrexisse creditur, clamor in ecclesia factus est magnus, tumultuans adolescentem rectum toto corpore stare, qui a multis annis inferiores corporis partes post se consueverat trahere. Quod quamvis clerus sciebat, patienter tamen simul et lætanter solis ortum exspectabat. Mane vero Dominicæ resurrectionis

The whole city comes together to see him.

convenit infinita totius urbis multitudo in ecclesiam videre quid in hominem divina potentia operata fuisset, quem antea in infirmitate bene cognitum habuissent. Viderunt itaque et Deo gloriam dederunt, clamantes bono Domino Dunstanum in vita servisse, cui post mortem non solum contigit beatius vivere, verum etiam beneficiorum suorum gratiam hominibus præstare.

Cure of a crippled boy.

14. Puerum quoque omnibus membris contractum per eundem Dei sanctum vidimus sanatum.[2]

One day the masters were determined to whip the boys, who betake themselves to Dunstan's tomb.

15. Quadam etiam die, dum plus solito magistrorum furor in pueros desæviret, nec spes intercessionis uspiam ulla suppeteret, hoc unum et solum superesse remedium crediderunt, ut ad memoriam dulcissimi patris Dunstani confugium facerent, illumque non tam intercessorem quam adversus impietatis ministros defensorem exhiberent. Conferunt itaque se summo diluculo ad illum multis lacrymis ejus clementiam postulantes, sedentibus per diversa loca magistris, qua transitus puerorum esse deberet, exitumque illorum de ecclesia multiplici diligentia aucupantibus. Et ecce lacrymantibus illis apparuit, pios vultus gerens, pius pater Dunstanus,

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[1] *patris*] nostri, ins. L.

[2] *sanatum*] From this point H. omits all down to parvipendebat, p. 142 below.

tangensque virga quam manu gestabat unum illorum apertis oculis videntem, sed movendi se omnino impotentem, ita adorsus est fari; "Jam desitum sit, pueri, " a fletu, quoniam nullum vobis hodie molestum esse " permitto. Idcirco enim veni invitatus lacrymis doloris " vestri. Ecce nunc ibo, et magistros egressum vestrum " explorantes gravissimo somno soporabo. Tu vero " puer, qui me loquentem cernis et audis, cum vos meo " munere liberatos esse cognoveris, in hoc mihi gratiam " præstabis, si hujus ecclesiæ præposito ex meo nomine " præcipias ut initiatum infantulum hunc, qui juxta " me[1] nuper conditus est, filium comitis Haraldi,[2] foras " projici faciat. Indecens namque valde est, ut ibi " paganorum corpora sepeliantur ubi divina quotidie " mysteria celebrantur. Quod si ipse aut metu aut " incredulitate præceptum meum neglexerit, noverit hac " in ecclesia nihil prosperum processurum quamdiu hoc " meum præceptum opere non fuerit impletum." Hæc dicens sepulcro receptus est. Is autem qui hæc viderat tum quidem puer, nunc vero reverendæ ætatis senior, quique[3] ut ista sublato nomine illius scriberentur, sollicite nos admonuit, statim sui compos effectus innuit sodalibus pueris dicens, "Num patrem Dunstanum vidistis? " Num quid locutus fuerit audistis?" Narravitque omnia seriatim, "Hæc," inquiens, "et[4] hæc locutus est."

Dunstan appears to one of them and promises help.

He bids him tell the prior to remove the body of earl Harold's unchristened son.

The boy relates his vision to his companions.

Surgentes ergo pueri ut intrarent domum martyrii,[5] transierunt ante primos magistros; dormierunt. Transierunt ante secundos; dormierunt. Transierunt ante tertios et quartos; dormierunt. Post paulum[6] vero evigilantes et derisos se graviter dolentes, versi in furorem, statuunt sævissimam tertia diei hora de pueris ultionem sumere, quos protegente Dunstano mane non potuerunt contingere. Talis enim mos in ecclesia tunc temporis erat, ut quos prima diei hora sine vindicta servaret, eos hora tertia durius puniret. Sed Dunstanus

They pass the masters who have fallen asleep.

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[1] *me*] om. L.
[2] *Haraldi*] Haroldi, Mab. Boll.
[3] *quique*] qui, L.
[4] *et*] hæc et, Mab.
[5] *martyrii*] partly erased in L.
[6] *paulum*] paulo, Mab.

The boys escaped the whipping.

semper et ubique fidelis ita præfatos eadem hora a se magistros divisit, ut non tam de puerorum læsione cogitare quam de sua liberet confusione tractare. Ita pueri periculum diei illius evasere, atque in crastino vigilias

The prior disbelieves the message.

Dominicæ Nativitatis gaudenti animo videre. At is, qui legatione patris fungebatur, quæ audierat præposito fideliter nunciabat, sed ille infideli mente nunciata parvipendebat.

Dunstan leaves the church in disgust;

16. Quotiens[1] etiam in nocturna visione visus est fratribus de ecclesia exire! quem cum exeuntem retinere vellent, "Non possum," inquit, "ibi manere propter fœ-
"torem pagani pueri, licet initiati, in hac ecclesia se-
"pulti."[2] Nec multo post Ecclesia Salvatoris igni

and it is burned: (in 1067.)

combusta est, parietes ceciderunt, nec quicquam ex omnibus monasterii officinis incombustum remansit, præter duas domos sine quibus monachi remanere non possent, dormitorium scilicet et refectorium: tantamque claustri partem sub quanta absque imbrium infusione ab una domo in aliam possent introire;[3] ex quo satis videre fuit quantam nostri curam pater[4] Dunstanus habuerit.

Lanfranc lays the foundations of a new church,

17. Sed horum ruina in melius commutata est, veniente venerabili viro Lanfranco archiepiscopo, et omnium qui nostra ætate in terra fuerunt sanctissimo simul ac sapientissimo. Qui cum fundamenta construendæ novæ ecclesiæ ponere vellet, neque hoc absque translatione corporum infra ambitum ejusdem ecclesiæ quiescentium facere posset, indixit jejunium omni populo, quatenus

and removes the bodies of the saints.

sanctorum voluntas fieret, ut eorum corpora ad alia loca transferri deberent. Die vero huic negotio constituto, orante omni populo, clero cereis et aromatibus omnique genere gaudiorum occurrente, paraverunt se

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[1] *Quotiens*] Here MS. H. resumes.

[2] *propter . . sepulti*] written over an erasure in F.; propter spurcitias malorum morum et reorum in ecclesia sepultorum, H. K.

[3] *introire*] Here MS. Harl. 56 ends.

[4] *pater*] noster, ins. L..

sacerdotes ut thecam sancti patris Dunstani absque contrectatione corporis illius e terra levarent, et ad locum cum omni diligentia præparatum deferrent. Quam cum in humeris accepissent, retinetur a quibusdam ecclesiæ militibus qui pacem regis Willelmi[1] nuper infregerant, occisis duobus equitibus, nepotibus videlicet Scotlandi,[2] qui erat abbas monasterii Sancti Augustini extra urbis muros constituti. Timebant autem ne mors occisorum morte sua solveretur, et ideo evitandi hujus mali causa, neque a sancto recedere, neque thecam ejus dimittere voluerunt. Vocati sunt itaque tam abbas quam omnes[3] ii quorum interfuit vindictam donare; negaverunt, nec mortem occisorum sine vindicta remittere voluerunt. Quid ergo? Deductum est sacrum corpus infecto negotio, atque in oratorio beatæ virginis Mariæ collocatum. Summo autem diluculo nobis adhuc in stratis quiescentibus, irrupit in ecclesiam abbas stipatus parentum catervis. Postulat fratres celerius excitari. Dicit se necessario illis loqui velle. Qui cum venissent, accessit ad corpus sancti, genua flexit, atque in hæc verba lacrymabiliter erupit; "Peccavimus in te, sancte "Dei, nolentes tibi in conspectu populi exhibere ho- "norem obsequii. Ecce, nunc et injuriam donamus, "et de mentis nostræ obstinatione veniam imploramus." Nos autem mirantes tam subitam rerum mutationem cognovimus illos per visionem a sancto Dei fuisse perterritos, et vix noctem illam transegisse vivos, propterea quod presbyter quidam aspectu terribilis, qui ex figuratis imaginibus Dunstano visus est simillimus, gravibus eos cruciatibus vexasset, diuque vexatos ardenti rogo concremandos violenter pertraxisset. Ita illi quam sponte noluerunt, coacti injuriam donaverunt.

Dunstan's bones removed.

Certain knights, who had killed two men, take hold of Dunstan's coffin.

The abbot of S. Augustine's, whose kinsmen they had slain, having refused to forgive the knights, has a terrible vision.

The knights are forgiven.

18. His temporibus conflictum iniit Lanfrancus archiepiscopus adversus natu majores regni Anglorum, præ-

Lanfranc's great plea against Odo of Bayeux.

[1] *Willelmi*] Willermi, Mab. M.

[2] *Scotlandi*] Scoclandi, M. Scotland, abbot of S. Augustine's, 1070–1087.

[3] *omnes*] om. L.

Claims of Odo of Bayeux.

cipue adversus episcopum Bajocensem, nomine Odonem, qui erat frater regis et comes Cantiæ, de jure ecclesiæ Christi et quibusdam terris inde ab antiquis temporibus injuste ablatis. Sed nihil de viribus suis confidens, erat namque sicut omnibus sapientia incomparabilis, ita in conspectu Dei præ omnibus semper humilitate admirabilis, deprecatus est beatum Dunstanum auxilio sibi fore ad defendendam causam ecclesiæ suæ. Et oblata pro exauditione hostia salutari, quietus sedebat in loco exspectans advocationem causidicorum, simul ac meditans quid vel ipse adversariis objicere, vel qualiter ad objecta quæque posset respondere.

Lanfranc seeks help from Dunstan.

Dunstan appears and encourages him.

Tunc interim excessum mentis patienti apparuit sanctus Dei, stans in medio duorum aliquorum angelica dignitate præditorum, angelicos et ipse vultus habens, atque in vultu quandam frontis et oculorum conniventiam Lanfranco ostendens. Ex qua visione de capienda victoria securus ille effectus concilium[1] malignantium intrepidus adiit, munitiones illorum torrente rationum funditus dissipavit. Ita enim cunctos Christi ac suos devicit adversarios, ut et quæ sui juris erant ecclesiæ Christi integerrime restituerentur, et hoc non humana sapientia sed divina factum fuisse virtute, idem Domini servus gloriaretur.[2]

He is victorious.

Story of Egelward.

19. [3] Sed illud supra omnia quæ vidimus admirabile putamus, quod in Ægelwardum ecclesiæ Christi monachum factum agnovimus; qui cum juvenis esset et evan-

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[1] *concilium*] consilium, L. The story, which is told by Eadmer in his Historia Novella as well as in his book of the Miracles, must belong to the year 1076, in which the placitum of Pennenden was held. See Anglia Sacra, i. 334, 335.

[2] *gloriaretur*] gloriabatur, L.

[3] The following miracle is omitted in the Lambeth MS., and also in MS. M. by Mabillon and the Bollandists. It is found in the other MSS. K. and O., and is inserted on a blank leaf in F. The Arundel MS. has here on a leaf inserted the following story:—

"Quoddam miraculum, quod mi-
"randa Dei potentia dignata est
"ad honorem beati Dunstani boni
"vestri patroni, vobis volumus no-
"tificari. In Gloecestreschira quæ-
"dam villa est quæ vocatur Sapre-
"tune, in qua quædam basilica in
"memoria et veneratione Sancti

gelium Christi ad sacras Missarum celebrationes legere soleret, frequenter a præfato archiepiscopo Lanfranco admonitus est ut castum se haberet, nullas corporis sui immunditias contraheret, ne indigne illum ad altare servientem malignus aliquando spiritus invaderet. Quadam ergo die dum ex prisca consuetudine altari deservirent, jamque Dominica oratione finita ad hoc ventum fuisset ut in manus archiepiscopi patenam dare deberet, terribiles ac diabolicas nescio quas formas juxta altare conspicit assistentes, et quasi impetum in se facere volentes. Ad quarum intuitum usque ad animam juvenis conterritus, nec omnino execrabilem vultum illorum ferens, tales horrendis stridoribus clamores insonuit, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus "imperat." Inter quæ verba totus a maligno spiritu invasus expansis brachiis archiepiscopum divina sacrificia agentem apprehendit timidusque tenuit; nec ab illo recedere voluit, quousque ministri capellani accurrerent, violenter eum avellerent, exertisque militibus custodiendum traderent. Expleta autem missa intravit Lanfrancus in secretiorem domus partem, dæmonicum duci ad se præcepit, clausoque ostio solus cum solo remansit: constringensque sanctis manibus sæva brachia patientis, præcepit illi culpam confiteri propter quam a tam sævo dæ-

He had been warned by Lanfranc to lead a pure life.

He sees evil spirits during divine service.

He is seized by an evil spirit and lays hold of the archbishop.

"Dunstani ab antiquis temporibus "est ædificata et dedicata. Hujus "presbiter suis præcepit parochia- "nis quatenus celebrandum Sancti "Dunstani festum celebrarent, cele- "brantesque exultarent. Quod "omnes ut justum est fecerunt, ex- "cepto quodam villano fatuo et in- "sano, qui, aliis feriantibus festum- "que celebrantibus, solus in agro "suo operatus est. Sed illius convi- "canei hoc videntes, hocque repre- "hendentes, rogaverunt illum ut a "tali cessaret opere, ne sibi male "contingeret. Quibus ille maligno "inflatus spiritu respondit dicens "'Cur ego pro Dunstano de Sapre- "'tune meam dimitterem utilita- "'tem? Quis ille est?' Res mira et "audienda et tenenda! Mox rus- "ticus ille miserrimus unum absque "mora perdidit oculum; nam a "capite decidit, et ad sui doloris "augmentum quædam quæ habuit "vacca, arrepta rabie incompesci- "bili, eadem hora insanivit, sicque "periit. Hujus vero facti tot sunt "testes quot homines in illa regione "habentur ubi hoc evenit et ubi "rusticus ille adhuc habitat."

The evil spirit prevents him from confessing, but is overcome by Lanfranc.

mone potuisset invadi. Cœpit ille velle confiteri, sed mox ut ad verbum veniebatur lingua illius a dæmone detinebatur. Adjurat itaque Lanfrancus diabolum ut loquentem non impediat, sed culpam quam fecerat confiteri permittat. Itaque divina virtute diabolus superatur, commissum crimen monachus confitetur, in utroque pontifex magnifice gratulatur. Post hæc in capitulum ductus, corporali disciplinæ subditus aliquamdiu mansit quietus. Deinde recidens ad pedes archiepiscopi perstringebat unumquemque torvis ac minacibus oculis, minitans se palam dicturum quod unusquisque in secreto operatus fuisset. Erat autem inter cæteros fratres adolescens quidam quem speciali quadam affectione archiepiscopus diligebat, eo quod materiam boni illi inesse conspiceret, si quis eam posset elicere et præcipiendo meliorem reddere. Hunc ergo inconsolabiliter propter rem quæ acciderat gementem, atque amaras ad Dominum lacrymas profundentem, malignus spiritus compescuit, dicens, "Quid tu," inquit "lacrymaris? Vanæ sunt "lacrymæ tuæ, vanus ploratus tuus. Idem nos locus "habebit, ambos infernus tenebit." Nolens autem Lanfrancus adolescentem a dæmonio verecundiam pati, confestim de loco surgit, apprehensum illum seorsum ducit prius, ut solitus erat, precibus agens, ut si quid in illo peccati lateret in vera Deo confessione ediceret, ne diabolus illum ligatum teneat, et coram omnibus quæ commisisset valeat improperare. Qui statim quæcunque a pueritia de se scire poterat magna cordis alacritate confitens, tantis archiepiscopum gaudiis replevit ut et manibus confitentis crebra oscula figeret, et pro redemptione illius trecentis pauperibus eadem die stipem porrigeret. Hujusmodi namque cunctis peccata sua apud illum deplorantibus præstare solitus erat, ut juxta modum culparum largitionem exhiberet eleemosynarum. Ducitur interea vesanus ille ad tumbam sancti patris Dunstani, prosequente illum tota monasterii congregatione; ibique exorcismo super illum ab archiepiscopo facto, toto illo die incolumis permansit et quietus.

He threatens to reveal the wickedness of his companions; one young man in particular.

The young man confesses to Lanfranc, who does alms in sign of gratitude.

The madman is brought to Dunstan's tomb.

Proinde nos immensis lætitiis exultare veluti homines qui talem pontificem haberent per quem furores dæmonum sedari possent; verum hæc cordis exultatio futuræ humiliationis exstitit designatio. Necdum enim ejusdem diei sole occulto, cum fratres ultimam divini servitii horam psallendo complerent, iterum monachus a diabolo invasus ad priorem ecclesiæ, virum venerabilem nomine Henricum, cucurrit, manibus eum constrinxit, nec ullatenus dimittere voluit. Qui statim paterna pietate motus duxit juvenem in domum quietis, custodias super illum præcipiens haberi; sed non cessantibus stimulis diabolici furoris, non cessat juvenis jactare voces miserandi doloris. Quod cum archiepiscopo nunciatum fuisset, mœstus valde effectus, "Sciebam," inquit, "quod "immoderatam lætitiam immoderata animi tristitia esset "secutura. Est namque verum verbum prophetiæ, 'Ante "'ruinam exaltabitur cor, et ante ignominiam gloriatio.' "Deferatur rursus ad memoriam patris nostri Dunstani, "ibique communis omnium supplicatio fiat ut sua virtute "sævum ipse dæmonem expellat." Raptus igitur mane fortissimorum manibus virorum, toto corpore vinctus, ad tumulum sancti insanus pertrahitur, stridoribus et nimiis ejulatibus basilicam replens. Præcipiebatur illi symbolum dicere, respondebat de Se Filium esse. Jubebatur orationem Dominicam enunciare, non cessabat ille sputis et execrationibus omnes impetere. Sic tota illa die cum sequenti nocte in magnis doloribus simul ac laboribus exacta, in cellam languidorum deportatur, funibus et cæterorum generum vinculis grabato alligatur, et ita pluribus diebus sub arctissima custodia tenetur. Interim omnes ad se venientes torvis oculis intueri, singulorum occulta detegere, prorsus multam multis verecundiam facere, quos in peccatis suis noverat jacere. Cæterum de iis qui peccata sua confessi fuerant omnino nihil improperando potuit efferre. Inter hæc præfati adolescentis nomen sæpius inclamare, et socium velle suppliciorum videre. Super quibus pater Lanfrancus

After being quiet for a day he becomes mad again and attacks the prior.

Lanfranc orders him again to Dunstan's tomb.

Prov. xvi. 18.

He cannot say the Creed or the Lord's prayer.

He is tied to his bed in the infirmary.

He had no power against those who have confessed.

Lanfranc, with Albert the physician, and others, go to visit them.

vehementer indignatus apprehensa adolescentis dextera cœpit ad demoniacum ire, comitantibus illum Alberto medico, quem postea cardinalem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ clericum vidimus, et aliis quibusdam quorum nomina non satis memoriæ occurrunt. Jamque cœperamus ad domum, in qua dæmoniacus sub magna custodia jacebat vinctus, appropinquare, cum illorum duorum adhuc parietum septis inclusus nec potuitque nos corporalibus oculis videre, prævalens rabidissimis vocibus hæc intonaret, "Lanfrance, Lanfrance, et tu Alberte medice,

He cries out to them before he sees them.

" et tu ille et ille, et juvenis cujus ego societate gaudeo, " non vos video, et ad me venire atque de me verba " habere scio." Ad quæ dicta supra quam dici potest pontifex admiratus ingreditur ad ægrotum, furorem illius sancta mitigat asperitate; offert juvenem tanta quæsitum importunitate. Quem ille nunc contractis luminibus subaspiciens negat eum esse quem quærebat: factoque impetu nisus est discerpere illum. Tum Lanfrancus per virtutem confessionis actitatum intelligens, quod juvenem toties inclamatum malignus spiritus non agnosceret, conversus ad dæmonem, "Etsi mendax," inquit,

The madman fails to recognize the young man whom he threatened.

" sis et pater mendaciorum, in hoc tamen veritati, velis " nolis, contestaris, quod hunc adolescentem non esse " quod fuit attestaris, quoniam per confessionem est ab- " solutum quicquid aut per propriæ fragilitatis negligen- " tiam dimissum, aut per diabolicam expugnationem ex- " stiterat commissum." Exinde majoribus tormentis possessum corpus diabolus agitare. Et nunc simulabat se mutum, nunc ostendebat sine modo multiloquum. Iterum amarissime flere et subito turpissime cachinnare, aliquando suaviter loqui, et confestim clamoso tumultu vociferari.

The evil spirit becomes stronger in him.

Sed jam quemadmodum et dæmon ejectus, et obsessus a dæmone liberatus sit, contexam. Per paucos dies exegit ratio ut transferri deberent corpora sanctorum de præfato præfatæ virginis oratorio in domum quandam refectorii, quoniam oportebat idem ora-

The removal of the relics into the refectory.

torium pro extendendis novæ ecclesiæ fundamentis destrui, nec præter illam alia domus inveniri poterat in qua vel divinum servitium fieri vel reliquiæ sanctorum congrue atque habiliter locari possent. Exeuntibus ergo fratribus de oratorio cum corpore venerandi patris Dunstani et canoris vocibus lætanias modulantibus, ecce obvius effertur a multa hominum turba terribilis ille dæmoniacus, multis vinculorum nexibus per totum corpus grabbato alligatus. Qui mox ut sanctissimi corporis thecam vidit, innumeras voces jactare execrabiliter in Dominum et in omnes sanctos blasphemias dicere, nec Dunstani aut corpus videre aut nomen audire, iterumque in modum depositus in terra, ita ut ligatus erat, ingentis ponderis grabbatum erexit, et quasi cum illo incedere temptavit. Quid plura commemorem? Tantos denique furores immundus spiritus, vel potius immundi spiritus, de obsesso corpore sæviendo jactaverunt, ut quicunque illud viderant, aut procul aufugerent, aut remanentes immensis terroribus quaterentur. Neque enim ex occulto atque invisibili jam furore malignus spiritus, emittebat, sed modo catelli per diversos viscerum meatus discurrentis visibilem se atque palpabilem præbebat. Quidam autem dum manum fluitanti monstro superponere vellet, magnis a dæmone minis impetitus est. Unde cum post hoc Missas celebraret, ex improviso calicem vidit versatum et Sanguinem Christi super altare effusum. Alii quoque terrorem incutere temptavit, dicens se in loco ubi ad requisita naturæ acceditur insidias ei structurum; sed ille in Domino confisus diabolum terrentem longe despexit, et sub Christi protectione nihil adversi incurrere potuit. Exclamat igitur ingenti fletu tota monachorum plebs adversus reclamantem diabolum multis vicibus magnisque vocibus, mellifluum Dunstani nomen frequentans. Ac prostrati in terra, "Sancte," inquiunt, "Sancte Dunstane, ora pro nobis." Ingressi ergo domum sanctorum reliquiis præparatam, hi quidem

As the brethren are carrying the relics of Dunstan, the madman is brought out.

He blasphemes and leaps up, lifting his heavy bed.

The devil runs about in him like a little dog.

His threats.

Dunstan is invoked to cure him.

He is deposited before Dunstan's coffin.

bajulantes venerabile corpus Sancti Dunstani, illi de transverso ferentes semivivum cadaver insani, deposuerunt utrumque in terram clamantes et dicentes, " Bene tibi, pater Dunstane, cum diabolo conveniat ; " tu videris si in domo tua tecum manere debeat." Egressis autem omnibus, remansit quidam monachus qui familiari quodam affectu dominum Dunstanum semper dilexerat, et ei in multis rebus secundum posse suum obsequium detulerat. Hic ergo fisus de illa quam ad sanctum Dei habuerat familiaritate, arreptum crucis vexillum quod olim ante illum beatissimum episcopali ritu deferri consueverat, posuit illud super insanum, ita cum lacrymis Dunstanum exorans ; " Tu dulcior " melle, tu omni pulchrior flore, multimodis paradisi " odoribus plene, cur nunc virtutum tuarum aromata " non spirant, quæ tam sævum dæmonium extricare " valeant ? Dignus ego non sum quem orantem exau- " dias, sed si quis est in omnibus hujus ecclesiæ filiis, " qui secundum voluntatem tuam tibi unquam servie- " rit, pro ejus amore hunc dæmonem expelle." Inter hæc verba dæmoniacus quievit et lassato furore quasi exanimis jacuit. At monachus ille majorem adhuc de sancto confidentiam sumens omnia jacentis vincula dissolvit. Qui statim quasi de alio sæculo eductus graviter suspirans de lectulo surrexit, amplexusque crucem quam ante vehementer horrebat, incubuit super eam piissimo fletu, ista dicens ; " Gratias ago tibi, sanctorum piissime, " domine et communis pater Dunstane, qui me de " manibus dæmonum, quorum potestati traditus fui, " dignatus es eripere." Et conversus ad monachum sic ait, " Gratias et tibi ago, venerabilis domine, qui tanta " compassione erga miseriam meam actus voluisti, aliis " egredientibus, hic remanere, tuisque lacrymis pias pii " Dunstani aures pulsare. Ecce divino jussu qui me " vexaverunt recesserunt, nec amplius mihi nocere " poterunt." Ab illo ergo die liberatus est monachus ab omnimoda dæmonum vexatione, multisque annis

A monk watching by him, lays S. Dunstan's staff upon him and prays.

The devil leaves him.

His recovery and gratitude.

He lived long after.

postea vixit, et sancto fine ultimum diem clausit. Latius fortasse quam opus esset hoc miraculum scripsimus, verum ideo hoc fecimus, ut considerata magnitudine mali magnitudo agnosceretur miraculi; et tanto magis amor confessionis in cordibus audientium dulcesceret, quanto virtutis istius sublimitas efficacius appareret. Osbern excuses his prolixity.

20. Post aliquot dies Lanfrancus corporali infirmitate gravissime tactus omnino a medicis desperabatur. Cumque finem vitæ jamjamque adesse putaret, missa legatione mandat fratribus ecclesiæ Christi quæ circa se agebantur, exoptat seniorum præsentiam quatenus, si in corpore diutius vivere non liceret, defuncti, ut verbis utar illius, cadaver ad urbem secum transveherent. Nam in quodam ecclesiæ patrimonio procul ab urbe distante, quod Ealdintune[1] vocatur, idem pater venerabilis ægrotabat. Veniunt itaque illi ad locum, inveniunt omnia lacrymis repleta, plorant cum plorantibus, nolentes hominem morte videre finiendum, cui similem post hæc[2] sciebant non esse inveniendum. At ille sive suas angustias, sive filiorum suorum miserias non ferens, sicut enim mater unicum filium, ita singulos nos unice diligebat, convertit faciem suam ad parietem, divinam quantis posset suspiriis clementiam deprecaturus. Confestim autem sursum raptus, videbat quasi exercitum virorum candidatorum, lucifluas sicut sol facies habentium, albos equos cum faleris aureis comptos insidentium, et liberales jocos jocunda quadam suavitate adinvicem exhibentium. Quos ille prætereuntes lætabundis oculis intuens sciscitabat cujusnam ista profectio esset. Dictum autem est hanc domini Dunstani esse, illum vero non longe abesse. Exspectabat itaque Lanfrancus, explorans singulorum transeuntium vultus, cu- Illness of Lanfranc. He summons the brethren of Christ Church to Aldington. He has a vision of a procession of horsemen in white riding on white horses: he is told that it is Dunstan's.

[1] *Ealdintune*] Ealditune, Mab. Boll.

[2] These words would seem to fix the date of the composition of the book before the appointment of Anselm, whom the writer would scarcely have reckoned inferior to Lanfranc in monastic merit; but the mention of Cardinal Albert, in page 148, may point to a later date. Albert was Cardinal under Urban II.

Dunstan appears.

piens illum præ cæteris cognoscere a quo præ cæteris remedia sperabat salutis accipere. Et ecce beatissimus pater Dunstanus venerabilium seniorum cuneis hinc inde stipatus veniebat, similem per omnia cæteris habitum gerens, nisi quod ab humeris et sursum celsior cunctis eminebat. In cujus occursum Lanfrancus humiliter progrediens, jungensque se ad latus equitantis illius, amplexatus est pedem simul cum ascensorio cui videbatur inniti, atque ad se[1] osculandi gratia trahere conatus est. At Dunstanus quasi ad factum expavescens, sive Lanfranco honoris gratiam exhibens, constricto genu utraque manu pedem ad se videbatur retrahere. In hac beata certaminis lucta Lanfrancus ad id quod fuerat redit, et ita se sanum reperit, ut nullum infirmitatis vestigium in toto corpore remansisset. Agit itaque gratias Deo, Cujus dono et Dunstanum videre et cupitam salutem illo potuit donante suscipere. Vocatis ergo iis[2] qui propius accumbebant narrat ex ordine quæ viderat, simul se convaluisse asseverat. Illis vero existimantibus quod alienata mente loqueretur, " Præparetur," inquit, " mihi altare, videbitis namque " illum sacrificium Deo offerentem quem paulo ante " videbatis vix labia moventem." Deinde accitis qui nuper advenerant senioribus, " Hic dies," ait, " erit " vobis boni nuncii dies; dominum et patrem nostrum " Dunstanum hic fuisse, et me ab omni corporis mo- " lestia sanasse scitote. Regredimini ergo ad ecclesiam, " portas ejus super vos obserate; ad memoriam sancti " accedite; genua flectite, ac pro reddita mihi sanitate " uberes gratias referte. Nolo etenim[3] per me ipsum " modo venire, ne existiment me homines aliquid esse, " quasi qui potuerim Dei sanctos videre." Faciunt illi imperata, magnamque fratribus de morte patris suspectis gaudium præstant.

Lanfranc tries to kiss his foot: Dunstan withdraws it.

He awakes and finds himself well.

He sends back the brethren to thank Dunstan.

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[1] *se*] om. L.

[2] *iis*] his, Mab. Boll.

[3] *etenim*] enim, L.

21. Quidam capellanus presbyter archiepiscopi adeo gravi febrium vexatione per octonos menses cruciatus fuerat, ut consumptis carnibus vix infirmis ossibus pellis hæreret. Hic eo momento quo archiepiscopus salvus effectus est, optatam a Deo salutem et ipse consecutus est; et mane ad archiepiscopum lætabundus ingrediens, didicerat namque illum convaluisse, requirebat modum receptæ sanitatis, et audiebat. Rogatus[1] etiam ipse ut quemadmodum sese haberet ediceret, "Plane," inquit, "optime valeo, quoniam is qui te in "mortis periculo miserando respexit, mihi quoque ob "gratiam tui in hac nocte salutem conferre dignatus "est. Jacebam namque[2] in stratu meo, quod ligneus "solummodo a stratu tuo paries dirimit, videbamque "in visione beatum Dunstanum solemnes in ecclesia "Salvatoris missas agentem, meque illi in ministerio "subdiaconatus servientem. Cumque perlecta a me "fuisset epistola, ad pedes illius ex more deosculandos "accessi, benedictionem petii, et ita cum ejus benedic-"tione recedens convalui." Audiens hæc venerabilis pater Lanfrancus, erumpens in gaudium, sic ait, "Non "potuit quicquam infirmitatis in loco remanere, quem "sanctus Dei visitationis suæ gratia dignatus est "illustrare."

One of Lanfranc's chaplains at the same moment recovers from a fever.

He too had had a vision of Dunstan.

22.[3] Ea quoque tempestate duæ quædam res apud nos contigerunt, quas non magis beato Dunstano quam cæteris ibidem quiescentibus sanctis ascribendas putavimus. Ex præcepto siquidem Bajocensis episcopi, quidam vir in vincula conjectus fuerat propterea quod cervum in sylva illius a canibus insectatum,[4] seseque in occursum ejus præcipitem dantem, emissa sagitta occidisset. Habitus ergo in vinculis in civitate Cantuaria, diebus ac noctibus ecclesiam frequentare, lacry-

Two stories which may or may not concern Dunstan.

Odo had ordered a man to be put in chains for killing a stag.

[1] *Rogatus*] Rogamus, L.

[2] *namque*] om. L.

[3] Sections 22 and 23 are transposed in K.

[4] *insectatum*] incitatum, Mab.

This man was always found in the church.

mas pro peccatis suis fundere[1] magnumque populi affectum ex sonitu stridentium catenarum circa se excitare. Cumque hoc per duos annos indesinenter fecisset, quadam die, cum ante altare Dominicæ Crucis prostratus jaceret, videntibus cunctis qui circumstabant, catenæ diruptæ sunt, boiæ in quatuor partes comminutæ, clavi in minutas partes confracti.[2] Ipse vero quid de eo divinitus agebatur penitus ignorabat. Surgente autem illo ab oratione, ceciderunt vincula de pedibus suis; quæ tollens in manibus suis per medium fratrum omnipotentem Christum pro miraculo laudantium perrexit, eaque super altare Christi posuit, offerens Deo pro munere quod sibi fuerat pro onere. Post paucos dies dum rem istam Lanfrancus archiepiscopus cuidam præpotenti viro narrasset, ille vicaria relatione,

After two years his chains dropped off.

Lanfranc tells the tale to a great man who tells him another.

" Et ego," inquit, " tale aliquid vestræ excellentiæ nar-
" rare valeo; quod non minoris admirationis apud te
" fore existimo. Tertius namque dies est hodie ex
" quo sedecim naves piratarum, validissimo vento actæ,
" ad ripam maris sunt jactatæ. Homines autem qui
" intus fuerant partim maris fluctibus sunt immersi,
" partim a regiis exactoribus comprehensi, cum prin-
" cipe suo nomine Baraba, compedibus astricti sunt.
" Qui idcirco Baraban se appellari voluit, quoniam
" nimiæ semper crudelitatis fuisset, multamque hominum
" turbam manu sua occidisset. Evadens autem de com-
" pedibus viam quæ ducit Cantuariam arripuit, sciens
" se neque vita neque membris cariturum si ecclesiam
" Christi contingere posset asylum. Sed cum jam
" prope civitatem fuisset, mox ut pinnam ecclesiæ et
" cherubin aureum vidit, quasi cœlestis cherubin vir-
" tute repulsus, ultra progredi non potuit. Nititur
" itaque totis virilibus contra vacuum aerem, semper
" eum quasi murum ferreum sentiebat. Hæsit vero
" stupens, et iterum resumptis viribus prioris luctæ

A pirate named Barabas had been arrested and escaped.

When he came near Canterbury and saw the golden cherubin on the church steeple,

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[1] *fundere*] effundere, Mab. | [2] *confracti*] confractæ, L.

" certamen assumpsit, sed ea qua ante virtute repulsus, he could go no further.
" majore quam ante spatio resiliit. Temptabat si unde
" venerat regredi posset, currere poterat quantum vo-
" lebat; si vero quo disponebat progredi vellet, mox ut
" ecclesiam videbat pedem movere non poterat. Des-
" perans ergo de salute sua et de misericordia Dei,
" 'Manifestum est,' inquit, 'cum damnatis me sortem He laments in rhyme.
" 'habere, cui ecclesiam Christi non licet videre. Quid
" 'ergo prodest crudelem Christum invocare, a Quo non
" 'sit misericordiam impetrare. Ut fortuna volet, eat;
" 'ego deinceps fugam non inibo, sed unde veni mori-
" 'turus redibo.' Hæc dicens præcipiti cursu rediit, He returned in despair to his prison.
" quæ sibi contigerant multis hominum millibus nar-
" ravit. Post hæc condignas factis pœnas solvit." His Lanfranc bids the writer proclaim the story.
acceptis Lanfrancus, vocato me, præcepit ista in populo prædicari, adjungens ideo hunc ab ecclesia terribiliter repulsum quod ficto corde ad eam accesserit, illum vero alium ea re in ecclesia mirabiliter liberatum, quod ad eandem quotidie devoto animo tetenderit.

23. Sed et illud perpetua dignum est memoria quod Edward who had been archdeacon of London and had become a monk at Canterbury,
in[1] Edwardum, urbis Lundoniæ archidiaconum, ejus clementia mirabili modo operata est. Qui cum esset in sæculo deliciis pollens, conspiciens omnia sæculi bona esse angusta, contulit se ad unum incommutabile, commune, sufficiens bonum, Deum, suscepta sanctæ religionis veste in ecclesia Cantuariensi sub regimine præfati gloriosi viri Lanfranci archiepiscopi; ubi per aliquot annos honeste conversatus, magnum apud omnes cohabitantes gratiam obtinuit. Sed post hæc malignus spiritus ejus conversioni simul et conversationi invidens, occultis quibusdam et importunis suggestionibus animo illius tædium religionis ingerebat, cupiens illum ad hanc mentis insaniam perducere, ut ad sæculum unde venerat repetito vomitu sordium rediret. Immittebat namque diabolus in cor ejus sæculi voluptates, amplexus fœminarum wishes to go back to the world.

[1] *in*] circa, Mab.

He yields to temptation and prepares to leave the monastery.

amplas domos, amicorum societates; nec permittebat illum cogitare quam dulcis est Dominus gustantibus Eum, quam magna domus Dei, et ingens locus habitationis Ejus, quam beata societas angelorum Deum in sæculum sæculorum laudantium. Victus tandem importunitate temptatoris, exitum de ecclesia moliebatur, et paratis omnibus quæ ad hoc sacrilegium explendum idonea videbantur, ingreditur ecclesiam, a Sancto Dunstano licentiam exeundi, et ad sæculum revertendi, petiturus; sciens proculdubio quod nihil ei prospere procederet, si illo offenso discedere non timeret. Et surgens ab oratione ut ostium ecclesiæ egrederetur, repperit in ostio Dunstanum cum virga stantem, non talem tunc qualem illum viderat Lanfrancus, sed terribilem vultu, oculis minacem et mordacibus labiis hæc infrementem, "Regredere, miser, regredere; omnipotenti "Domino te prosterne; conceptumque diaboli venenum "de corde tuo evome." Cumque ille pavens ac tremens hæreret, Dunstanus elevata contra illum[1] virga, ait, "Non exibis, sed hic morieris." Hoc dicto, qui loquebatur disparuit; et cui loquebatur graviter ægrotavit. Mox itaque lectulo receptus duobus mensibus in magnis angustiis vixit, et post hæc vitam consummavit. Sed cum ad hoc ventum fuisset ut animam reddere deberet, accersitis iis[2] quos primos in amore fraternitatis habuerat, universa per ordinem quæ vel male disposuerat, vel bono suo viderat, in magna cordis contritione narrabat. Hæc eadem alius quidam frater, bonæ indolis adolescens, nomine Adrianus, coram omnibus confessus est, dicens se et conscium consilii et consentaneum operi.

He goes to Dunstan's tomb to ask his leave.

At the door of the church he meets Dunstan who sends him back.

After two months' illness he confesses, and dies.

The writer was in Thanet.

24. [3] Ante hos dies, cum in insula Tanatos essem, gradiebar juxta littus maris cum milite, qui me pro defensione sui invitaverat, considerans ea quæ ibi sunt mirabilia

[1] *illum*] cum, L.
[2] *iis*] his, Mab. Boll.
[3] The following two miracles are omitted in MS. L.

Dei, et materiem boni sermonis exinde eliciens. Inde sermo ad patrem Dunstanum protractus est, quoniam maximum semper lucrum reputo quoties loquendi de illo occasionem reperio. Tum miles idem memorato hoc nomine totus expalluit, ac veluti dolorem ex intimo suspirans, "Væ," ait, "mihi ingrato, qui tantorum "beneficiorum hucusque immemor existo." Tum ego, "Et quid," inquam, "hi tam molesti anhelitus?" "Nosti," ait, "quantum mihi infestus abbas[1] Sancti "Augustini, dum adviveret exstiterit, dum diripere "cuperet quæ ad me hæreditate venissent?" "Novi," inquam. "Num et illud nosti quod non modo nihil "ejus immoderatio obfuit, verum etiam ad majoris "mihi gloriæ cumulum excrevit?" "Nec hoc," inquam, "latet, sed quorsum ista commemores ignoro." Scies,[2] inquit; "nocte siquidem quæ diem statuti inter me et "illum placiti præcedebat, memorans cum essem in "domo mea, quæ prope est, quod frequenter patrem "Dunstanum tuis rationibus extollere consueveris, nunc, "aio, experiri habeo si ut accepi, ita ille laudabilis ex-"sistat. Flexus ergo in oratione, 'Deus,' inquio[3] 'patris "'Dunstani, fave hodie nostræ parti.' Inde corpusculum "requiei dedens, video in somnis urbem Cantuariam, "basilicam Salvatoris, memoriam patris; cui quasi in-"cumbens, aspicio virum juxta stantem, decorum "forma, veste speciosum, lampadem lucis manu tenen-"tem; ad cujus imaginem perterrefactus, 'Quisnam, in-"'quam,' 'es tu, hominum pulcherrime?' 'Idem,' inquit "'ille cujus tu paullo ante auxilium precabare.' 'Papæ,' "inquam, 'quam citus es ad miserandos miseros! Nosti "'quid dominus minatur?' 'Nihil,' ait, 'ejus minas "'pertimescas, nec magni eas omnino pendas.'" Ita miles ille oravit, post hoc versus ad me ait, "Jam

He conversed with a certain knight, about Dunstan.

The knight tells him his story.

The night before his cause against the abbot of S. Augustine's was to be tried, he had prayed in Dunstan's name.

Dunstan appears and promises his aid.

[1] Scolland, abbot of S. Augustine's, died in 1087; and if he is the person meant, the mention of him as now dead would fix the date of the work later than that year. This section, which is not found in the Lambeth MS., may have been one of the latest additions.

[2] *Scies*] Scias, Boll.

[3] *inquio*] aio, Boll.

The knight won his cause.

" cætera tu nosti, quemadmodum ego et tu convenerimus, contenderimus, convicerimus." "Signum," inquam, "grande in illa die dedit sanctus, propterea " quod dum illi plures et elimato acumine fuerint, a " paucis et minus acutis victi abierint."[1] Tum ego respiciens ad eos qui præsentes erant ostendi verbis quod nunc prodo litteris.

The writer was once in danger from his enemies, in a lawsuit.

25. Nunc ad ea quæ meam proprie attingunt personam, ut minus fortasse sapiens, transibo, et sic ori silentium ponam, manibus quoque otium indicam. Quodam tempore quidam homines gravi me odio infestabant, nec prius ab infestando quiescere volebant, quam magnis injuriis affectum gravioribus minarentur afficiendum. Eorum vero, qui agendæ causæ nostræ judices dati fuerunt, ita animus sive gratia, sive importunitate adversariorum, a me alienatus est, ut neque oratione inflecti, neque ulla possent ratione moveri. Desperans ergo de subventione hominum, solius Dei ac beati istius auxilium duxi esse quærendum. Itaque nocturno tempore soporatis omnibus, ejus memoriam in magna confidentia adii, et multitudinem miserationum illius gemebundis vocibus ac lacrymantibus[2] oculi pulsavi. Deinde mente fessus, luctu anxius recessi, secretum petii, dolorem cordis requie corporis, ut interdum fit, lenire desiderans. Necdum satis ad pausandum disposueram corpus, dum animo cuncta excedens viderer mihi in atrio templi domum videre, cujus magnitudo mirabilis, pulchritudo inæstimabilis, ad quam nemo nisi per quandam aquarum colluvionem poterat transire. Verum ista transeuntibus lex erat, ut quanto magis ad introitum domus appropinquarent, tanto minus easdem sentirent aquas. Transibam ego cum transeuntibus, ac rarescentibus aquis ad ulteriora alvei littora perveniebam, moxque domum ingrediens videbam totam illam majori quam solari claritate fulgentem, cœtum quasi

He sought Dunstan's tomb by night, and then went to bed.

His vision of a palace beyond a flood.

[1] *abierint*] abierunt, Boll.

[2] *lacrymantibus*] lacrymabilibus, Mab.

sanctorum ineffabili quadam suavitate lætantium circumsedentem, et quandam decoris subtilitatem, quæ modo crystalli pervideri posset, oculis intuentium prætendentem. Considerabam diligentius, volens deprehendere unde etiam immensæ lucis claritas coruscaret; et videbatur mihi quod non aliunde quam de corporibus sanctorum idem splendor exiret. Interroganti autem mihi quæ hæc essent, edoctum est hunc esse clerum magni Dunstani, illum vero paulo ante affuisse, divina sacramenta celebrasse, et necdum communionis antiphona decantata recessisse, atque ut illum exspectaret qui ad requiem illius decumbebat præcepisse. Cogitabam itaque ne forte ego ille essem. Cumque hoc in animo volverem, consurgentes viri illi apprehensum me statuerunt in medio sui, alterutris vocibus sese cohortantes, "Eja, fratres, Missas terminemus, quoniam is "adest cujus gratia ista dilatio facta est." Cœperunt itaque dulcissimis ac modulatissimis vocibus psallere, et me ad organizandum quod psallebant invitare, "Dico "autem vobis amicis meis, ne terreamini ab iis qui vos "persequuntur." Ad quas voces experrectus confestim ad sepulcrum sancti cucurri, medium illud utrisque brachiis amplexatus sum, vociferans ac nimia cordis exsultatione proloquens, "Affuisti, pater carissime, af- "fuisti, affuisti in angustiis laboranti, et gratiam tui "humiliter postulanti. Vere sanctus Dei es, et quod- "cunque vis ab Illo impetrare potes. Jam securus "judices adibo, nec minas cujuspiam hodie formidabo." Venientibus ergo judicibus quorum interfuit causam terminare, accesserunt ii qui me turbare moliti sunt, accessi et ego; calumniam de adversariis movi. Itaque, Deo adjuvante et Dunstano[1] patrocinante, omnes mihi adversantes devici, ut et ipsi propria sua ratione caderent, et ego non solum factam mihi injuriam non effugerem, verum etiam in mea defensione simul et exaltatione plurimum exultarem.

He crosses the flood, enters the house and sees a marvellous light proceeding from the bodies of the saints.

He learns that Dunstan has been there; and had bidden them wait for him.

The saints begin to sing inviting Osbern to play.

S. Luke, xii. 4.

He awakes and runs to the tomb.

He wins his cause.

[1] With this word MS. O. ends.

These are but specimens of Dunstan's miracles.

26. [1] Satis esse ista existimo, domini et patres carissimi, vel ad insinuandos temporales sancti viri labores, vel ad ejus sempiternam gloriam catholicæ ecclesiæ fidelibus commendandum. Non quo plura non sint, et fortasse his majora, quæ ad hæc narrari valeant, sed quod ea solummodo voluerim narrare, quæ fidem, sicut procemio dixi, non viderentur excedere. Quis namque statim mihi credulitatem accommodaret, si dicerem aut vestem illum in columna lucis suspendisse, aut extremam cognati parentis egestatem ad summas divitias nummi dimidio perduxisse? Cujus animum horror non percelleret, si audiret monachum Jerosolimam properantem ab exercitu imperatoris Constantinopolis [2] circumventum ad solam sancti illius invocationem ab eorum molestissima irruptione liberatum? Quem, inquam, stupor non apprehenderet considerantem vel furem a sancto perterrefactum res a requie illius exportatas in atrio templi illibatas reliquisse, vel civem Cantuariæ contra oppositam sancti auctoritatem substantiam ecclesiæ Christi surripientem, post paucos dies pœnam suæ temeritatis solvisse? Videtis quibus abstineo, propterea quod æstimationem audientium supergredi nolo; quæ tamen si commemorarem, incredibilis esse non deberem, propterea quod nihil est difficultatis ubi Dominus Christus auctor est operis. Deinde more cantorum in conviviis agentium fecimus, qui dum pulcherrimum est medium carmen recidere assolent, quo et tædium audientibus tollatur, rursumque audiendi oblectatio major excitetur. Ad postremum vero dicendi præceptis vel in fine hujus orationis parere voluimus, qui commotis animis auditorum finem ponunt officiis oratorum. Nam lacryma, ut Tullius ait, nil citius arescit.[3] Quod si ego, sicut oportuit, officium peregi, grates obsecro omnipotenti Deo mecum

Who would believe that he hung his robe on a sunbeam; or delivered a monk from the emperor's army, or made a thief restore his spoil, or punished a knavish citizen?

He leaves off before the readers have had too much.

[1] Here MS. L. resumes.

[2] *Constantinopolis*] Constantinopolitani, Boll. These two stories will be found in the work of Eadmer, below.

[3] Cicero, De Inventione, i. 55.

exsolvite, Cujus ut peragi posset actum est miseratione. Sin vero minus apposite dixi, non ideo minus is de quo dixi debet appretiari, propterea quod nihil est indignius quam propter vitium scribentis virtutem minuere bene promerentis. Potius in illo Deum magnificemus nomenque illius certatim in invicem exaltemus, agentes Ei gratias Qui illum ante mundi constitutionem in æterna Sua sapientia elegit, et Anglorum tempora per ostensionem corporalis præsentiæ illius beatificare voluit. Veneremur quoque illum in Deo, ejusque merita summis honoribus attollamus, certi quod ad Dei gloriam pertineat quicquid in ejus veneratione nostra devotio informat. Amemus illum ex omnibus cordium nostrorum medullis, ac per illum quicquid a Deo fideliter petierimus nos recepturos speremus, propterea quod nihil nobis Dei clementia poterit denegare, si quem Ille diligit nos studuerimus et animo diligere et obsequio venerari. Gloria omnipotenti Deo Patri Qui illum fecit; Gloria Unigenito Dei Filio Qui illum redemit; Gloria Spiritui Sancto Qui illum Sua gratia illuminavit; Uni, Soli, vivo et vero Deo, laus et gratiarum actio per infinita sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[1]

The faults of the writer are not to discredit the work.

Exhortation to honour Dunstan.

Explicit Liber Miraculorum beatissimi patris nostri patroni Dunstani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, secundum Osbernum hujus ecclesiæ commonachum et præcentorem et suppriorem.[2]

[1] Laus Deo, Add. L.
" Quem genus insignit, virtus at-
" tollere certat,
" Huic dare nostra cohors mu-
" nera laudis habet.
" Dunstanus pater eximius vene-
" randus in orbe
" Post hyemem, veris tempora
" læta subit."
Add. Mab. from MS. M.

[2] *suppriorem*] qui erat vir doctissimus, ut scribit Vincentius, Historial. libro xxv. capitulo ciiii°., ubi dicit, " Osbernus Cantuariæ cantor
" nulli nostro tempore stilo secun-
" dus, in musica omnium primus."
Soli Deo honor et gloria. Add. L.
" Explicit Vita S. Dunstani Archie-
" piscopi et Confessoris." F.

IV.

VITA SANCTI DUNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS, AUCTORE EADMERO.

Prologus.

Incipit Prologus in vitam Sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi et confessoris.[1]

The writer states the inducements which led him to undertake the work.

Quia Deum in sanctis Suis mirabilem prophetica voce laudare jubemur, Eum in iis quæ in Sancto Dunstano, primæ metropolis Anglorum pontifice, mirabiliter operari dignatus est, quorundam simplicium in bono fratrum non contemnendæ voluntati obtemperantes, usitato more loquendi, stili officio laudare decrevimus; scriptis,[2] quæ alio quodam elocutionis genere ipsa gesta commemorant, sapientum considerationi relictis. Cui ut licet insipiens adquiescerem, me nonnihil illexerunt eadem scripta, eo quod in quibusdam nonnullis modum usitatæ narrationis excessisse videntur. Adductus etiam in hoc sum quorundam calumniis, qui frequenter questi sunt et conqueri non desistunt, auctorem ipsorum scriptorum vulgatæ rerum historiæ non omnimodis concordasse: quod non quidem in miraculis quæ de ipso patre scripta sunt ei surrepsisse confitemur. De quibus, verbi gratia, est quod scribit episcopatum Wi-

Ps. lxviii. 35.

The work of his predecessor was in some points at variance with history.

[1] The text is from the MS. C.C.C. 371 (P.); the more important variations of the text, as printed by Surius, are marked S.

[2] A reference to the work of Osbern. Surius prints, of the Prologue, only from *Quia* to *relictis*.

gornensem, cum ad eum pater Dunstanus electus et consecratus est, fuisse in honorem beatæ Matris Dei Mariæ,[1] cum revera fuerit in honorem gloriosi apostolorum principis Petri. Et quod refert secundum Edwardum martyrem ex sanctimoniali fœmina natum,[2] cum proculdubio constet eum ex legitima conjuge procreatum; et alia quædam in hunc modum. Quorum omnium puram veritatem rogatus ab amicis meis tanto studio investigare sollicitus fui, ut quaque per Angliam, ubi talium studia vigere sciebam et ipsemet ire non poteram, pro hoc ipso me mittere non pigeret: omnino videlicet detêstandum existimans a rerum limite exorbitantia veritatem nosse volentibus dicto vel scripto summinstrare. Unde ne quis me quavis arrogantia vel invidia ductum judicet istis scribendis manum imposuisse; fateor, testimonium mihi perhibente conscientia mea in ipsa veritate, a qua Christianum deviare non licet, quia nisi me humanæ mentis cœcitas fallat, nil in hac parte quæ dixi vitia valuere, sed solus amor veri, quo tantum patrem et præsentibus et secuturis omni seposita ambiguitate commendare cupiebam. Nec in his meo sensu usus sum, sed firma et, cui non credere nefarium esse credebam, patrum auctoritate subnixus; quos mihi quondam attestatos fuisse recordor se res ipsas juxta quod eas describimus, certo relatu eorum qui optime illas noverunt cognovisse. Horum unum, Ægelredum[3] scilicet, qui supprioris et cantoris

His mistakes about the dedication of Worcester cathedral, and about the mother of S. Edward.

The writer has inquired into these points.

He is led only by the love of truth; and relies on the authority of elders.

One of these is Ethelred,

[1] See Osbern, above, pp. 103, 106.

[2] See Osbern, above, p. 112; and the letter of Nicolas on the subject, which will be given in the seventh section of this volume.

[3] The dates of Ethelred's precentorship at Canterbury, as well as of his tenure of office at Worcester, are unknown. Wharton, Anglia Sacra, i. 547, conjectures that he may have been the archdeacon Agelric or Alric of Worcester, who attests charters of the years 1088 and 1095; or that he took another name after moving to Worcester, in which latter case he may have been either Thomas who was prior in 1089 and 1093, or Nicolas who was a correspondent of Eadmer and became prior in 1114 or later. Wulfstan died in 1095, so that Ethelred must have left Canterbury before that

once precentor at Canterbury, and afterwards an officer at Worcester.

officium in ecclesia Cantuariensi strenuissime per multum temporis administrabat, quique postmodum ob religiosam prudentiam et prudentem religiositatem suam Wigornensi ecclesiæ sub beatæ memoriæ Wulstano episcopo prælatus erat, et multis qui adhuc supersunt notissimus fuerat, ne nudis solummodo verbis agere judicer, omissis aliis proponere cordi fuit. Hic Ægelrico Cicestrensi episcopo, homini magnarum rerum peritia prædito, antehac diu adhæserat, et ab eo multa de beato Dunstano, cui pene contemporaneus fuit, didicerat, quæ ille ab eis qui interesse meruerunt se accepisse fatebatur. Sunt super hæc scripta veterum simpliciori stilo digesta,[1] et chronicorum abbreviatæ notationes iis quæ scribimus attestantes.[2] De iis autem, quæ post sacratissimum transitum ejus per eum facta significamus, quædam ex litterarum monimentis, quædam ex propriorum sensuum approbationibus, quædam ex veridicorum virorum allegationibus, qui ea partim visu, partim auditu, partim experimento, in seipsis didicerunt, omni remota scrupulositate cognovimus. Si quis igitur hæc legere dignabitur vel audire, ita quæso legat vel audiat, ut conscientiæ meæ simplicitati non deroget. Nam ea non detrahere studiosis, sed parvitati meæ meorumque similium condescendere scientibus atque paratis, pro captu meo descripta esse pronuncio. Non itaque se illis quæ scribimus inaniter occupet, cui quod petimus in mente non sedet.

He had heard much from Ethelric bishop of Selsey.

There are also more ancient lives.

The sources of information about the miracles.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

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year. Ethelric, bishop of Selsey, was consecrated in 1058, and was alive as late as 1076.

[1] A reference to the life by B.

[2] The work of Adelard is generally mentioned as *abbreviata*.

INCIPIT VITA BEATI DUNSTANI CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS.

Adelard, p. 54. Osbern, p. 72.

1. Beatus ergo Dunstanus ex nobilissima gentis Anglorum prosapia originem ducens, eo nobilius in hujus mundi latitudinem[1] prodiit, quo sub materni sinus ipso adhuc angustia clauso divino miraculo designatum est præclarum mundo per eum lumen oriturum. Cum etenim mater ejus eo gravida spe prolis futuræ lætaretur, dies purificationis beatæ matris Dei festivus illuxit. Multitudo igitur utriusque sexus hominum, pro excellentia tantæ festivitatis circumquaque coacta, fluxit ad ecclesiam quæ antiquitus Glastoniæ de lignis ædificata in honorem erat ejusdem Dei genitricis consecrata. In qua multitudine multos nobilitate dignitateque præcellens, pater Sancti Dunstani, Herstanus nomine, cum Chynedritha matre ejus ad Dei servitium properabat; ambo cereos quos pro ritu ipsius diei Deo offerrent deferentes. Jam missæ officium celebrari cœperat, et immensus populus, immensa luminum claritate refulgens, in domo Dei divinis laudibus intendebat. Tunc subito in sua serenitate cœlo manente, admirantibus cunctis cuncta simul luminaria extincta sunt. Aspiciunt igitur singuli super se invicem ac pro novitate insueti prodigii metu nimio percelluntur. Verum dum attoniti starent et quid certi de tali eventu sentire deberent ignorarent, erectis vultibus intuentur flammam ignis cœlitus labi, et cereum quem mater Dunstani manu tenebat ex ea accendi. Qui ergo prius de luminarium exstinctione magnopere fuerant admirati, nunc tam de cœlestis flammæ emissione quam et de cerei prægnantis mulieris accensione, majori sunt admiratione perfusi. Accedunt itaque singuli ad lumen cœlo demissum, et inde recipiunt lumen amissum. Ex eo tempore cultus ac reverentia omnium circa Chynedritham ac virum ejus magnifice aucta est. Nam sicut eos nobilitate, divitiis et gloria mundi inter homines eminere sciebant,

Miracle preceding the birth of Dunstan.

At Glastonbury on the feast of the purification,

all the candles are extinguished,

and relighted from the candle of Kynedritha, which is lighted from heaven.

[1] *latitudinem*] lucem, S.

Prayers for her coming child.

ita sanctitate vitæ in conspectu Dei ex signo quod acciderat, enitere intelligebant. De prole etiam quæ expectabatur, spe magni boni tenebantur, et Deum, ut in gaudium atque lætitiam parentibus suis et omnibus benevolentibus eam nasci, crescere, dilatarique concederet, precabantur.

Birth and baptism of Dunstan.

2. Dehinc, instante partus tempore, puer eleganti forma nascitur, et post dies paucos sacro fonte regeneratus, Dunstanus, montanus videlicet lapis, nuncupatus est. Is ubi teneros infantiæ annos exivit a parentibus ad præfatum sacratissimæ Virginis templum ducitur, ac pro vita ejus atque provectu Deo preces et munera offeruntur. Ob quæ devotionis obsequia ipsis in loco pernoctantibus apparuit vir quidam angelico speciosus amictu, qui puerum coram eis per manum accipiens, et eum hinc inde modesto discursu per atrium ducens, dixit illis: " Sic ædificabitur locus iste ad conversatio- " nem illorum qui sive a pueritia in servitio Dei nutri- " endi, sive a pravitate veteris vitæ in novitatem gratiæ " Christi, per hunc puerum sunt convertendi." Hæc illi videntes et audientes valde gavisi sunt, et misericordi Deo uberes gratias super admirabili gratia Ejus retulerunt. Deinde puero diligenti studio in ipsa ecclesia sub cura magistri commendato, tum ut litteras disceret, tum ut Dei servitio sedulus inhæreret, ipsi in sua reversi sunt. Dunstanus igitur litteris traditus, et eis ultra quam ætas sua ferre poterat, die ac nocte intentus, languore gravi corripitur et, gemebunda in dies vexatione tortus, usque ad exhalationem ultimi flatus perducitur.[1] Sed cum jam velut morti contiguus jaceret et confluens cœtus vicinorum mortem potius quam ullum sanitatis ejus remedium expectaret ; en, circa mediæ noctis silentia per gratiam Dei visitatur, et integræ sanitati contra omnium opinionem donatur. Ilico stupentibus cunctis lecto desilit, domum exit, ad

B. p. 7. Osbern, p. 73.

He is brought to Glastonbury church, where his parents have a vision of future buildings to be erected by him.

His illness and sudden recovery.

B. p. 8. Adelard, p. 54. Osbern, p. 75.

[1] *perducitur*] producitur, S.

B. p. 8. Adelard, p. 55. Osbern, p. 76.

ecclesiam pro reddita sibi sanitate Deo gratias acturus impiger tendit. Cujus devotioni diabolus invidens, eumque a proposito deflectere nitens, simulato teterrimorum canum globo, immani latratu ac terrifico impetu in eum ruit. At ille dæmonum sciens esse figmenta, invocato nomine Christi, signo se sanctæ crucis armavit, arreptamque virgulam quæ forte in via jacebat, contra illos[1] malignorum incursus vibravit,[2] et sicut ventus fumum, sic omnes a facie sua fugavit. Post hæc ad ecclesiæ januas veniens, eam undique obseratam invenit. Huc igitur illucque deambulans, et oratorium intrare desiderans, scalam ad parietem templi erectam offendit, quæ in superiora tecti nitentibus ascendendi viam præstare solebat. Quam puer Domini nescienter ascendens, atque ad fastigium ecclesiæ ascendendo pertingens, nullum quo ingredi posset aditum repperit, indeque statim ex altera tecti parte descendere cœpit. Deus autem, Qui delectabatur innocentia cordis ejus, viam inter invia ipsa disponebat gressibus ejus. Tunc repente angelico ministerio sublatus intra ecclesiam omni ex parte clausam, ipso puero quid circa se divinitus ageretur ignorante, coram altari depositus est. Ii autem qui prius in domo ægrotanti deserviebant ipsum egredientem secuti sunt, contemplantesque rei eventum fidele testimonium divino miraculo perhibuerunt. Puer vero, cum mane ante altare leni sopore quiescens inventus, et quali modo illuc venisset qui sero morti proximus habebatur interrogatus fuisset, hoc se nescire pia simplicitate professus est. Omnes ergo qui tunc temporis rem audiere mirati sunt, et Deum,[3] gratiam Suam in puero multiplicaret, devoto affectu deprecati sunt.

On his way to the church the devil frightens him with dogs.

He climbs the ladder to the top of the church.

He is found laid before the altar.

He cannot tell how he came thither.

3. Jam Dunstanus adolescentiæ decus induerat et ipse humilis atque submissus omnibus erat. Nam cum

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[1] *illos*] illorum, S.

[2] *vibravit*] visitavit (usitavit ?), S.

[3] *Deum*] ut, ins. S.

Dunstan grows in favour with all.

illum omnes honorare, illi suum obsequium exhibere satagerent, et affabilitatem ab eo sibi exhibitam magni æstimarent, ille e contra nihil in se dignum honore, nihil alicujus dignum obsequio judicabat, immo quicquid affabilitatis seu commodi sibi[1] quivis exhibebat gratiæ exhibentis non suis meritis ascribebat. Promptus itaque erat ad ministrandum omnibus, et ipse ad suscipiendum aliorum ministerium tardus. Inter hæc

He takes minor orders.

rogatur a suis quatenus in sortem[2] Domini transeat, et in quibus Christo deserviat[3] sacros ordines suscipiat. Annuit ipse petentibus, atque ut liberius oratorium frequentare, luminaria accendere, manibus sacerdotum ac Levitarum aquam fundere, vinum et aquam in Eucharistiam Corporis Christi sumministrare, legere atque cantare in officio diei ac noctis posset, minores gradus suscepit. Videres igitur illum omnia mundi oblectamenta calcare, ludicra juvenum fugere, majorum colloquiis delectari, in fovendis pauperibus assiduum esse, et ad quæque pietatis opera sollicitius invigilare. Si autem aliquando, ut fit, a coætaneis suis ad mundi vanitates invitabatur, obtendebat potius necessario sibi oportere illis et illis ecclesiasticis ministeriis curam adhibere, et ea quæ in Dei servitio legenda erant vel canenda prævidere. Sic servus Dei se et a mundi contagiis purum custodiebat, et proposita rationabili occasione nulli scandalum, nulli in qua Deum quis offenderet aliquam causam suggerebat. Summum itaque studium in oratione, in sacra meditatione, in divinorum librorum lectione habebat; in his semper Deo adhærere, Deum in mente habere, quid voluntati Dei potissimum placeret ediscere gestiens. Unde factum est ut et quæ Dei sunt investigaret, et Ejus jugi consideratione fretus cuncta peccati inquinamenta devitaret. Proximus ergo ac familiaris Deo effectus omnibus in Ipso pie viventibus carus factus est et acceptus.

B. p. 10. Osbern, p. 77.

His prudence and piety.

His studious character.

His devotion.

[1] *sibi*] om. S.
[2] *sortem*] sororem, S.
[3] *deserviat*] serviat, S.

Adelard, p. 55. Osbern, p. 79.

4. Audita inter hæc fama venerabilis Athelmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, fratris scilicet patris sui, eum adire atque cum eo habitare disposuit. Videns enim lascivias sæculi et iter adolescentis viam vitæ retinere volentis valde lubricum et laqueis undique plenum, illudque apostoli meditans, "Qui stat videat ne cadat," timebat ne, si loco quem lasciviis et voluptuosis deliciis effluere[1] in circuitu suo, et hoc inter notos suos, videbat, non cederet, a statu rectitudinis aliquo eventu deceptus miserando casu decideret. Has ergo intentione ductus, accepta a parentibus suis licentia, præfatum antistitem adiit, et, quo vitæ suæ qualitas ad modum conversationis ejus jugiter informaretur, sedulus ei adhæsit. Verum cum elapso aliquanto tempore pontifex in moribus adolescentis omnia quæ veræ religioni congruerent perciperet, et ex dono gratiæ Dei qua fuerat aspiratus, Deum multa Suæ majestatis opera per eum in futuro facturum prævideret, ipsum ad palatium[2] regis Æthelstani secum duxit, et ei magno affectu fovendum necne[3] a cunctis adversis suo nutu protegendum pio studio commendavit. Quod[4] ipse benigna mente suscipiens, juvenem dulciter amplexus est et multo sinceri affectus amore percoluit. Dunstanus itaque, licet in palatio regis terreni conversaretur ac pro sua industria et ad omnes affabilitate ab omnibus honoraretur, amplecteretur,[5] nunquam tamen religionem quam a puero conceperat quemlibet defectum in suis actibus pati sinebat; sed quo labilius inter vitiorum fomenta gradiebatur, eo firmius ne ab ipsis aliquo modo dejiceretur præcavebat. Sciens quoque otiositatem inimicam animæ esse, nunc istis nunc illis operibus intendebat, et diversitate eorum subrepens fastidium sibi tollebat. Peritia namque scribendi, pingendi quicquid vellet, in cera, ligno vel osse sculpendi, et ex

He goes to Archbishop Athelm,

1 Cor. x. 12.

and attaches himself to him.

Adelard, p. 56. Osbern, p. 79.

The archbishop presents him to king Athelstan.

His careful behaviour at court.

His industry in learning diverse arts.

[1] *effluere*] affluere, S.
[2] *palatium*] solatium, S.
[3] *necne*] necnon, S.
[4] *Quod*] Quem, S.
[5] *ab omnibus . . . amplecteretur*] charus haberetur, S.

auro, argento, ferro vel ære fabricando, ita claruit ut B. p. 20.
His skill in music. a multis quam maximæ admirationi haberetur. Super hæc instrumentis musici generis, quorum scientia non mediocriter fultus erat, non tantum se sed et multo-
His willingness to oblige. rum animos a turbulentis mundi negotiis sæpe demulcere, et in medicationem cœlestis harmoniæ tam per suavitatem verborum, quæ modo materna modo alia lingua musicis modulis interserebat, quam et per concordem concentum quem per eos exprimebat, concitare solebat. Propter hæc igitur a multis frequentabatur et ab eo multa fieri petebantur. Ille autem quoniam erat ad omnes caritate diffusus, nulli negabat quod vellet ab alio sibi concedi.

He is asked to draw a design for a vestment. 5. Hæc inter opera ejus[1] rogatur a quadam matrona, B. p. 21. religiosa quidem et studium habente placendi Deo, Osbern, p. 80. domum suam venire et orarium sibi quod ad ornatum et ministerium ecclesiæ Dei[2] inaurare volebat, artificiosa, quam in auri opere imitaretur, arte præpingere. Jam Dunstanus in manibus opus habebat, et cithara ejus quam ad domum veniens secum forte detulerat, parieti affixa juxta pendebat. Cœpit ergo ipsa cithara nullius hominis tactu impulsa[3] per se antiphonam istam
His harp plays an anthem without touch of human hand. distinctis vocibus resonare, " Gaudent in cœlis animæ " sanctorum qui Christi vestigia sunt secuti, et quia " pro Ejus amore sanguinem suum fuderunt, ideo cum " Christo gaudebunt in æternum." Ad hæc admiratio non parva comprehendit omnes qui in domo consistebant. Singuli ergo, deflexis oculis ab opere juvenis quo prius intenderant, vultus et aures ad citharam erigebant: et alii quidem simplicem sonum[4] chordarum
He understands this to be a warning of coming trials. aure captabant, Dunstanus vero quid sonus depromeret, quidve moneret, solus intelligebat. Intelligebat enim in eo quod citharizabatur, quia si cum Christo vellet in æternum gaudere, non formidaret, si necessitas urge-

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[1] *ejus*] sua, S.
[2] *Dei*] om. S.
[3] *tactu impulsa*] attactu pulsata, S.
[4] *sonum*] vocem, S.

ret, pro Eo sanguinem fundere, nec anima ejus gaudium in cœlis adipisceretur, si Christi vestigia non sequeretur. Itaque citharœdum istum vere angelico modulamine administratum ita accepit quasi ex sensibili præsentia Dei doceretur quid sibi deinceps foret agendum.

B. p. 11. Osbern, p. 81.

6. His ita se habentibus, ii qui virum primo se valde diligere demonstrabant, et ei quasi fidelem societatem in cunctis conservabant, nunc provectibus ejus invidere, et eum sinistris artibus uti, ac mansuetum ad omnes habitum ejus hypocrisi et quorumque simplicium deceptioni magis quam alicui religioni inservire, conviciari cœperunt. Ad cujus calumniæ firmamentum id quod in cithara factum fuit velut quoddam argumentum inducunt, adstruentes in hujusmodi instrumento nil tam insolitum fieri potuisse, nisi constaret aliquo diabolico carmine illud [1] per eum cujus erat antea tactum fuisse. Quid plura? Crescit iste nequissimus rumor et indies fit sibi ipsi [2] deterior. Spargitur per curiales [3] et perducitur usque ad principis aures. Rex ergo et multi ex primoribus, qui hominem paulo ante magni habebant,[4] vultus suos, utpote ab illo qui jam ipsis despectui erat,[5] avertebant. Quæ [6] Dunstanus advertens, et ne in pejus proficerent nonnihil metuens, malignorum hominum iracundiæ cessit, et ad cognatum suum Ælfegum Wentanum episcopum, cognomine Calvum, profecturus curia regali decessit. Quod præfatæ malitiæ commentatores agnoscentes, viam observant, eumque cum sociis comprehendentes equo dejiciunt, injuriis multis afficiunt et acriter flagellatum ac vinctum in horrido cœno præcipitatum relinquunt Ne autem penitus ab eis perimeretur, post [7] gratiam Dei quæ illum

Envy and calumny of his companions.

They accuse him of sorcery.

The king is offended.

Dunstan goes from court to his kinsman Elfege.

B. p. 12. Osbern, p. 81.

He his ill-treated by his companions.

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[1] *illud*] ilico, S.
[2] *sibi ipsi*] se ipso, S.
[3] *curiales*] aulicos, S.
[4] *habebant*] pendebant, S.
[5] *erat*] esset, S.
[6] *Quæ*] Quod, S.
[7] *post*] per, S.

He is rescued by dogs.

Suis in posterum reservavit, quædam ingens molossorum multitudo obstitit, quæ ex insperato in eos horridis latratibus irruens, adolescentem defendit. Quod ille percipiens, pravorum hominum miseratus errorem, canes eis factos humaniores gemens, erubuit. Verumtamen Deo super ineffabili gratia Ejus[1] ex intimo corde gratias agens, sensu ipse percepit in se cantum citharæ nonnihil sibi significasse. Interea vicini, prædicto molossorum latratu audito, perterriti accurrerunt quid acciderit discere gestientes. Et agnoscentes quod factum est, illos nequam homines jam fuga dilapsos detestati sunt, et Dunstanum de cœno educentes fovendum ad sua perducunt. B. pp. 12, 13. Osbern, p. 81.

He comes to bishop Elfege, who urges him to become a monk.

Profectus dehinc venit ad memoratum episcopum et aliquanto tempore deguit apud ipsum. Erat autem episcopus idem magnæ in Christo religionis, et apud omnes id locorum conversantes magni nominis. Egit igitur industria qua vigebat ut Dunstanus monachus fieret. Proposuit ei inter alia monachi vitam esse viam perfectionis de qua Dominus illi qui se omnia legis mandata dixit servasse, "Unum" ait "tibi deest; si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende omnia "quæ habes et da pauperibus, et veni sequere me." Et adjecit, "Ita, fili, si vis ut ea quæ in te jam magni "boni spem præstant, perfectionis culmen attingant, "necesse habes omnia quæ in sæculo possides relinquere "et Christi vestigia nudus sequi." B. p. 13. Osbern, p. 82. S. Matt. xix. 21.

Dunstan's reluctance.

Ad hæc licet[2] ille quædam quæ sibi rationis videbantur, objiceret, nec subito assensu iis quæ dicebantur animum summittere vellet, tamen non parum in ipso verba pontificis operata sunt. De nuptiis quippe, quas se facturum certo sibi ipsi ante promiserat, jam utrum eas faceret annon dubius fluctuabat.

His severe illness.

In qua dubietate constitutum, nutu Dei, valida febris invasit, et in tantum corpus ejus attenuavit, ut nihil minus quam de ducenda uxore cogitaret. Cum autem[3] jam aliquantum sopito lan- B. p. 14. Osbern, p. 83.

[1] *Ejus*] om. S.
[2] *licet*] cum, S.
[3] *autem*] om. S.

B. p. 14. Osbern, p. 83. guore et verba pontificis et duritiam sui cordis in se reversus ad mentem reduceret, suspirans graviter erubuit quod potentior in eo fuit tertiariæ febris igniculus ad exstinguendam carnis suæ concupiscentiam quam ille ignis, quem ut in cordibus fidelium vehementer arderet Dominus venit mittere in terram. Versa igitur vice ardorem ignis divini in se succendens, carnalibus illecebris funditus renunciavit, seque perpetuo virginem perseveraturum divinitatis confisus auxilio vovit. Mittens itaque episcopum fecit ad se venire, et apud eum pœnitentiam egit quod sibi [1] viam perfectionis suadenti non statim obtemperaverit, quod habitum religionis monasticæ ad verbum ejus non susceperit. Quibus antistes auditis, gaudio gavisus est magno, et de conversione juvenis immensas grates persolvit largitori omnis bonitatis [2] Deo. Dunstanus ergo monachus sine dilatione factus est, et deinde legitimo tempore per canonicas sacrorum ordinum successiones etiam ad sacerdotii gradum ab eodem episcopo provectus.

His shame.

S. Luke, xii. 49.

He sends for Elfege and is made a monk and ordained priest.

Osbern, pp. 83, 84. 7. Post aliquantos novæ conversionis suæ dies Glastoniam Dunstanus perrexit, et ibi juxta ecclesiam sanctæ Dei genitricis et virginis Mariæ, in qua lumen, ut supra memĭnimus, cœlitus emicuit, sibi domunculam adeo parvulam fecit ut mirum habeant qui eam noverunt, qualiter ibi vivus homo degere potuerit. Ipsemet enim eam mensus sum, et nihil ultra quatuor pedes in longitudine nec plus quam duos ac semis habet in latitŭdine. Altitudo autem staturam hominis concipit. In medio ostii fenestra est. Illic ergo conversari, orare, psallere, nonnulla quæ loci angustia patiebatur manibus operari, et uni Deo placendi,[3] per omnia et in omnibus, operam dare.[4] Quibus exercitiis ejus antiquus humani generis adversarius invidens, sicut eum a curia regis nuper expulit, ita qualiter a loco isto expelleret,

He goes to Glastonbury and builds himself a small cell.

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[1] *sibi*] illi, S.
[2] *bonitatis*] boni, S.
[3] *placendi*] ut placeret, S.
[4] *dare*] visus est, ins. S.

The devil visits him and tempts him.

maligne[1] sollicitus fuit. Quadam igitur vice, cum vir ipse jam die advesperascente fabrili intenderet operi, astitit fenestræ ipsius dæmon unus, humana effigie tectus, rogans sibi nescio quid operis ab homine fieri. At ille pietatis affectu ex more permotus, intermissis iis quæ faciebat, parabat se satisfacere[2] postulanti. Interim is qui venerat formam ac verba mutare, ut nunc senis, nunc pueri, nunc lasciviæ puellæ, æstimares te vultus cum voce videre. Quod Dunstanus audiens quis esset protenus agnovit,[3] et sedens motus ejus patienter se ferre dissimulavit.[4] Sumptis interea tenaculis, quibus calida ferra tenere solebat, fortiter ea ignivit, et candentia de fornace subito proferens, monstrum per nasum arripuit, et strictissime tenuit. Videres itaque pulchrum certamen inter amicum Dei et inimicum. Ille ardorem sentiens, ac detectis insidiis, superbiam suam dejectam non ferens, totis nisibus conabatur evadere. Iste illum retinens et intro viriliter trahens, lætabatur quod in Nomine Christi poterat de inimico Ejus triumphare. Tandem cum dedecore a viro abjectus fugit et per plateam currens, querula voce clamitabat, dicens, "Væ quid ille calvus diabolus[5] "fecit! Væ quid ille calvus diabolus fecit! En me "miserum, misericordiæ opus ab eo petentem, misere "afflixit, et nil mali de eo merentem, igne[6] malignitatis "suæ longo cruciatu combussit." Has voces multi audientes, et eas mane viro referentes, sciscitati sunt quidnam hoc esse potuerit. Quibus ille, "Dæmonum," ait, "insidiæ sunt, qui suis fallaciis nos volunt inquie-"tare si possunt. Sed si in servitio Christi stabiles "fuerimus, leviter eos in Ejus adjutorio devincemus, "et confusi fugient a nobis." Hæc dixit et securus postmodum in sua domuncula habitavit. Nec enim in

Osbern, p. 84.

Osbern, p. 85.

He seizes the devil by the nose.

Cries of the enemy.

Dunstan's explanation.

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[1] *maligne*] malignus, S.

[2] *satisfacere*] ad satisfaciendum, S.

[3] *agnovit*] cognovit, S.

[4] *dissimulavit*] simulavit, S.

[5] *diabolus*] om. S.

[6] *merentem igne*] narrantem ille, S.

Osbern, p. 85.

ipso loco unquam amplius eum inimicus aggredi ausus est, in quo talem belli apparatum in primo congressu sortitus est. Ex eo igitur tempore cum munditia cordis tanta claruit in Dunstano pudicitia corporis, ut omnes qui vitam illius noverunt similem angelo judicarent. Unde quamplures utriusque sexus homines, tam divites quam non omni ex parte locupletes, ad eum properare, eum de salute consulere, ab eo via vitæ festinabant informari. Ipse autem, singulis prout quisque opus habebat sua verba dispertiens, quemque ad voluntatem Dei instituebat.

His fame and popularity.

B. p. 17. Osbern, p. 85.

8. Dum hæc fiunt, venit ad eum mulier quædam Ælfgiva nomine, quæ ab ineunte ætate grata fuit et accepta regibus Angliæ, cum quia bonis moribus et castis actibus prædita, tum quia filios eorum educando et nutriendo gnara erat atque sollicita. Hæc igitur, audito Dunstano, habitationem sibi prope oratorium sanctæ Mariæ instituit, ubi ad eam Dunstanus venire, eam de provectu bonorum operum, de spe retributionis futuræ, de gaudio regni cœlestis imbuere posset. Et factum est, quicquid ei Dunstanus dixit, ita opere implere sollicita fuit ac si ab ore Dei corporeis auribus id acciperet. Quapropter diebus ac noctibus ecclesiam frequentare, orationibus insistere, egenis de facultatibus suis, quibus affluebat, largiter ministrare, et prorsus iis quæ Deo placere posse sperabat sedula studebat operam dare. Circa venerationem vero beatæ matris Dei quam devota extiterit, ex eo aliquantum adverti posse putamus quod ipsa nonnullos clericos in templo ejus fecit, quibus, ut die noctuque servitio illius libere invigilarent, omnia quorum opus habebant abundanter sumministrabat. Ipsa quoque pia domina pro fideli famula sua multa faciebat, quando ab ea quid mediante ratione[1] postulabat. Verbi gratia; rex Æthelstanus,

The lady Elfgifu comes to Glastonbury to be near him.

Osbern, p. 86.

She maintains a staff of clerks there.

[1] *quid . . ratione*] quippiam rationi consentaneum, S.

She invites Athelstan to visit her.

cum quadam vice Glastoniam venisset, divertit propter loci religionem ad præfatam ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ. Quod illa sciens rogat eum quatenus dignetur in domum suam divertere et aliquantum quieti indulgere, ac modicum cibi potusque in vera caritate suscipere. Concedit rex, licet invitus, nolens scilicet eam quam et sibi ex antiquo familiarem habebat et nunc devotam Deo noverat, contradicendo in aliquo offendere. Læta igitur non parum effecta, se ad regium ministerium totam impendit, et prævidens ea quæ tali negotio convenire sciebat, nihil eorum quæ volebat minus esse advertit, illo dumtaxat potu excepto, qui medo vocatur, quo Angli quam maxime uti solebant. Verens ergo ne hujus inopia aliorum copiam obnubilaret, oratorium piæ Mariæ, ipsius suffragium de re postulatura ingreditur. Et prostrata solo orat eam quatenus sua prece a Deo obtineat, ut memorato liquori unde parum habebat divinæ Suæ benedictionis augmentum infundat. Mira res! rex magna suorum multitudine septus ad prandium sedet, et prandentibus de præfato potu copiose hinc inde defertur, semperque vasculum unde hauriebatur solito plenum invenitur. Factumque est ut, rege a loco discedente, in vasculo minime appareret quod inde quicquam sumptum fuisset. Hæc idcirco hic inseruimus, ut quantum verba viri Dei in cordibus audientium ad voluntatem Dei conciliandam[1] profecerint hujus exemplo intelligamus. Igitur cum ipsius Suæ famulæ merita Deus vellet æterna quiete remunerari, paterno eam verbere percussit, volens scilicet illam, hoc ordine ab omnis peccati macula castigatam, numero filiarum cœlestis Jerusalem celerius aggregare. Quam ubi Dunstanus infirmari[2] cognovit, venit ad eam ac de salute animæ ejus, de gloria vitæ æternæ, de pœnis gehennæ et horum infinito fine ipsi locutus, illam ad

B. p. 18. Osbern, p. 86.

She finds a deficiency of mead, and prays to the Virgin to supply it.

Osbern, p. 87.

Miracle of the mead.

Illness of Elfgifu.

B. p. 18. Osbern, p. 87.

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[1] *in cordibus . . . conciliandam*] consiliaque, S.

[2] *infirmari*] ægrotare, S.

B. p. 18. Osbern, p. 87. sectanda vestigia Christi, renunciato[1] sæculo et rebus sæculi, exhortatus est. Ad quæ illa, "Cuncta quæ mei "juris sunt Christo relinquo, atque ut ea distribuas se- "cundum quod Illi melius placere cognoveris super te "pono![2] Nec enim aliquem in hac vita æque carum habeo, "nec alicui sicut tibi per omnia credo." His ille auditis, omnia fere quæ in mobilibus ipsa habebat pauperibus sine mora distribuere cœpit, aliis interim ad ecclesiarum consolationem pro temporum qualitate servatis. Jam dies in vesperam declinabat, et Dunstanus ne a nocte extra cellulam deprehenderetur, illuc properabat. Ibat itaque vespertinum officium psallens, et cum ante fores ecclesiæ perveniret, nec eam, quia clausa erat, intrare valeret, substitit, volens præ foribus perficere horam quam inceperat. Tunc subito ex dulcedine psalmodiæ, uti plerumque accidere solet, mente compunctus, oculos ad cœlum sublevat, et conspicit inde columbam miri candoris præpeti volatu descendere, quæ aera scintillantis radii fulgore diverberans domum morientis matronæ, ipso considerante, subintrat. Ilico reflexo gressu concitus redit, et ante cameræ[3] introitum stans totum habitaculum incredibili videt nitore splendere,[4] eamque interius audit cum quodam de jocunditate patriæ cœlestis sermocinantem[5] et eidem innumeras gratias persolventem. Cujus rei fine patienter exspectato, tandem ingreditur, et præter eam neminem inveniens, quis fuerit interrogat cum quo loquebatur. "Ille idem," ait, "qui tibi ante fores ecclesiæ psallenti priusquam ad me "veniret apparuit. Ille, inquam, dignatus est me visi- "tare, et suæ mihi consolationis gratiam prærogare. "Quapropter dico tibi, amicorum carissime, ne tu vel "aliorum quis de meo discessu doleat, quia non pœna "infernalis sed gloria me suscipiet regni cœlestis.

B. p. 19. Osbern, p. 88.

She entrusts her property to Dunstan.

Dunstan's vision of the Dove.

Elfgifu's account of her conversation with the Dove.

[1] *renunciato*] nuntio remisso huic, S.
[2] *super te pono*] tibi impono, S.
[3] *cameræ*] cubiculi, S.
[4] *splendere*] affectum, S.
[5] *sermocinantem*] sermonem conferentem, S.

Her last wish.

" Tantum precor ut cras mane ad me venias, et mihi B. p. 29.
" cum sacramento sacræ inunctionis viaticum Dominici Osbern, p. 88.
" Corporis tradas." Annuit ille, et diluculo reversurus, tristis simul et lætus in suam domunculam abiit. Humanitatis namque affectu contristabatur, quia tanto solatio ad præsens destituebatur, sed altera consideratione magnam in corde lætitiam concipiebat, propterea quod ipsam, cui æternam salutem unice concupiebat,[1] eandem salutem apprehendere jam jamque videbat.

Her death and burial.

Mane igitur juxta condictum reversus est, et ipsa sacramentorum quæ desideraverat pro ritu ecclesiæ compos effecta beatum finem adepta est, et in sæpedicto oratorio decenter sepulta. Post hæc Dunstanus non solum de possessionibus quas, ut diximus, ab eadem matrona commendata susceperat, sed et de illis quas sui parentes

Dunstan's disposal of her wealth.

de hac vita ad Christum migrantes ei, quem unicum genuere, dimiserant, sollicitus tractabat apud se quemadmodum Christi membra commodius inde[2] posset sustentare. Et iis quidem qui Deo sub patrocinio beatæ Mariæ in ejus ecclesia serviebant vel servituri erant propinquiores terras perpetuo jure possidendas donavit, remotiores vero ad opus quinque ecclesiarum, quas construere disposuerat, juxta locorum positionem dandas reservavit. Quæ nimirum ecclesiæ postmodum institutæ, ac subsequenti tempore in tantum sunt mobilibus ac immobilibus rebus illius instantia auctæ, ut in singulis multiplex monachorum cœtus ad nutum patris Dunstani sub regularis vitæ custodia militaret.

Dunstan's vision of his parents in bliss.

9. Exin vir Domini infatigabili desiderio ad supernam Adelard, p. 54.
patriam mentis obtutum dirigere, et civibus ejus quibus conversatione necdum poterat, jugi meditatione satagebat interesse. Unde contigit ut quadam die in contemplationis dulcedine positus subito raperetur super se, et patris ac matris suæ animas inter choros angelorum conspiceret in cœlorum regno gaudere. De qua visione

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[1] *concupiebat*] concupiscebat, S. | [2] *inde*] om. S.

valde gavisus, immensas omnipotenti Deo gratias egit, His devout meditations.
et deinde, juxta apostolum, quæ retro erant obliviscens,
Phil. iii. 13. id ea quæ ante sunt quotidie sese extendit. Inde quoque semper animo secum volvebat se videlicet parentum suorum legitimum filium nullatenus esse, si minus illis voluntati Domini obsequendo propter suam desidiam perderet hæreditatem quam eos viderat in
B. p. 15. Osbern, p. 89. terra viventium adquisisse. Hac meditatione quadam He has a vision of a dead friend, who reveals to him his future life. nocte illi vehementissime occupato apparuit juvenis quidam vultu splendidus, amictu decorus, quem ipse adolescens adolescentem olim noverat et sancto sancti amoris fervore multum dilexerat. In quem oculos Dunstanus defigens paulisper expavit, ex antiqua scilicet notitia quis esset advertens, sed eum jamdudum huic vitæ exemptum reminiscens. Tunc ille hominem ne timeret hortatus, et ipse ab eo de vita in qua tunc erat familiari alloquio percunctatus,[1] cœpit ei de gaudiis regni Dei multa disserere, ac demum ea quæ illi erant eventura prædicere. Ait ergo eum multas hominum malignorum adversitates et insidias dæmonum plurimas perpessurum, sed ei in cunctis Dei auxilium affuturum,[2] ad summos ecclesiæ gradus promovendum, multas populorum multitudines sua prædicatione et exemplo Christo Domino adquisiturum, cum quibus sciret se post hanc vitam perennem gloriam adepturum. Quibus dictis virum foras in atrium ecclesiæ ducit, eique locum quendam
B. p. 16. Osbern, p. 89. eatenus incontaminatum ostendens dicit, "Ut de iis A sign of the truth of the warning. " quæ audisti omnino certus existas, hoc in loco ante " triduum presbyter unus sepelietur qui nondum aliqua " corporis infirmitate tenetur." Dixerat et ab oculis ejus evanuit. Mane facto clericos ad locum Dunstanus ducit, et eis quid de presbytero inibi sepeliendo audierit edicit. Eadem die venit ad eosdem clericos presbyter, qui dominæ cujus actus paulo ante paucis tetigimus in servitio Dei assiduus esse solebat, conventionem cum eis

[1] *percunctatus*] rogatus, S. | [2] *sed . . affuturum*] om. S.

Fulfilment of the sign.

faciens quatenus cum in prædicto loco cum defunctus esset tumularent. Illis vero adquiescentibus, sanus et alacer domum reversus, statim est infirmatus, ac sequenti die defunctus, juxta verbum servi Dei, in præsignato loco sepultus est. Omnes igitur qui rem gestam audierunt mirati sunt, et opera Dei mira in Dunstano prædicaverunt. B. p. 16. Osbern, p. 90.

Edmund becomes king.

10. Sublato de hac vita rege Æthelstano, successit ei in regnum Eadmundus frater ejus. Hic post aliquot suæ consecrationis dies, missis nunciis rogat Dunstanum venire ad se. Sciens quippe qua ratione, qua prudentia, quam omnis probi consilii gratia præditus fuerit, magnopere desiderabat illum sibi proximum esse, cujus industria fultus tam se quam regnum sibi commissum sub æquitatis virga facilius gubernaret. B. p. 21. Osbern, p. 90.

Dunstan at court;

Dunstanus itaque regi quasi præcellenti, secundum præceptum apostoli, obediendum fore[1] perpendens, regem adiit, et salva in omnibus reverentia ordinis sui ejus imperio se subjecit. 1 S. Pet. ii. 13. B. p. 22. Osbern, p. 90.

he administers justice.

Ipse suo consilio regni negotia disponebat, ipse lites et contentiones si quando oriebantur destruebat, ipse pacem et concordiam inter omnes nutriebat. Nullus in qualibet causa unquam de injuria sibi illata conquestus est, nisi ad comprobandam judicii sententiam Dunstanus mediator aut arbiter sedit.[2] Rex ipse, principes quique, ita ei summissi erant, ut contra id quod ipse juberet vel ordinaret nemo quid faceret. Magnus itaque habebatur a cunctis. Hæc omnium bonorum invidus hostis attendens, et quonam modo ea turbaret sua arte perquirens, invenit quosdam quorum

Envy and detraction.

corda bene noverit virum non sincere diligere, sed ei specietenus obsequii sui amorem prætendere. Hos ad dissipandum bona quæ non amabat ardenter contra virum inflammat, ac primo clam postea palam in detractionem ejus illorum ora relaxat. Quid dicam? in B. p. 23. Osbern, p. 90.

[1] *fore*] esse, S. | [2] *sedit*] sederet, S.

B. p. 23. Osbern, p. 91.

tantam discordiam profecerunt verba malignantium, ut subversa omni pace Dunstanus non solum pristino honore privaretur, sed et curia depelleretur. Quo facto die tertia rex in sylvam venatum ivit. Sylva autem ipsa montem magnæ altitudinis occupat. Qui mons in summitate sui interruptus ingens præcipitium et horridam abyssum spectantibus affert. Cum ergo fugitantem cervum rex hac et illac insequeretur, cervus ad præruptum montis hiatum perveniens introrsum ruit ac in partes discissus interit. Insectantes canes par ruina involvit. Equus quem rex sedebat, ruptis habenis effrænis effectus, obstinato cursu regem post bestias portat,[1] ad ultimam sortem regi præ se[2] patens barathrum intentat. Ille trepidat et angustiatur. Occurrit interim animo ejus injuria Dunstano nuper[3] illata. Ingemit et se quam citissime illa multiplici emendatione correcturum, solummodo imminentem sibi mortem ejus meritis ad horam Deus avertat, Deo celeri mentis sponsione promittit. Cujus cordis præparationem auris Dei e vestigio audiens illius misertus est. Equus namque ilico substitit et regem, a periculo mortis liberatum, valde magnificas Domino grates ex imo cordis persolvere fecit.[4] Inde ad hospitium rex reversus, adunatis principibus suis rei quæ acciderat ordinem pandit, et Dunstanum cum honore ac reverentia adduci præcepit, actaque coram eo pœnitentia pro injuriis quas ei intulerat, veniam cum magna[5] humilitate postulabat. Qua potitus fidum se amicum viro deinceps omni tempore futurum, nec ulterius cujusquam maledicis verbis de eo fore crediturum, pollicitus est. Ac ut maledicorum ora inter eos perpetim obstruerentur, scirentque omnes quo vinculo, qua stabilitate amicitia eorum copularetur, ei locum in quo natus fuerat atque

Dunstan driven from court.

King Edmund's narrow escape when hunting at Cheddar.

B. p. 24. Osbern, p. 91.

He confesses his sin against Dunstan, and is saved.

He asks Dunstan's forgiveness.

[1] *bestias portat*] bestiam portans, S.

[2] *præ se*] præceps, S.

[3] *nuper*] om. S.

[4] *magnificas . . fecit*] gloriosum Deo redit, S.

[5] *magna*] om. S.

He gives him Glastonbury.

nutritus perpetuo jure possidendum dedit, eo pacto ut quod arbitrii ejus tenor magis eligeret, exinde[1] potissimum ordinaret. "Et si," ait,[2] "tibi placuerit illic "tuæ professionis viros multiplicare, tanta eis regia "liberalitate per misericordiam Domini tribuam, ut "multitudini eorum semper superabundet multitudo "donorum meorum." Pro quibus Deo et regi Dunstanus gratias agens, et Glastoniam in dominium suum accipiens, secundum exemplar parentibus suis sibique ostensum, ut prædiximus, in augmentum majoris ecclesiæ fundamenta jacere, claustra et officinas construere, et quæque poterant esse monachis Domino Christo servientibus accommoda, inibi cœpit ædificare. Post quæ plurimis sibi fratribus associatis loci ipsius abbas effectus est. Crevit itaque monasterium ipsum intus et extra tam in sancta et monachili religione quam et in multimoda terrenarum rerum possessione. Et quidem de possessione rerum terrenarum usque hodie scitur quod ita sit; de religione vero ex eo probatur quod ita fuerit, quoniam inde ad episcopatus, ad abbatias, ad quæque officia ecclesiastica personæ eligebantur, et ad eruditionem aliarum ecclesiarum constituebantur. Factumque est ut, sicut supra diximus ex cereo matris Dunstani totum ecclesiæ conventum lumen amissum recuperasse,[3] ita ex hoc loco, ipsius Dunstani doctrina instituto, omnes ecclesias Angliæ constet veræ religionis lumen sumpsisse.

B. p. 25. Adelard, p. 56. Osbern, p. 92.

Dunstan builds there.

B. p. 26. Osbern, p. 93.

Promotion of his scholars.

Temptations of the devil.

11. Inter hæc vita et conversatio Dunstani magnum contra se generabant odium diaboli. Qui gemens nequaquam inconvulsa mansisse quæ per suæ voluntatis ministros in eum adversa conjecerat, per seipsum illum aggredi temptat, ratus vel sic eum a bonis quibus die ac nocte insistebat deterrendum. Quadam itaque nocte, dum solus ex more oraret, in lupi effigiem demutatus

B. p. 26. Osbern, p. 93.

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[1] *exinde*] inde, S.
[2] *ait*] inquit, S.
[3] *totum . conventum . . recuperasse*] totus . . conventus . . recuperavit, S.

B. p. 26. Osbern, p. 93.

coram eo aperto ore et distectis dentibus ringens horri- dus apparuit. In qua forma quoniam virum nec in puncto[1] quidem ab intentione sua deflectere valuit,

He appears as a wolf and as a fox.

B. p. 27. Osbern, p. 93.

statim in vulpeculam vertitur, et quo illum ad se intendere faceret variis anfractibus et jocosis motibus huc illucque perlabitur. Tunc Dunstanus modicum subridens, "Vere," ait, "ostendis quod agere soles. "Jocando namque blandiris incautis ut eos devores, "devoras[2] ut tibimet ipsi blandiaris. Sed jam discede,

Dunstan's words to him.

Ps. xci. 13.

"miser, quoniam Christus Qui leonem et draconem "conculcavit, Ipse te lupum et vulpeculam per me "Sua gratia superabit." Sentiens ergo Dunstanus prophetiam amici sui jam ex rerum eventibus partim demonstrari veram esse, semper quasi novus accederet ad servitutem Dei stabat in timore, et præparabat animam suam ad temptationes, jugiter ad exsequendam

Adelard, p. 56. Osbern, p. 93.

voluntatem Dei operam dans, nec ulla hora ullove momento otio vacans. Unde contigit uno dierum ut intra cellam suam corde et opere intentus, subito angelos Dei in sublimi congratulando psallentes audiret in hunc modum, atque dicentes, "Pax Anglorum eccle- "siæ, exorti nunc pueri et Dunstani nostri tempore." Regina siquidem regi Eadmundo filium, qui Edgarus appellatus est, eodem tempore peperit, atque hoc ipsum simul et quod pacis sectator esset futurus, per angelicas voces atque concentus Dunstano Deus innotescere voluit.

He hears a miraculous voice at the birth of Edgar.

B. p. 46. Osbern, p. 94.

12. Per idem fere tempus servus Dei Bathoniensem ecclesiam visitare perrexit. Ubi post refectionem corporis in oratione detentus, levatis in altum oculis, vidit animam cujusdam juvenis quem ipse a puero Glastoniæ in sancta conversatione nutriverat, multis angelorum fultam agminibus, in cœlum deferri. Qui pro tanta gloria fratris ultra quam dici queat exultans

At Bath he has warning of the death of a pupil at Glastonbury.

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[1] *in puncto*] ad punctum, S. | [2] *devoras*] om. S.

The warning is proved true.

et immensas corde et ore Deo cunctipotenti[1] gratias agens, sociis quid acciderit manifesta voce exposuit, et diem ac horam transitus ejus notari præcepit; illis ad hæc obstupescentibus et verbis ejus non ex toto fidem accommodantibus, venerunt quidam ad patrem qui et de fratris obitu, et obitus hora, sic quemadmodum dixerat accidisse testati sunt. B. p. 47. Osbern, p. 94.

He goes to see the king and sees the devil on the way.

Dehinc sanctus a loco digrediens, et ad regem secum loqui desiderantem celerius tendens, in medio itinere diabolum sibi obviam habuit. Qui mimo similis coram eo ludere, subsilire et multis modis cœpit lætitiæ frœna laxare. Quod Dunstanus intuens et quid tantum dæmonis gaudium portenderet per spiritum prævidens, jussit monstrum tale se cunctis qui secum erant visibiliter demonstrare quale sibi apparebat. Quod et factum est. B. p. 44. Osbern, p. 94.

He explains this vision, of the coming death of the king.

Requisitus ergo Dunstanus quid sibi vellet illa lascivientis hostis lætitia, regem in proximo respondit moriturum, et regnum non multo post multas tribulationes perpessurum. Quæ sententia veritas facta est, ut ea quæ post dicentur declarabunt. B. p. 45. Osbern, p. 94.

Super hæc tamen quæ vir Dei de petulante inimici gaudio dixit, ut aliis quibusdam visum est, nonnulla ejusdem causa fuit hoc, scilicet quia sperabat, defuncto rege qui Dunstanum in magna reverentia semper habebat, alium regem mox surrecturum qui nec eum revereretur nec ejus prudentem sanctitatem, qua se et alios innumeros in Dei servitio constringebat, regali providentia tueretur. Sed in hoc ad tempus

The king's death.

deceptus est. Rege namque in palatio antequam dies septem transirent occiso, et a venerabili Dunstano Glastoniæ sub immensa lugentis populi frequentia honorifice sepulto, successit in regnum Edredus frater ejus, vir quidem egregius et ad exercenda quæ Dei sunt fervido mentis affectu subnixus. B. p. 46. Osbern, p. 94.

Edred succeeds, and favours Dunstan.

Hic Dunstanum non minori cæteris regibus amore percoluit, immo ut ei majoris[2] dilectionis signa monstraret operam dedit. B. p. 29. Adelard, p. 56. Osbern, p. 94.

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[1] *cunctipotente*] om. S. | [2] *majoris*] majora, S.

B. p. 30. Adelard, p. 56. Osbern, p. 95.

Ælfego siquidem Wentano episcopo, cujus supra memi- Edred proposes to make him a bishop.
nimus, de hac vita translato, multis eum precibus ut in episcopatum succederet postulavit. Cui cum ille nulla ratione adquiescere vellet, rex non modico mœrore suffusus matrem suam, Edgivam reginam dico, omnis bonitatis titulo insignem, de negotio convenit, atque ut illa Dunstano persuaderet quod ipse nequiverat summo studio deprecatus est. Tunc illa hominem,

B. p. 30. Adelard, p. 57. Osbern, p. 96.

ad se evocatum et ad prandium suum invitatum, inter epulas de suscipiendo episcopatu cœpit interpellare, et ne collum suum a jugo Domini alienaret multa sua- Dunstan refuses the pressing persuasions of the king and his mother.
sione insistere. At ille perpendens quid sibi recondant qui episcopatum loco proficui et honoris non officio tenent morum et prædicationis, "Obsecro te, domina," inquit, "ne tali prece amplius, te fatigando, me fatiges. " Nam revera noveris quia in diebus domini mei filii " tui regis, me pontificali cathedræ nemo præsidere " videbit." Dicebat hæc cum quia sibimet ipsi ne sub tanto onere deficeret formidabat, tum quia impium fore judicabat, si se a rege qui frequenti corporis languore vexabatur propter episcopatum elongaret, maxime quia totum se, totum [1] regnum suum in illius providentia et dispositione posuerat.

13. Et de pontificatu tunc inter eos quidem res ita Elfsin is made bishop.
remansit, et Ælfsinus quidam in pontificatum ipsius ecclesiæ ilico assumptus est. At Dunstanus, qui ex voce sacri eloquii veraciter dicere poterat, "Ego dor-

Cant. v. 2.

" mio et cor meum vigilat," cum sequenti nocte sese

B. p. 30. Adelard, p. 57. Osbern, p. 96.

quieti dedisset, vidit in somnis se Romam perrexisse ac in sua ecclesia beatissimum Petrum, in sua quoque Dunstan's vision of the apostles.
sanctissimum Paulum adorasse, ac demum urbe relicta, in patriam reditum accelerasse. Itaque cum Montem Gaudii attigisset, apparuerunt ei principes regni Dei, beatissimus videlicet apostolorum princeps Petrus et Sanctus Paulus atque Andreas, singuli in manibus suis

[1] *se, totum*] om. S.

Inscriptions on the swords. singulos gladios auro inscriptos præferentes, eique pro munere apostolicæ benedictionis conferentes. Et in gladio quidem beati Petri scriptum erat, "In princi- "pio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et "Deus erat Verbum." At gladius Pauli nomen Pauli, gladius Andreæ nomen Andreæ continebat. Beatus igitur Andreas in hominem blando intuitu oculos dirigens modulata voce ex Evangelio cecinit dicens, Adelard, p. 57. Osbern, p. 97. S. John i. 1.

Words of S. Andrew. "Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me, quia "mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem "animabus vestris." A glorioso autem principe apostolorum, ut manum extenderet jussus, lævam extendit S. Matt. xi. 29.

St. Peter strikes him, and he awakes. et in palma levi ictu ab eo virga percussus, ne ulterius abjiceret jugum Domini ipso est signo præmonitus. Ad quem ictum ille expergefactus fratrem qui coram se quiescebat interrogavit quis ipsum percusserit. Quo respondente "Nemo," jam a quo sit percussus scire se dixit; sicque residuum noctis in servitio Dei pervigil expendit. Mane narravit regi quæ viderat. At ille non modica admiratione permotus, et quid visio signi- ficaret ex magna parte per Spiritum edoctus, hoc modo respondit; "Si, quemadmodum accepi,[1] per gladium non- "nunquam intelligitur Verbum Dei, cum tibi beati "apostoli gladios suos contulerunt, nimirum Verbum "Dei quod acceperunt tibi vice sua dispensandum "tradiderunt. Et quoniam episcopus vices apostolo- "rum ad erogandum Verbum Dei agere scimus, epi- "scopatus honore te sublimandum certissime scias. "Quod autem in gladio beati Petri 'In principio erat "'Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat "'Verbum' scriptum accepisti, fixum tene quia, sicut "ipsa verba specialiter nobis innuunt Filium Dei, ita "tu in ipsa ecclesia archiepiscopatu sublimaberis quæ "specialiter Cantuariæ dedicata subsistit in honore "ipsius Filii Dei, Domini nostri Jesu Christi. In qua B. p. 30. Osbern, p. 97. Adelard, p. 57. Osbern, p. 97.

Edred interprets the dream.

Dunstan will be archbishop of Canterbury

[1] *accepi*] recepi, S.

Osbern, p. 97.

" etiam vices ejusdem apostoli agendas suscipies, et " potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, quam ille a Deo " accepit super totum orbem terrarum, tu ab eo acci- " pies super omnes totius Angliæ provincias et adja- " centium insularum." and supreme bishop of England and the islands.

B. p. 31. Adelard, p. 58. Osbern, p. 98.

14. Post hæc[1] Dunstanus desiderio videndi fratres suos Glastoniam abiit, et ibi aliquantis diebus inter eos habitavit. Interea rex Edredus lethali morbo correptus mandans rogavit sub celeritate Dunstanum venire ad se. Ille audito nuncio, suæ imbecillitatis quam ex inedia atque vigiliis necne aliarum virtutum exercitiis contraxerat oblitus, protenus ascenso equo ad ægrotum festinat. Jam fere medium iter exegerat et suis comitatus quod residuum erat viæ explere laborabat: et ecce! subito audivit vocem de cœlo quæ dixit, " Rex " Edredus in pace quiescit." Ad cujus vocis sonitum equus cui vir Dei insidebat, sine omni insidentis læsione, ad terram corruens extinctus est. Stupefacti comites de subitaneo animalis interitu, quidnam hoc esse potuerit peravidi percunctantur. Quibus Dunstanus et de voce angelica et de regis obitu quæ latebant aperuit, ac ut spiritum defuncti una Creatori omnium Deo commendarent admonuit. Inde lugentis palatii mœnia subiens, regem quem ante paucos dies purpuratum et toti Angliæ imperitantem reliquerat modo invenit cadaver stupidum jam terræ pulvere operiendum, et escam vermium mox futurum. Iis ergo qui vivo assistere, vivum suis solebant ambitibus delinire, se ab exsequiis defuncti subtrahentibus, ille cum suis exanime corpus suscepit et decentissime matri omnium terræ consignavit. Dunstan at Glastonbury hears of Edred's illness. He has a miraculous warning of the king's death. He finds his body deserted, and buries him.

B. p. 32. Osbern, p. 99.

15. Post hunc Edwius, filius Edmundi regis, obtinuit regnum, corpore quidem juvenis, sed nulla qua regnum gubernaret præditus industria mentis. Hic omisso se- Edwy succeeds.

[1] *Post hæc*] Anno DCCCCLV. P. in margin.

His misgovernment.

num consilio satellites sibi et consiliarios de adolescentibus fecit. Ibat igitur secundum desideria cordis sui et iniqua gerens laudabatur a suis et benedicebatur. Unde quid mali circumquaque succreverit, quam infamis fama populorum aures et ora repleverit, leve[1] est et me tacente videre. Ipse namque possessiones quorumque diripere, hos et illos exhæredare, majores natu, qui nequitiis ejus inimicabantur[2] proscribere, totumque regnum innumeris oppressionibus conturbare.[3] Accessit his malis ejus nimis detestabile malum. Matrem quippe totius Anglici regni auctricem et nobilitatricem, ecclesiarum consolatricem, et sustentatricem oppressorum et inopum, Edgivam dico supra memoratam reginam, in immensum afflixit, ac vastatis rebus ad eam pertinentibus, ab eo statu, in quo esse solebat, sævus et crudelis dejecit. Gemebat Dunstanus in istis, et eo amplius gemebat, quo correptionem suam rex non solum non admittebat, sed insuper furiosi more, irrationabilibus eam objectionibus contradicendo deridebat. Quid igitur circa talem hominem faceret ignorans, ad monasterium suum relicta curia Glastoniam secessit. Ea tempestate structura ecclesiæ in fabrica tecti perficiebatur. Ad cujus tecti sustentationem dum trabes una prægrandis multiplicibus funibus in sublime raperetur, subito funes dirumpi et trabes deorsum vergens nonnullis cœpit interitum minitari. Tunc Dunstanum, qui præsens aderat, ingenti strepitu plebs inclamitat,[4] ac ut extensione dexteræ suæ imminenti periculo obviet obsecrat. At ille statim signum salutiferæ Crucis ruenti machinæ objiciens, eam sine funibus et sine omni humano conamine in superiora redire, ac in loco ad quem prius cum magno labore trahebatur jacere coegit. Inter hujusmodi opera accidit ut ipse quadam die officinas monasterii sociato sibi uno ex monachis suis circum-

B. p. 32. Osbern, p. 99.

He persecutes his grandmother.

Dunstan retires to Glastonbury.

Adelard, p. 59. Osbern, p. 99.

Miracle of the beam.

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[1] *leve*] facile, S.
[2] *inimicabantur*] adversabantur, S.
[3] *conturbare*] festinavit, ins. S.
[4] *inclamitans*] inclamitat, S.

B. p. 47. iret, et quid in unaquaque domo ad supplendas fratrum necessitates haberetur, diligenti cura prospiceret. Quo facto ad claustrum [1] iter reflectens ac juxta oratorium transiens, repente audivit vocem de cœlo clare sonantem et fratrem qui cum eo ibat, ex nomine hoc modo vocantem, "Veni, Ælfsi, veni, veni, veni." Ilico Dunstanus rem intelligens, "Eja, frater," ait, "audisti quo "vocaris? Præpara ergo te quatenus conversatione "illa unde appellaris, quando hinc migraveris, dignus "habearis. Nam pro certo noveris quod in hac vita B. p. 48. "non diu manebis." Quæ viri verba velox fratris obitus, qui cito post accidit, declaravit esse vera. In ipso itaque loco in quo vocem de cœlo Dunstanus audivit, oratorium in modum turris non multum porrectæ sublimitatis ædificavit, et illud sub patrocinio beati Johannis Baptistæ fecit consecrari. Hæc videns B. p. 27. Adelard, p. 59. Osbern, p. 100. omnis boni inimicus diabolus ingemuit, non ob hoc solum, quod pro tantis virtutibus virum coram hominibus magnum haberi, sed quia de die in diem videbat tam ipsum quam et alios per ipsum in Dei servitium exinde magis ac magis [2] promoveri. Licet igitur jam sæpe ab eo se confusum et victum meminisset, cohiberi tamen ab ejus infestatione non potuit. Nam adhuc de suarum versutiis artium confisus, eum orantem in ursi effigie hispidus aggreditur, et hianti rictu super eum insurgens, horrore sui oratione deterrere molitur. Ast ille zelo divino correptus arreptum baculum quem manu ferre solebat, in hostem vibrat, et eum cædendo tam diu insequitur donec idem baculus in tres partes com- B. p. 28. Adelard, p. 59. minutus confringeretur. Inter quæ hunc versum miles Dei psallere cœpit, "Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur ini- Ps. lxviii. 1. "mici Ejus, et fugiant qui oderunt Eum a facie Ejus." Tunc Dunstanus videns baculum suum sic in hoste [3] contritum dixit, "Si vivit Dunstanus, scias, inimice,

He has a warning of the death of a brother.

He builds an oratory and dedicates it to S. John the Baptist.

Dismay of the devil.

He attacks Dunstan as a bear.

Dunstan breaks his stick on him and sends him away.

[1] *ad claustrum*] om. S.
[2] *magis ac magis*] om. S.
[3] *in hoste*] in honeste, S.

He makes himself a new staff,

" hujusmodi baculum faciet, ut si amplius veneris, ne-
" quaquam, sicut iste confractus est, sua gracilitate aut
" imbecillitate confringatur." Fecit itaque sibi alium baculum grossum [1] et fortem, ac illius summitatem argento circumposito decoravit. Quod argentum in suprema parte sui in modum concavæ sphæræ formatum, dentem beati Andreæ apostoli gestat inclusum. Quem dentem Dunstanus inibi posuit, cum ut insuperabile munimen sibi præstaret contra incursus malignorum spirituum, tum quia præ cæteris sanctis dulci affectu diligebat eundem apostolum. Propter quæ sæpissime illius familiari fovebatur alloquio, muniebatur consilio, et auxilio relevabatur. Sentiens ergo diabolus suam pugnam, qua Dunstanum a bonis operibus arcendum putabat, semper sibi ad confusionem et Dunstano procedere ad gloriam et exaltationem, continuit se a corporali illius accessu, aliam viam ad conturbandum illum perquirens.

and places a tooth of S. Andrew in it.

The devil tries other means.

The king falls into the hands of two evil women.

16. Erat in illis diebus mulier quædam ex magna et alta progenie nata, filiam adultam secum habens. Utrasque quantum ad corpus spectat formosa species decorabat; sed quod pudicis mentibus non parvæ offensioni erat, libidinosus animus et habitus, qui juxta in eis operabantur, eandem speciem valde decolorabant. Hæ præfato regi Eadwio assidue adhærebant, suis blanditiis et nutibus illecebrosis pro posse [2] operam dantes, quatenus unam illarum sibi in conjugium copularet. Ad quas ille impudico illiciti amoris desiderio fervens, indecenti amplexu nunc hanc, nunc illam, neutrius adspectum in hoc erubescens, destringebat. Præterea die quo ipse Edwius in regem est consecratus, a loco convivii in quo cum archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, totiusque regni principibus sedebat, jam pransus exsilit

B. p. 32. Osbern, p. 100.

His misbehaviour at the coronation.

[1] *baculum grossum*] scipionem crassum, S.

[2] *posse*] viribus, S.

B. p. 32. Osbern, p. 100. et relictis omnibus, in cameram ubi prædictæ fœminæ erant solus secedit, capitique corona sublata, se inter illas medium jecit. Quod optimates agnoscentes oppido indignati sunt, et rem tractantes inter se Odonem archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, qui dignitate cæteris eminebat, unanimiter hortari cœperunt, quatenus viros qui regem sive volentem sive nolentem festine reducerent destinaret. Ad quod agendum cum hi et illi, regiam iram metuentes, se excusarent, tandem super Dunstanum abbatem et ejus consanguineum Kynsinum episcopum sententia versata est. Qui ex præcepto summi pontificis et aliorum omnium ad regem ingressi, eum ut dixi in medio duarum illarum decubantem reppererunt.

The counsellors send Dunstan and Kinsige to bring him to the feast.

B. p. 33. Osbern, p. 100. Tunc Dunstanus primo in ignominiosas mulieres asperæ increpationis verba vultu et voce contorquens, lascivias earum, sicut verum castitatis amatorem decuit, detestatus est. Deinde regem ut se tanti opprobrii exsortem faceret monens, ad proceres eum redire, eosque sua præsentia exhilarare summissa voce precatus est. Qui, animi sui furore simul et vultus rubore perfusus, dum se rediturum omnino negaret, Dunstanus manum illius arripuit, et a loco violenter abstractum, imposito capiti ejus diademate, ad convivantes introduxit. Quod mulieris ignominia nullatenus æquanimiter ferens sævis verborum invectionibus in virum surrexit, et se eum confusioni perpetuæ traditurum garrula contestatione devovit. Et hoc quidem detestabile votum, non tepescente malitia ejus, facto exercere sollicita postmodum fuit. Effecit namque apud regem ut cuncta quæ in monasterio Dunstani habebantur diripi ac devastari, et ipsum a regno eliminatum in exsilium pelli juberet. Qua tempestate sæviente, contigit quoddam lacrymabile malum. Quidam enim ex fratribus monasterii qui virum contra omnes æmulos tueri, et ei usque ad mortem more bonorum filiorum obsequi, deberent, propria nequitia magis quam ipsius doctrina imbuti, se medios ad provocandum regem contra illum clanculo injecere, et

Dunstan upbraids the women and brings back the king.

Vengeance of the women.

Confiscation of the monastic property.

B. p. 34.

Faithlessness of some of the brethren.

quo edictum de expulsione ejus immobile faceret quantum poterant institere. B. p. 34. Adelard, p. 59.

Voice heard at Dunstan's departure.

17. Dehinc ministris impii principis in direptione rerum ecclesiasticarum, sicut jussi fuerant, occupatis et multis exinde gravi mœrore consternatis, audita est vox cujusdam in atrio templi, excussum risum edentis et more lascivæ puellæ summo gaudio et exultatione perstrepentis. Quæ Dunstanus audiens et dæmonem esse, qui pro suo discessu petulanti lætitia jocabatur, advertens, versus ad illum dixit, "Eja, eja, auctor et amice om- Osbern, p. 101.

He promises to return in new strength.

"nium malorum, modo de exsilio meo lætaris et pro "tribulatione plurimorum, unde me dolere conspicis, "jam gratularis. Sed absque dubio fixum habere potes, "quia nihil est gaudium quod nunc habes me rece- "dente, comparatione tristitiæ quam habiturus es me "revertente." In his verbis dæmon aufugit. At Dunstanus videns suos in direptionem datos, pietate permotus, qua supra quam dici queat fretus erat ad omnes, prout sibi possibile fuit exsilium inire distulit, cogitans ne forte Deus cor principis aliquo modo tangeret, et a concepto furore mitigaret. Verum ubi eos, qui se hos-

Persecution of his friends.

pitio vel aliquo humanitatis officio confovebant, vidit in immensum affligi, deprædari, proscribi, damnari, ratus est melius malignitati hominis cedere quam tot innocentes pro suo commodo indebita pœna vexari. Ponens itaque ecclesiam Angliæ sub tuitione Regis omnium

He goes to Flanders.

Christi, mare petiit, ad ignotam sibi regionem transiturus navem conscendit, ductuque divino prosperrimo cursu Flandriam venit.

The woman sends to put out his eyes.

18. Igitur ad hæc præfatæ [1] mulieris ira in immanem vesaniam instinctu dæmonis acta, missis nunciis ubi Dunstanus esset perquiri fecit, et si comprehendi valeret, sine ullo respectu misericordiæ oculos ei erui præcepit. Sed Deus Qui Sua sapientia et bonitate privari B. p. 34 Osbern, p. 102.

[1] *præfatæ*] om. S.

B. p. 34. Adelard, p. 59. Osbern, p. 101.

nequit, prius servum Suum per marinos fluctus placido lapsu evexit, quam ministri crudelitatis ad portum maris eum insequendo pertingere possent. Cum itaque Dunstanus Flandriam venisset et principis terræ notitia functus[1] fuisset, magni habitus est et ab eo valde dilectus. Quem quoniam virtutis virum esse mundique contemptum funditus habere cognovit, Gandavi eum conversari[2] rogavit, utpote loco qui majori[3] religione in omni sua potestate[4] eo tempore præditus erat. Venit ergo Dunstanus ad locum, ibique in omni sanctitate degens omnibus est carus factus et admirabilis. Exsilium itaque in patriam sibi versum est; tamen in hoc sæpe animo deficiebat, quod corpore remotus erat ab eis quos in hac vita cariores habebat. In quo defectu constitutum dilectus dilectior ejus venerandus[5] Andreas apostolus crebra visitatione consolabatur, nec eum aliquo incommodo ultra quam facile ferre poterat gravari patiebatur.

Dunstan is well received in Flanders.

He lives at Ghent.

He is comforted by S. Andrew.

B. p. 35.

19. Præterea accidit ut ipse Dunstanus, quadam vice in oratione prostratus, ingenti cordis contritione suos quos in Anglia reliquerat filios Deo commendaret. Et ecce dum orationis prolixitas tenditur, mœrore gravatus, somno opprimitur. Visum ergo illi est se Glastoniæ in oratorio cum fratribus vespertinam horam psallentibus pro consuetudine stare. Qui fratres cum dicto evangelii cantico antiphonam "Quare detraxistis sermonibus veri-

Job. vi. 25.

"tatis" subjunxissent, et eam usque ad id quod dicitur, "Quæ cogitastis explete" percantassent, conticuerunt nec ullo modo ipsa ultima verba dicendo eam finire potuerunt. Quibus dum Dunstanus vultu, voce, signis, insisteret, ut parum quod de antiphona restabat perdicerent,[6] et ipsi e contra muta voce confusi starent, audita est vox de transverso in sublimibus ita dicens, "Nequaquam, nequaquam fiet hoc ut quæ cogitaverunt

In a vision he sees the brethren at Glastonbury unable to finish their anthem.

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[1] *functus*] potitus, S.
[2] *conversari*] ut conversaretur, S.
[3] *majori*] præcipua, S.
[4] *potestate*] ditione, S.
[5] *venerandus*] beatus, S.
[6] *perdicerent*] perficerent, S.

This is interpreted to mean that they cannot fulfil their evil designs against him.

" opere expleant. Neque enim unquam se a tua potes- B. p. 35.
" tate, Dunstane, evellent, aut te ab istius cœnobii præ-
" latione deponent." Ad hæc Dunstanus evigilans intellexit visionem, et quia nonnullos quos verbo vitæ imbuerat, et de quibus nil mali se meruisse sciebat, in suo damno stetisse advertit, graviter ingemuit, et eis Deum propitium fore supplici prece oravit.

Changes in England.

20. Post hæc misertus est pius et omnipotens Deus B. p. 35. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, p. 102.
genti Anglorum, ac, ut illis ad perpetuam consolationem patrem suum Dunstanum redderet, tali consilio, dictante æquitatis ac misericordiæ Suæ censura, usus est. Excitavit quosque potentes a terminis magni fluminis Humbræ usque ad terminos fluvii Tamisiæ contra impietatem regis Eadwii, et eum quia talem se fecerat qualem, ceu prælibavimus,[1] regem non[2] esse decebat, unanimiter persequi et aut vita aut regno privare moliti sunt. Et

Edwy is rejected by the north people, who choose Edgar for their king.

ipsum quidem ultra Tamisiam fugaverunt, nefandam Osbern, p. 102.
vero meretricem ejus juxta civitatem Glawornensem mala morte, quod brevi et summatim dictum accipiatur, perdiderunt. Quibus patratis Edgarum fratrem illius super totam terram a prædicto Humbræ fluvio usque ad flumen Tamisiæ regem fecerunt. Regnum itaque, B. p. 36. Osbern, p. 103.
quod prius erat unum, in duo divisum est, Tamisia suo illud alveo disterminante. Unde frequentes lites, seditiones nonnullæ, varii conflictus hinc inde[3] suborti, totam terram gravissimis tribulationibus concusserunt. Ex quibus omnibus patuit verum esse quod supra diximus per lascivum diaboli gaudium Dunstanum intellexisse. Verumtamen Edgarus de die in diem semper[4] erat in melius proficiens, et Edwius e contra in deterius quotidie deficiens. Erat enim Edgarus ipse prudens et strenuus ac mandatis Dei intimo corde adhærens, propter mala quæ in Anglia per fratrem suum emerserant

Edgar's fortunes improve.

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[1] *ceu prælibavimus*] uti diximus, S.
[2] *non*] neutiquam, S.
[3] *hinc inde*] hominum, S.
[4] *semper*] om. S.

Osbern, p. 103. non modico mœrore tabescebat, eaque modis quibus poterat restinguere gestiebat. Hic itaque adepta[1] regali dignitate pravos quosque, et qui alios iniqua dominatione solebant opprimere, potestate qua gloriabantur cœpit privare, atque illos qui suis rebus injuste spoliati fuerant fecit amissa recuperare. Omnibus ergo ecclesiis Angliæ quæ in regno ejus erant, pax et concordia orta est, et juxta quod vox divina, sicut supra meminimus, hoc rege nato prænunciavit, donec ipse vitæ præsenti superfuit, in melius aucta et roborata est. Ad hæc missis in Flandriam viris, Dunstanum patriæ cum ingenti honore restituit, ac se suaque omnia ejus sapientiæ atque consilio disponenda commisit. Deinde ut major auctoritas facta ejus in cunctis comitaretur, eum Wigornensis ecclesiæ episcopatum suscipere petiit, nec a precibus destitit, quoad eum suæ voluntati consentaneum fecit. In summum igitur sacerdotium consecrandus ex more Cantuariam venit.

His good government.

B. p. 86. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, p. 103.

Dunstan is recalled and made bishop of Worcester.

Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, pp. 103, 104. 21. Regebat eo tempore[2] Christianitatem in Anglia paulo superius nominatus Odo, ipsius civitatis archiepiscopus, vir equidem sanctus et magnarum virtutum prærogativis apprime ornatus. Hic Dunstanum in pontificatum Wiciorum consecraturus, admirantibus qui astabant, eum, omisso ipsius ecclesiæ titulo, ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem titulavit, et quasi successorem seu consortem sibimetipsi consecravit. Unde a præsentibus cur hoc faceret percunctatus[3] respondit, "Non constringitur "lege donum et vocatio Dei. Et utique vir iste scio "quis sit, et ex dono gratiæ Dei video ad quid eum "Spiritus Sanctus elegerit." Ex quibus verbis meritum utriusque turba quæ circumstabat præclarum esse coram Deo advertit. Inde vir Dei ad ecclesiam ad quam primo electus fuerat regressus, et ab ea præclare susceptus, summopere nitebatur opere perficere quod

Odo consecrates him as an archbishop,

and justifies the act.

[1] *adepta*] percepta, S.
[2] Anno DCCCCLV. P. in marg.
[3] *percunctatus*] rogatus, S.

Dunstan's reforms as bishop of Worcester.

se ante exitum suum de Anglia meminerat exultanti diabolo spopondisse. Omnes igitur in quorum moribus diabolum[1] aliquid habere intelligebat, arguere, monere, castigare, corrigere satagebat, nihil usquam a correctionis voce vacuum relinquens unde gauderet adversarius qui circuit quærens quem devoret. Nec ullius persona in istis ab eo considerabatur, sed quisque juxta meritum suum, observata rationabili discretione, tractabatur. In omnibus itaque et per omnia perquirebat Dei honorem et diaboli confusionem. Interea[2] rex Edwius vitæ præsenti subtractus est, et anima ipsius Dunstano, orationibus occupato, a quibusdam teterrimis hominibus cursim est e vestigio præsentata. Cujus miseriam miseratus suarum injuriarum immemor, pro liberatione ejus immensos omnipotenti Deo lacrymarum imbres effudit, nec ab eis destitit donec se pro eo exauditum agnovit. Facto igitur non grandi intervallo mauri illi ad Dunstanum sua præda vacui redeunt, et quia ipsius injurias supervacue ulcisci venerint calumniosa voce furibundi depromunt. Quorum ille furores nihilipendens Deo super ineffabili misericordia Ejus ineffabiles gratias egit.

1 S. Pet. v. 8.

Osbern, pp. 104, 105.

He sees Edwy's soul carried off by black spirits and obtains its deliverance.

He is made bishop of London.

22. Post hæc Eadgarus partem regni quam diximus Edwio remansisse obtinuit, regnumque sui unitatem recepit, bellis ac seditionibus quæ ex ejus divisione emerserant quaquaversum sedatis. Exin defuncto episcopo Lundoniensi, quæsitum est quis in episcopatum digne succedere posset. Et cum in hoc aliquantulum temporis expenderetur, nec persona decens et idonea reperiretur, tandem electio omnium super Dunstanum versa est, et ipse pontificatum prædictæ ecclesiæ suscipere communi cunctorum conclamatione coactus est. Utraque igitur ecclesia, Wigornensis videlicet et Lundoniensis, eo præsule gloriabatur, quandoquidem ipse

B. pp. 36, 37. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, p. 105.

[1] *diabolum*] eum, S.

[2] *Interea*] Anno DCCCCLVIII. P. in marg.

Osbern, pp. 105, 106.

summa necessitate compulsus, utriusque pontifex per nonnullum temporis spatium erat, utrique sollicitudinis suæ curam impendens, utramque intus et extra sua defensione contra omnes æmulos muniens, in utraque officium pontificale opportuno tempore sedulus exsequens. En visio quam supra descripsimus in gladiis apostolorum partim impleta est, cum in episcopatu Lundoniensi, qui ex nomine beatissimi apostoli [1] Pauli celebris habetur, confirmatus est. Profecto namque gladium ipsius apostoli ipsi ecclesiæ prælatus accepit, quia Verbum Dei, morem illius secutus, subditorum cordibus excellenter infudit, et potestate qua ille in virtute Domini Christi gloriatus est, ipse ad terrendos impios, ad demulcendum pios, circumquaque usus est. Quod et in ecclesia Wigornensi strenuus egit, quam in gladio beati Petri regendam suscepit. Siquidem episcopatus idem per id temporis in honorem ipsius gloriosi apostoli fundatus habebatur. Sed Oswaldus vir sanctus et religiosus, quem in regimen ipsius ecclesiæ beatus Dunstanus, antistes Cantuariensis effectus, sibi succedere fecit, quia clericos ibi degentes nec a pravitate sua convertere, nec inde, eo quod nobiles juxta sæculum atque potentes erant, quibat eliminare, construxit pene contiguam ipsi ecclesiæ ecclesiam beatæ Dei genitrici Mariæ, in qua ipse cum monachis quos se proposuerat adunaturum Christo serviret. Quod et factum est. Religio itaque monachorum contemptum clericis peperit, et vulgi conventum ab eis alienatum sibi assiduum fecit. Quid plura? Numerus clericorum passim minuitur, monachorum conventus in dies augetur. Quidam insuper ex ipsis clericis conversi numero illorum additi sunt. Hoc modo sedes pontificalis mutata est in ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ semper virginis.

Fulfilment of the vision of the apostles.

Explanation of the question about the dedication of Worcester.

Growth of monasticism there, and change of the bishop's seat.

B. pp. 37, 38. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, p. 107.

23. Memorato [2] Odone archiepiscopo Cantuariorum ad perennis vitæ gaudia translato, immensum omnibus

Odo dies.

[1] *apostoli*] om. S. | [2] *Memorato*] itaque, ins. S.

Dunstan refuses to succeed.

Anglorum ecclesiis luctum suus transitus intulit, et innumeros populos acerbo mœrore percussit. Postulatus Dunstanus Odoni in patriarchatum sedis Anglorum succedere abnegat, suscepti regiminis onus satis grave sibi ad portandum, nedum majus superaddatur, esse[1] protestans. B. pp. 36, 37. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, p. 107.

Elfsin is chosen and frozen to death.

Unde Ælfsinus Wentanæ urbis[2] antistes per regni principes, quorum alios re præsentium, alios spe munerum futurorum ad hoc sibi fautores effecerat, archiepiscopatum rege annuente obtinuit. Qui post aliquot adeptæ dignitatis dies, Romam pro archiepiscopatus stola petens, in Alpibus nimia frigoris asperitate correptus ultimum flatum ibidem emisit. Post quem substitutus est in summum ecclesiæ Dorobernensis pontificatum Birhtelmus Dorsætensis populi præsul, vir totus ex mansuetudine, humilitate et modestia factus.

Byrhthelm chosen and sent back to his see.

Verum ubi compertum est nihil in corrigendis vitiis, nihil in exercendis ecclesiasticis disciplinis, nihil denique virtutis seu constantiæ in eo esse ad tuendos bonos vel coercendos malos, ad ecclesiam suam jussus[3] rediit, et ita sedes Cantuariensis a pontifice aliquantis diebus vacua sedit.[4]

Dunstan at last accepts Canterbury.

Itaque unanimis omnium electio Dunstanum inclamitat, illum solum se nosse vociferans, quem tanta sedes digne valeret habere rectorem, præsertim cum a primævo ætatis flore vitæ sanctitas, morum gravitas et, cui nemo contrairet, eum perlustraverit invicta, constans et sequenda auctoritas. Hac ergo Dunstanus acclamatione, quasi voce vere divina constrictus, primatem totius Britanniæ sedem regendam suscepit et eam immensa omnium adjacentium ecclesiarum ac populorum exultatione et gloria deductus ascendit.

He goes to Rome.

24. Post hæc temporis opportunitate accepta, beatissimorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina petiit, et B. p. 38. Osbern, p. 108.

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[1] *nedum . . esse*] etiam si majus non addatur, S.

[2] *urbis*] civitatis, S.

[3] *jussus*] om. S.

[4] *sedit*] stetit, S.

B. pp. 38–40. Osbern, p. 108.

eum summæ sedis pontifex magno sinceræ dilectionis affectu illo venientem excepit; secumque postea familiarius agens et agendo templum Sancti Spiritus esse indubitanter[1] cognoscens, magnifice illum honoravit ac stola sui apostolatus pro qua venerat decentissime decoravit. Sicque delegata ei legatione apostolicæ sedis, genti Anglorum pastorem ac salutis eorum provisorem destinavit. Itaque vir Dei Roma reversus et in patriarchatum primæ sedis Britannorum receptus, in ipsum mundi principem quasi gigas surrexit, et armaturam verbi Dei a dextris et a sinistris constanti virtute in eum vibrare, et membra ejus circumquaque debellare et prosternere cœpit et enervare.

He receives the pall and becomes full archbishop.

Adelard, p. 61. Osbern, p. 108.

25. Inter hæc visionem quam sibi in oblatione apostolicæ armaturæ dudum apparuisse descripsimus, mente revolvens, et eam jam in administratione regiminis duarum ecclesiarum, Wigornensis videlicet et Lundoniensis, ferme impletam conspiciens, dicendum existimo per quid archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis, qui hos dignitate præcedit, et in quo ipse excellentius sedit, ei præsignatus sit: nimirum per verbum Dei quod scriptum suscepit in gladio beatissimi Petri, secundum quod illud rex Edredus exposuit, quando ei visionem ipsam ipse Dunstanus, ut prædiximus, retulit. Sicque gladius Petri ecclesiam Petri, et Verbum Dei ecclesiam Verbi Dei, quæ Cantuariæ sita est, significavit. Exin videtur rationis[2] dicere quid gladius beati Andreæ cum cæteris oblatus prætenderit,[3] quandoquidem ipse in nulla ecclesia quæ sub nomine ipsius apostoli consecrata sit, sicut in prædictis tribus ecclesiis, sedit. Quod quidem, quantum attinet ad nos Anglos, quibus quid hoc sit luce clarius patet, superfluum reor dicto commemorare vel scripto. Propter externos tamen, si forte aliquando aliquo[4] casu ista inter eos ceciderint, breviter dico, illum merito cum gladio Petri Verbo Dei inscripto gladium

Further explanation of the vision of the apostles.

Question about S. Andrew.

[1] *indubitanter*] om. S.
[2] *rationis*] rationi consentaneum, S.
[3] *prætenderit*] portenderit, S.
[4] *aliquo*] om. S.

Rochester, the church of S. Andrew, dependent on Canterbury.

suscepisse Andreæ: nam qui ecclesiæ Cantuariensi per pontificatum præsidet, Rofensi ecclesiæ, quæ sub patrocinio beati Andreæ subsistit, per episcopi institutionem, per horum et horum[1] intus et extra, cum res exigit, dispositionem, utpote suo dominio præsidet. Quis ergo in cunctis quæ religioni competunt Dunstanus fuerit, videlicet cujus virtutis ad omnes omnium personarum injustitias deprimendas, ad bona quæque opera fovenda et munienda exstiterit, usque hodie tota Anglia canit, nec opus esse arbitror ut me in illis scribendis fatiget grandis labor. Nonnulla tamen quæ ab illis qui ex ejus tempore usque ad nos per successus ætatum fluxere, accepimus, compendioso relatu subjiciam, quatenus inde percipiatur veritas verborum quæ proposuimus. Osbern, p. 108.

A certain earl makes an unlawful marriage: and is excommunicated by Dunstan.

26. Comes quidam præpotens cognatam suam illicito sibi matrimonio copulaverat, et a Dunstano semel, secundo et tertio redargutus, incestum suum divortio piare nolebat. Quapropter gladio Spiritus Sancti a viro percussus, a liminibus est sanctæ ecclesiæ separatus. Qui typho tactus superbiæ regem adit, Dunstanum immoderatæ et impiæ severitatis accusat, regia sanctione se ab ejus tyrannide liberum constitui querelosa[2] voce precatur et obsecrat. Adelard, p. 67. Osbern, p. 106.

Edgar intercedes but Dunstan will not yield.

Cujus verbis rex acquiescens Dunstano mandat ut hominem cum ea quam duxerat in pace manere sinat, et a quibus suspenderat liminibus sacris ipsum restituat. Miratur ille ad audita, et dolet religiosum regem per mendacem hominis linguam ante rei inquisitionem et examinationem esse seductum. Ponit tamen hominem ad rationem, et tam pro commisso crimine, quam et propter injustam sui criminationem apud principem terræ factam, paulo durius increpat, cupiens eo modo ad pœnitentiam et correctionem cor illius emollire. At ubi vidit ipsum non solum verbis suis non consentire, sed insuper contumaci

[1] *et horum*] om. S. | [2] *querelosa*] querula, S.

Adelard, p. 67.

spiritu contra se furere minarique, supra id quod eum ab ingressu domus Dei suspenderat, ut dixi, omnem ei communionem fidelium, donec a sua pravitate discederet, interdixit. Tunc ille seipso deterior effectus immani est furore correptus; et nihil eorum quæ possidebat alicujus momenti reputans, ad hoc solum se totum [1] impendere, ut Dunstano excitaret [2] scandalum et Christianæ legis jugum, quod a sua libidine coercebatur, sibi faceret alienum. Legatos itaque suos Romam destinat, et talibus assueta quorundam Romanorum corda et ora in suam causam largo munere largiori sponsione permutat. Quid deinde? Præsul apostolicæ sedis Dunstano peccatori homini condescendere verbis ac litteris mandat, et eum ecclesiæ gremio integre conciliare monet, hortatur, imperat. Ad quæ Dunstanus ita respondit, "Equidem cum illum de quo agitur sui "delicti pœnitudinem gerere videro, præceptis domini "papæ libens parebo. Sed ut ipse in peccato suo ja- "ceat, et immunis ab ecclesiastica disciplina nobis in- "sultet et exinde gaudeat, nolit Deus. Avertat etiam "Deus a me, ut ego causa alicujus mortalis hominis, "vel pro redemptione capitis mei, postponam legem "quam servandam statuit in Sua ecclesia idem Domi- "nus meus Christus Filius Dei." Hæc sibi relata ille audiens, et Dunstanum ab his quæ certo diceret inflexibilem esse certissime sciens, excommunicationis suæ pœna cum pudore hominum constrictus, tum timore periculorum quæ talibus nonnunquam accidere solent perterritus, obstinaciam [3] suæ mentis deposuit, et abdicato illicito conjugio pœnitentiæ sibi cultum imposuit. Dunstano namque generale totius regni concilium de observantia Christianitatis celebrante, ipse suimet oblitus, nudis pedibus, laneis indumentis corpus amictus, virgam manu ferens, concilio sese medium ingessit, et ante pedes Dunstani gemebundus et ejulans corruit.

The sentence is renewed and made heavier.

The earl obtains a letter from the pope.

Dunstan refuses to obey the papal letter.

Repentance and humiliation of the earl.

[1] *totum*] studebat, ins. S.
[2] *excitaret*] om. P.
[3] *obstinaciam*] obstinationem, S.

Dunstan's rejoicing.

Quo viso moti sunt omnes qui aderant ad pietatem, et ipse pater omnium majori præ cæteris pietate motus est. In vultu tamen servato disciplinæ rigore, utpote hominem pleniter[1] Deo reconciliare desiderans, lacrymas ejus ad horam severus sustinuit; ac demum a toto concilio postulatus, lacrymans et ipse culpam indulsit. Itaque ab excommunicationis vinculo absolutum communioni fidelium, gaudentibus cunctis, eum restituit. Adelard, p. 67.

Three false coiners condemned to be punished.

27. Alio tempore monetarii tres, qui in potestate viri erant, cum falsa moneta capti, ad subeundam pœnam hominibus per totum regnum promulgatam sunt judicati. Quæ res Dunstano abscondi non potuit. Die ergo Pentecostes idem pater Missarum solemnia celebraturus, percunctatur utrum Dei populo statuta justitia de ipsis monetariis facta fuerit annon. Respondetur eam ob reverentiam tanti diei in alium diem esse dilatam. Osbern, p. 106.

Dunstan refuses to celebrate mass on Whitsunday, until the punishment has been inflicted.

" Nequaquam," inquit, " ita fiet: monetarii nempe,[3] qui " falsos ex industria denarios faciunt, fures sunt, et " eorum furto nullum nocentius esse cognosco. Nam " in falsa moneta quam faciunt totam terram spoliant, " seducunt, perturbant. Ipsi divites, ipsi mediocres, ipsi " pauperes, in commune lædunt, et omnes quantum sua " interest[4] aut in opprobrium, aut in egestatem, aut in " nihilum redigunt. Quapropter noveritis quia ego " hodie ad sacrificandum Deo non accedam, nisi primo illi " qui deprehensi sunt eam, quam in seductione totius " populi promeruerunt, subierint pœnam. Si enim in " ultione tanti mali, cum negotium me respiciat, Deum " placare supersedeo, quomodo Illum de manibus meis " sacrificium suscepturum sperare queo ? Sed hæc licet " crudelitati possint ascribi, Deo tamen patet intentio " mea. Lacrymæ, gemitus atque suspiria viduarum ac " pupillorum, clamor quoque vulgi totius mihi incum- " bit, et correctionem hujus mali deposcit. Quorum

[1] *pleniter*] om. S.
[2] *judicati*] adjudicati, S.
[3] *nempe*] namque, S.
[4] *sua interest*] ad eos pertinet, S.

" afflictionem, si quantum in me est mitigare non in- His argu-
" tendo, et Deum Qui gemitibus eorum compatitur ment.
" nimis offendo, et alios ad idem malum exercendum
" promptiores et audaciores facio." Dixerat, et pro pœna illorum, qui manus erant perdituri, pietate motus lacrymis manat, ut satis esset videre de quo fonte procedebat edictum, quod nonnullis videbatur crudele. Ubi vero audivit præstitutam justitiam factam, surrexit et lota facie ad oratorium exhilarato vultu abiens When the law has been
ait, "Quia Deum, obediendo statutis justitiæ legibus, satisfied he proceeds.
" audivi hodie, confido quod et Ipse per misericordiam
" Suam sacrificium de manu mea suscipiet hodie ;" cujus confidentiæ effectu privatus non est. Eo quippe inter sacrosancta Missarum solemnia sacras manus extendente et Deum Patrem omnipotentem ut ecclesiam Suam catholicam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere dig- Vision of the mystic
naretur toto orbe terrarum interpellante, nivea columba dove.
multis intuentibus de cœlo descendit, et donec sacrificium consumptum esset, super caput ejus expansis et quasi immotis alis sub silentio mansit. Inter hæc quid animi gereret servus Dei, quo amore, qua dulcedine,
Adelard, p. 62. Osbern, pp. 108, 109. quo desiderio putas in Deo pascebatur, qui ex præsenti gratia Dei tali visitatione fovebatur? Consumpto sacrificio columba eadem in australem altaris partem declinavit, et super tumbam beati Odonis, cujus supra mentionem fecimus, se reclinavit, alis suis illam hinc inde complexans, et quasi rostro deosculans. Quod beatus Dunstanus intuens, et exinde [1] meritum jacentis appen- Dunstan's reverence for Odo.
dens, in tanta eum deinceps reverentia habuit ut quoties coram sepulcro illius transibat [2] genua flecteret. Cognomine quoque boni in materna lingua post hæc eum semper nominare consuevit, videlicet, "Odo se gode," quod Latine sonat "Odo bonus." Quo cognomine ex eo tempore usque ad hanc nostram ætatem solet ab Anglis, maxime tamen a Cantuaritis nuncupari. Percan-

[1] *exinde*] inde, S.

[2] *coram . . transibat*] sepulchrum ejus transiret, S.

His chasuble hangs suspended in the air.

tata Missa Dunstanus ab altari digreditur. Ministris autem ejus pro signo quod acciderat, his et illis innuentibus, et alios ex fratribus ministerio pontificis affuturos suspicantibus, ipsi se in diversa tollunt ac virum, immensis adhuc ex præsentia gratiæ Dei lacrymarum imbribus madentem, solum relinquunt. Et ecce, dum casulam qua inter sacra vestiebatur deponeret, nec ullus adesset qui eam susciperet, disponente Deo suspensa pependit in aere, ne cadens in terram servum Dei a sua turbaret intentione. See Osbern, p. 160.

He calls forth a spring of water at the dedication of a church.

28. Per id ferme temporis, rogatus a quodam viro nobili et religioso, dedicavit ei ecclesiam unam quam ipse in suo fundo construxerat. Ubi ad ministerium aqua deficiente et ob hoc hominem nonnulla mœstitudine corripiente,[1] famulus Dei præmissa prece terram baculo percussit, ilicoque fons limpidissimus erumpens omnes qui præsentes .erant non modicum lætificavit. Qui fons usque hodie manans Dunstani nomen et meritum celebre facit. Osbern, p. 109.

He builds a wooden church at Mayfield: and adjusts its orientation by pressing it with his shoulder.

Idem pater a Cantuaria in remotiores villas suas opportuna spatiis hospitia sua disponens, apud Magaveldam sicut et in aliis hospitiorum suorum locis ligneam ecclesiam fabricavit. Quam ipsemet dedicans, dum ex more circumiret, et eam ad æquinoctialem solis ortum minime versam perciperet, fertur quod transiens humero suo illam aliquantulum pressit, moxque mutatam a proprio statu, in medium orientis tramitem pro voto convertit. Quod ipsum facile potuisse efficere nemo ambigit, nisi qui verbis Domini Christi, quibus fidem sicut granum sinapis habentibus promittit, quod etiam montem dicto transferant,[2] incredulus exsistit. S. Matt. xvii. 19.

Inter hujusmodi opera Dunstanus Deum semper in mente habere, Deo quicquid boni perficiebat non sibi

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[1] *hominem . . corripiente*] homini . . subrepente, S. There has been an erasure in P.

[2] *transferant*] transferrent, S.

adscribere, magnum humilitatis, minimum elationis cor per omnia et in omnibus possidere. Cum autem a sæcularium negotiorum occupationibus ei quies arridebat, modo contemplationi divinæ et orationibus incumbebat, B. p. 49. modo sacrarum scripturarum lectioni et earum expositionibus intendebat, modo fratrum exhortationi seu librorum emendationi sedulus operam impendebat. In compunctione vero lacrymarum tanta gratia præditus erat, ut quoties eum sacris altaribus sisti vel aliquo officio pontificali fungi conspiceres, Spiritus Sancti fervore mentem ejus accendi, et quæ ille exterius administrabat, Ipsum interius operari per indices ex oculis illius decurrentes lacrymas non dubitares. Hæc inter sibi et successoribus suis competentia, tam infra muros urbis quam et in quibusque villis ad archiepiscopatum pertinentibus, ædificia constitui, vel constituta, si qua ex parte diruta essent, renovari faciebat, se scilicet in istis non modo sibi sed et multorum utilitati natum vivereque perpendens. Præterea cunctarum ecclesiarum B. p. 50. totius Britanniæ adjacentiumque insularum sollicitudinem strenuus gerebat, et earum causas, quæ ad eum sicut ad primatem et patriarcham quotidie ferebantur, disponebat. Et quia vigilanti studio Domino Christo per omnia famulabatur, sæpe supernorum civium gaudiis atque concentibus angelorum, ad quos anxie [1] suspirabat, miscebatur aliquando corpore vigilans, aliquando sancto sopore quiescens ; quodque fortassis non minus stupeas, per visum quædam a beatis [2] spiritibus didicit, quæ ipse postea in servitio Dei canenda suos edocuit.

His regular employments.

His building of churches.

His care for the church generally.

His revelations.

B. p. 41. Osbern, p. 117. 29. Quadam etenim nocte cum membra quieti dedisset, per visum in superna raptus est. Conspexit itaque et ecce, mater sua cuidam regi potentissimo in conjugium sub immensa confluentium magnatum lætitia exsultatione copulabatur, resonantibus undique hymnis ac

His vision of the marriage of his mother.

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[1] *anxie*] om. S. | [2] *beatis*] om. S.

His silence rebuked.

laudibus in gloriam ejusdem regis, organis quoque ac diversis melodiis concrepantibus in his regalibus nuptiis. Quibus dum ipse magnifice delectatus intenderet, atque ad ea totum sui cordis affectum arrigeret, accessit ad eum juvenis quidam candidissimo tectus amictu, dicens illi, "Cum videas et audias istos lætantium ac jubilan- " tium choros, cur te illis non copulas? Cur laudibus " eorum non commisces laudes tuas? Et quidem si in " desponsatione matris tuæ a voce laudis et exultationis " cuncti silerent, tu silere non deberes, nedum illis non " tacentibus solus taceas."[1] Ad hæc verba, quid in laudem tanti regis cantaret ignorare se respondit. Sciscitatur ergo[2] an a se quod decenter canere posset instrui vellet. Quod cum sibi acceptissimum fore profi- teretur, docuit eum antiphonam istam, "O Rex gentium " dominator omnium, propter sedem majestatis Tuæ da " nobis indulgentiam, rex Christe, peccatorum; Alleluia." Quam pater per visum sæpius repetens et in laudem præfati regis frequentius canens, mira jocunditate pasce- batur. Expergefactus autem a somno surrexit, gemens eo quod a tantis gaudiis tam subito se in hujus mundi ærumnis invenit. Antiphonam vero statim ne oblivioni daretur scribi præcepit, eamque a suis postmodum can- tari sæpius in sui præsentia fecit. Ex qua etiam magnæ suavitatis fervor ob recordationem gloriosæ visionis sibi generabatur, et grande desiderium pertingendi ad tantum bonum in animo illius multiplicabatur. Hanc visionem, quæ, præter illam qua olim patris sui et matris animas inter choros angelicos vidit, ei apparuit, quidam qui ante me de istis scripsit, vult mystice referri ad matrem ecclesiam quæ Christo summo regi per bona opera desponsatur, et ex qua Dunstanus, et quisque fidelium per sacri baptismatis undam renatus, ejus ali- mentis pascitur atque nutritur. Quod autem Dunstanum angelus docuit a Dominatore gentium petere indul-

B. p. 41. Osbern, p. 117.

B. p. 41. Osbern, p. 118.

He is taught a new anthem, which on awaking he records.

B. p. 42.

Question of the interpretation of the vision.

[1] *taceas*] tacere, S.

[2] *ergo*] juvenis, ins. S.

B. pp. 42, 43. gentiam peccatorum, ostendit quod pontifices agere debeant, quoties ad exorandam majestatem Dei pro suis populique delictis sancta sanctorum introeunt.

Dunstan waiting for Edgar to return from hunting, before he begins mass, has a vision of heaven.

30. Alio quodam tempore rex in die Dominica mane venatum ivit, et Dunstanum, qui tunc forte secum erat, Missam suam donec rediret[1] differre petivit. Appropinquante igitur hora tertia vir Dei ad ecclesiam procedit, et indutus sacris vestibus, regem sicut ei promiserat exspectabat. Stabat ergo cubitis innixus altari, orationi ac lacrymis deditus. Tum subito sopore leviter pressus in cœlum rapitur, et beatis angelorum agminibus associatus, audit eos summæ Trinitati in laudem modulatis vocibus decantantes atque dicentes,[2] "Kyrie eleyson, "Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson." Quorum melodiam cœlestium contemplator edoctus ad se reversus est. Et conversus ad suos interrogat rexne venerit annon. At ubi eum nondum venisse accepit ad suas preces sese convertit. Factoque non grandi intervallo, iterum extra se ductus audivit in cœlis altisona voce dici, "Ite, "Missa est." Ad quod cum "Deo gratias" responderetur, accurrentes clerici regis regem adesse vociferantur, sacerdotem ut festinantius Missam celebret obsecrant. At ille versus ab altari Missam se habere pronunciat, et aliam se ea die celebraturum abnegat. Depositisque vestibus sacris a suis de re inquiritur, quod latebat operitur. Ex hoc itaque sumpto sermone regem in diebus Dominicorum[3] deinceps a venatu prohibuit. "Kyrie eleyson" vero quod in cœlestibus didicit, suos docuit, idque multis in locis hodie sancta ecclesia inter Missarum solennia canit.

He refuses to say mass.

He bids the king to abstain from Sunday hunting

B. p. 48. Osbern, p. 118.

He visits the churches at night.

31. Moris erat viro loca sancta quando Cantuariæ morabatur uno tantum fideli socio comitatus noctu peragrare, et se inibi per compunctionem et contritionem cordis Deo mactare.

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[1] *rediret*] veniret, S.

[2] *atque dicentes*] om. S.

[3] *Dominicorum*] Dominicis, S.

One night at S. Augustine's he hears a heavenly anthem.

Quadam igitur vice ad monasterium beatissimorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in quo beatus Augustinus et alii nonnulli de patribus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis tumulati sunt, ex more circa mediæ noctis silentia perrexit, ibique Deo se diutius in oratione prostravit. Egressus vero ad oratorium beatæ Dei genitricis et perpetuæ virginis Mariæ, quod in orientali ipsius monasterii parte situm fuerat, eadem facturus divertit. Cui appropinquans audivit intus voces psallentium atque dicentium, "Gaudent in cœlis animæ sanctorum qui "Christi vestigia sunt secuti: et quia pro Ejus amore "sanguinem suum fuderunt, ideo cum Christo gaude-"bunt[1] in æternum." Ad hæc ille stupefactus adstitit ostio, ac per rimas illius introspiciens, erat enim obseratum, intuetur oratorium totum immensa luce splendere, et quendam cuneum candidatarum personarum ipsam antiphonam lætis concentibus resonare. Alio item tempore præfata pastorum ecclesiæ limina simili hora pari voto requirens, ubi inde discessit, memoratam sacratissimæ virginis ædem, preces illic Deo fusurus, adire cœpit. Ecce autem ipsa beatissima virginum virgo, comitata numeroso virginum choro, venienti viro occurrit, et summo cum honore susceptum ad suam ecclesiam quo tendebat ducere cœpit, præcinentibus duabus de choro puellis illud Sedulii carmen atque dicentibus,

B. pp. 48, 49. Osbern, p. 118, 119.

Looking in at a chink he sees the choir of virgins and the Blessed Virgin herself.

"Cantemus sociæ, Domino cantemus honorem;
"Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio."

Their song.

Quos versus chorus virginum resumendo percantans,[2] prædictæ binæ cantrices[3] binos qui sequuntur in ordine versus subsecutæ[4] sunt:

"Primus ad ima ruit magna de luce superbus,
"Sic homo cum tumuit primus ad ima ruit."

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[1] *gaudebunt*] regnabunt, S.
[2] *percantans*] cum . . percantaret, S.
[3] *cantrices*] præcentrices, S.
[4] *subsecutæ*] prosecutæ, S.

B. p. 49. 32. Sicque donec vir Dei in oratorium perductus esset, virgineus chorus primos et virgines binæ binos juxta quod series hymni sese habet versus modulatæ sunt. Propter hæc et horum similia facta[1] insignis pater Dunstanus quanti honoris, quantæ reverentiæ, quantæve[2] magnificentiæ apud omnes bonos exstiterit æstimo quod qui talia Dei dona amplecti novit magna ex parte et me silente videbit. At iis qui potius in malitia quam in bonitate vitam agere satagebant horrorem atque terrorem vultus ejus incutiebat, ut ab eo fugere quam ad eum accedere mallent. Omnes vero qui perversa acta sua deserere et ad recta opera cupiebant transmigrare, veræ pietatis ac misericordiæ visceribus eum redundare sentiebant, et ultra humanam æstimationem consilium simul et auxilium suæ salutis in eo reperiebant. A remotis itaque terrarum partibus ad eum passim currebatur, et quo illum præminere notum erat, Spiritus Sancti consilium ab ipso petebatur. Sī ad ista diaboli odium et invidia sæviebat, nulli mirandum. Sed quia se in perturbatione viri nihil posse, nisi quod verecundiam sui et ejus gloriam magnificaret,[3] jam certo sciebat, ab ea qua illum sæpe fatigare solebat impugnatione sese cohibuit. Verum ut eum redderet conturbatum, Eadgaro regi, quem multum pro sua reverentia diligebat, laqueum gemebundæ[4] deceptionis tetendit et irretitum gravis peccati nævo involvit.

From this vision the glory of Dunstan may be inferred.

His great fame and influence.

The devil lays a snare for Edgar.

33. Quadam enim vice idem rex in monasterium virginum quod Wiltuniæ situm habetur venit, ibique captus specie cujusdam puellæ, quæ de nobilibus Anglorum nata inter sanctimoniales non velata nutriebatur, custodiebatur, eam suo colloquio adduci secretius jussit. Illa cum duceretur, timens pudori suo, raptum ab una sanctimonialium capiti suo velum imposuit, eo modo se

Edgar falls in love with a young lady in Wilton Abbey.

Osbern, p. 111.

[1] *facta*] om. S.
[2] *quantæve*] vel, S.
[3] *verecundiam . . . magnificaret*] ignominiam sibi et illi majorem gloriam adferret, S.
[4] *gemebundæ*] miserandæ, S.

In spite of the veil which she has put on, the king abuses her, although he was married.

protegi sperans si forte rex quid inhonesti a se exigere vellet. Quam ipse velatam intuens, "Quam subito," inquit, "sanctimonialis effecta es!" Arreptumque velum detraxit capiti ejus, illa conatu quo poterat frustra obnitente. Abusus siquidem ea est, et gravi scandalo quique per Angliam religiosi ex hoc mente vulnerati sunt. Quod scandalum eo vehementius fuit quod rex idem legitimam uxorem habebat, Ælflædam[1] videlicet cognomine Candidam, Ordmæri præpotentis Orientalium Anglorum ducis filiam de qua et Sanctum Eadwardum genuerat. Ubi vero res Dunstano innotuit acerbo mœrore percussus est. Igitur cum pro re non segnis ad regem veniret, et illi venienti pro more occurreret, eumque per manum ad solium suum perducere vellet, manum Dunstanus turbato vultu retraxit, nec eam ab homine contingi passus est. Ad quod ille attonitus, non enim illum scire putabat quod clanculo a se factum existimabat, cur manum sibi non dimitteret inquisivit. Ait: "Tu, postposito omni pudore adulterium commi-
"sisti; tu despecto Deo, signum castitatis non veritus,
"virgini suam integritatem præripuisti. Et cur ma-
"num, Summo Patri virginis Filium immolantem, im-
"puris manibus non tradam quæris? Lava prius per
"pœnitentiam manus tuas a sordibus suis, et tunc
"demum quo gratiæ Dei reconcilieris honora et am-
"plectere manum pontificis." Territus ille ad hæc terræ procumbit, pedes antistitis petit, se peccasse, gemitu verba interrumpente, contestans. Quod Dunstanus videns tantum in rege humilitatis exemplum vehementer amplectitur. Velocius ergo illum erexit et pacato vultu, cum eo familiariter quæ salutem animæ ejus operarentur loquens, septennem ei pœnitentiam injunxit. At ille pontificali absolutione potitus, omni studio injunctæ sibi pœnitentiæ operam dare, et multa quibus Deum placaret pietatis opera ipsi pœnitentiæ, instinctu et consilio patris sui, sollicitus cœpit superaddere.

Osbern, p. 111.

Dunstan's grief at hearing of this.

He refuses to take the king's hand.

Edgar's humiliation.

Osbern, p. 112.

Hispenance.

[1] See the letter of Nicolas in Sect. vii. of this Volume.

Osbern, p. 112. Ipse præterea omni ordini hominum in suo regno consistentium legibus sibi in Christiana religione sancitis uti præcipiebat; ipse secus agentes indicta vindicta corripiebat, ipse in pravitate persistentes condigno examine puniebat. Exempli causa: ordo clericalis ea tempestate plurimum erat corruptus, et canonici cum presbyteris plebium voluptatibus carnis plus æquo inserviebant. Quod malum Dunstanus corrigere cupiens, fretus[1] auctoritate Johannis apostolicæ sedis antistitis, apud regem obtinuit quatenus canonici qui caste vivere nollent ecclesiis quas tenebant depellerentur, et monachi loco eorum intromitterentur. Præsidebat ea tempestate Wentanæ ecclesiæ præsul Athelwoldus, vir eximiæ sanctitatis et educatione patris Dunstani non parum insignis. Hic præscita[2] de canonicis ecclesiæ suæ, qui nimium sæculares existebant, voluntate Dunstani, monuit eos semel et sæpius mores et actus mutare, correctioris vitæ semitas, relictis fœminis, arripere. At illi, inpræsentiarum quidem id sibi possibile esse negantes, voce corvina semper in crastinum correctionem sui pollicebantur. Quod ipse gnarus non diu sustinuit; paratis nempe[3] quamplurimis monachorum cucullis, die quo Communio "Servite Domino in timore" cantabatur, chorum intravit, vestes quas paraverat secum deferri faciens. Et projectis illis in medium, canonicis ait: "Animadvertistis quid modo cantaveritis?" "Ani-
" madvertimus," inquiunt. "Igitur," inquit, "si servire
Ps. ii. 11, 12. " Domino in timore et Ei vultis exultare cum tremore,
" apprehendite disciplinam, vestem videlicet monachi-
" lem, ne pereatis, sicut cantastis, de via justa." Ad quod illi obstupefacti, more solito inducias petunt, id se facturos in futuro promittunt. Tunc ille, "Mihi
" credite, amplius non credam huic vestræ sponsioni
" corvinæ; sed aut disciplinam in præsenti apprehen-

He enforces religious law.

Dunstan proposes to substitute monks for canons.

How Ethelwold at Winchester treated his canons.

[1] *fretus*] om. S.
[2] *præscita*] cognita, S.
[3] *nempe*] namque, S.

He gives them their choice between becoming monks and leaving the church.

" detis, aut loci istius beneficiis et conversationi, hinc " eliminati, jam jamque cedetis." Itaque nonnulli ex illis statim abjecto clericali habitu monachi facti sunt, cæteris juxta verba[1] pontificis de ecclesia eliminatis. Cæterum quia ipsi qui ita noviter sunt conversi regularis disciplinæ normam sine aliorum magisterio docte servare nequibant, monachi de Abendonia illuc ab eodem pontifice adducti sunt, qui monachicæ institutionis tramitem ibi edocerent. Clerici vero, qui ejecti sunt, citato gressu regem adeunt, judicium atque justitiam sibi de expulsione sui fieri postulant. Refertur negotium ad audientiam Dunstani, et ipse eos æqua postulare pronunciat. Igitur ex præcepto regis et archiepiscopi coit Wintoniam nobilitas regni totius, et rex cum sua conjuge adest ad determinandum querelas negotii hujus. Surgunt hinc inde lites quas Dunstanus propositis rationibus destruit omnes. Rationabiliter quippe cunctis ostendit clericos, qui a sorte Dei incorrigibiliter[2] per pravitatem vitæ suæ dissiliunt, nil per rectitudinem sibi vindicare posse ex iis quæ ecclesiis data sunt ad subsidium eorum qui in clericatu pura conversatione sese custodiunt. Quibus auditis, omissa omni controversia,[3] rex et de[4] principibus plures,[5] clericorum precibus ad pietatem usque permoti, Dunstanum interpellant quatinus hac sola vice parcat, et clericos, jam quid amodo si se non correxerint incursuri sint re ipsa edoctos, de ecclesia sua revestiat. Silet ille ad ista, quidque potissimum de negotio sit agendum, demisso capite mente pertractat. Silentium ingens occupat omnes et suspensi ad responsum pontificis erigunt aures. Tunc subito crucifixi Dei imago, signo crucis in edito domus affixa, audien-

Osbern, p. 113.

Monks are brought from Abingdon.

Council at Winchester to discuss the claims of the canons.

Miraculous utterance of the crucifix.

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[1] *juxta verba*] verbo, S.
[2] *quippe . . incorrigibiliter*] om. S.
[3] *omni controversia*] omnis controversia est, S.
[4] *et de*] atque ex, S.
[5] *plures*] plerique, S.

Osbern, p. 113. tibus cunctis dixit, "Non fiet, non fiet. Judicastis "bene, mutaretis non bene." Tremefacto in his simul universo conventu, intulit pater Dunstanus et ait, "Quid amplius vultis, fratres mei? Divina sententia "definitum audistis negotium præsens." Aiunt, "Au- "divimus vere." Resederunt igitur monachi Wintoniæ deinceps [1] securi, et, quoad clerici ipsi vixerunt, qui eos super causa ista inquietaret nemo fuit. This decides against the canons.

34. Illis autem huic vitæ subtractis, filii eorum cupientes recuperare quæ perdiderant in parentibus suis, in Scotiam miserunt, et inde quendam prægrandis, ut fama ferebat, eloquentiæ virum Bernelmum nomine, magno conductum pretio, in tuitionem suæ causæ contra Dunstanum adduxerunt. Conglobati ergo sub uno clericorum filii regem atque Dunstanum apud villam quæ dicitur Kalne in quodam cœnaculo consistentes reperiunt; et armati rhetore illo, qui suæ victoriæ spes maxima erat, antiquæ calumniæ coram eis jurgia promunt. Ad quæ Dunstanus his verbis brevi respondit; The quarrel revived in the next generation. Council at Calne.

Osbern, p. 114. "Calumniam istam quam movetis divino ore jam [2] "olim definitam novimus, nec eam novo conflictu "amplius in medium revocandam existimamus. Ego "quoque grandævus sum, et vitæ meæ residuum, quod "pauci temporis esse non nescio, in pace si licuerit "transigere cupio. Laboravi dum potui, amodo totius "laboris impatiens Domino Deo causam ecclesiæ Suæ "contra insurgentes hostes tuendam committo." Dixit, et ecce solarium, sub pedibus eorum qui adversus virum convenerant, e vestigio cecidit; omnesque pariter præcipitatos in suo casu non modicum læsit. Ubi vero Dunstanus cum suis consistebat,[3] nulla ruina domus, nullius [4] emerserat casus. Hoc igitur modo calumnia clericorum est sopita, et usque hodie monachorum conversatio in ipsa ecclesia stabilita. Ejecti nihilominus Dunstan declines the dispute. The floor of the chamber falls. Dunstan's party is unhurt.

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[1] *deinceps*] om. S.
[2] *jam*] om. S.
[3] *consistebat*] considebat, S.
[4] *nullius*] nullus, S.

Increase of monastic devotion thereupon.

per id temporis et alii quamplures clerici horum similes de suis ecclesiis sunt, et monachi in locum ipsorum substituti. Aucta est igitur religio per Angliam in tantum ut quadraginta octo monasteria monachis vel sanctimonialibus instituerentur, cooperantibus beato Dunstano in hoc viris venerabilibus, Oswaldo videlicet, qui primo Wigornensis, postea fuit episcopus Eboracensis, et Athelwoldo[1] Wintoniensi, quorum supra meminimus. Vitam itaque beati[2] Dunstani et actus formidabant omnes qui incedere volebant juxta vias adinventionum suarum.

Edgar is at last crowned.

35. Inter hæc sopito negotio quod regem Eadgarum ne regio more coronaretur detinuerat, Dunstanus adunatis episcopis, abbatibus et cæteris principibus cum tota regni ingenuitate, coram eis astante innumera populorum[3] multitudine, imposuit illi coronam regni, gaudentibus cunctis et jubilantibus Deo in voce laudis et exultationis. Ipso autem, post biennium quo hæc facta sunt, immatura morte prævento, Eadwardo filio suo totum regnum hæreditario jure reliquit. Qui Eadwardus cum in regem consecrari deberet, nonnulli de principibus terræ contraire ne rex fieret nisi sûnt, tum quia morum illius severitatem, qua in suorum excessus acriter sævire consueverat, suspectam habebant,[4] tum quia matrem ejus, licet legaliter nuptam, in regnum tamen non magis quam patrem ejus, dum eum genuit, sacratam fuisse sciebant. Sed Dunstanus discretione et industria confisus adolescentis, unum non metuens, et observato paternæ hæreditatis et testamenti jure aliud contemnens, arrepto sanctæ Crucis vexillo, medius constitit, et per rationem cunctis quæ objiciebantur elisis, Edwardum regem constituit, et constituto paternum affectum, consilium et auxilium in omni negotio dum

Adelard, p. 61. Osbern, p. 114.

On his death Edward is chosen by Dunstan's influence.

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[1] *Athelwoldo*] episcopo, ins. S.
[2] *beati*] om. S.
[3] *populorum*] populi, S.
[4] *suspectam habebant*] om. S.

Adelard, p. 61. Osbern, p. 114.

vixit exhibere curavit. Rex quoque ita mores suos in omnibus et per omnia componebat, ita totum regnum sanctis legibus disponebat, ut et actus ejus Deo placerent, et eo quod in suscipiendo regno ei contradixerant quique sibimet ipsis displicerent. Sed illo post aliquot annos per fraudem novercæ suæ interfecto, Æthelredus filius ipsius malæ mulieris in regnum substitutus est, matris ignominia magis quam Edgari[1] patris sui sollertia præditus. Cujus provectio non usquequaque sedit Dunstano, ideo tamen quod proximus regni hæres existebat, complevit ei jus regium, sciens se inoffensis legibus terræ atque principibus id non posse transferre in quenquam alium. Attamen illum solio regali potitum, severo quodam verborum tonitruo, quia per sanguinem fratris regnum obtinuerat increpavit, et quod in sanguine victurus ac posteri illius crudeli barbarorum incursu devastandi, tota etiam terra per plurima sæcula sævo illorum dominatu foret depopulanda prædixit. Quæ licet se vivente eventura negarit, eventura tamen omnimodo esse nimis veraci, ut et in cronicis legimus et hodie videmus, prophetia asseruit. Accelerabit, cum Sibi placuerit, omnipotens Deus, quam subsecuturam promisit liberationem per tanti vatis Sui merita et intercessionem. Et quidem illum spiritu prophetiæ claruisse non tantum hinc sed et ex nonnullis aliis, quæ constat eum veraciter prædixisse, confirmamus, et id subjecto exemplo probamus.

Edward's good government.

He is slain and Ethelred succeeds.

Dunstan's invective addressed to Ethelred.

Osbern, p. 115.

His prophecy of misfortune, which is still felt.

Osbern, p. 115.

36. Quodam tempore venit Cantuariam supramemoratus Athelwoldus Wentanus episcopus, et aliquot diebus ibi detentus est. Detentus est etiam Rofensis episcopus, qui illo simul venerat, detinente utrumque patre Dunstano caritativa affectione, dulciflua vitæ perennis contemplatione, divini verbi collatione et sacrorum morum exhortatione et instructione. Cum autem ipse pontifi-

Visit of the bishops of Winchester and Rochester.

[1] *Edgari*] om. S.

Dunstan accompanies them on their departure from Canterbury.

cum pater comitatus ipsis duobus episcopis Cantuaria decederet, et pariter longius ab urbe[1] remotos quemque ab altero destinati hospitii via dirimeret, ambo pontifices, a Dunstano benedici petentes, ab eo divertere et suum iter cupiebant accelerare. Verum ipso manum extendente ad benedicendum, subito in lacrymas acerbas erupit, cœptæque benedictionis verba singultus subsequens interrupit. Illis vero ad rem grandi stupore perterritis, quidnam haberet, quod tam anxie fleret, sciscitati sunt. Respondit, "Fleo quia vos, quos "modo sanos et alacres video, in hac vita me nequa- "quam[2] amplius visurum admodum doleo. Nam in "proximo estis morituri, et ad gaudia regni cœlestis "transeuntes me in hujus vitæ miseriis relicturi." Cui cum ipsi dicerent "Ne pater, oramus, de nostra "morte ita loquaris;" "Fixum," ait, "quod dixi tenete, "quoniam sic est et omnino immutabile."[3] In his dato altrinsecus osculo pacis ab invicem divisi sunt. Igitur antistes Rofensis mox ubi sui pontificatus civitatem ingressus est, elanguit, et evolutis in infirmitate paucis diebus defunctus est. Wintoniensis vero priusquam ad sedem suam venire posset, languore corripitur, et juxta verbum viri Dei non longa mora interveniente finitur. Ex cujus obitu gravis mœror Dunstanum corripuit, tum quia tanti viri ingens solatium amiserat, tum quia cui potissimum teneræ adhuc statum ecclesiæ regendum committeret dubius fluctuabat. Quos fluctus ingerebant animo ejus hinc monachi nuper intromissi, hinc clerici ab ecclesia illa ejecti. Monachi quippe suæ professionis virum habere episcopum præoptabant; clerici vero sui ordinis hominem sibi præfici desiderabant; illi videlicet per monachum in ecclesia sibi collata cupientes solidari; isti per clericum ecclesiæ sibi ablatæ sperantes reformari. Sed hæc providens sapientia et sapiens providentia Dei citius

Osbern, p. 116.

He foretells their speedy death.

The prophecy is fulfilled.

Dunstan's grief.

Adelard, pp. 61, 62. Osbern, p. 116.

Question about the succession to Winchester.

[1] *ab urbe*] om. S.

[2] *me nequaquam*] non, S.

[3] *omnino immutabile*] non est mutabile, S.

Adelard, p. 62. Osbern, p. 116.

determinavit. Nam per beatum Andream apostolum, cui speciali quodam dilectionis affectu Dunstanum adhærere Deus concesserat, Dunstano mandavit quatenus nihil hæsitans Ælfegum abbatem Bathoniensem constitueret Wentanæ ecclesiæ summum sacerdotem. Lætatus est Dunstanus in istis, et reddita Deo gratiarum actione pro beneficiis Suis in Ælfego, perfecit quod ei per apostolum Suum Deus ipse præcepit.

S. Andrew brings a command that Elfege shall be appointed.

37. Multa de hoc viro, juxta quod multorum non spernenda testimonia ferunt, adhuc litterarum memoriæ veraci stylo commendare possemus; verum ne incultæ narrationis prolixitate quemlibet[1] gravemus, prætermissis illis, ad sacrum transitum ejus enarrandum cor et linguam præparemus. Quod præparare quia nostræ opis non est, oremus ut ipso de quo agimus interveniente perficiatur ab Eo Cujus hoc donum et gratiam scimus esse.

Much more might be told about Dunstan.

Adelard, pp. 64, 65. Osbern, pp. 120, 121.

Dies igitur quo Dominus noster Dei Filius, Deus noster,[2] devicta morte cœlum victor ascendit, celebris illucescebat, et Dunstanus expleto noctis officio solus in ecclesia Salvatoris Cantuariæ, pro tanti gaudii consideratione, Christo totus inhærebat. Interea conspexit et ecce innumera candidatorum multitudo virorum coronas aureas in capite gestantium, inæstimabili fulgore micantium, per ecclesiæ januas irrumpens, coram se sub uno[3] conglobata constitit, et una voce ei hujusmodi salutationis alloquium persolvit, "Salve, Dunstane " noster, salve! Mandat tibi Quem pie desideras Filius " Dei quatenus, si paratus es, venias et diem hanc, ad " cujus gaudium unica dilectione suspiras, nobis asso- " ciatus in Sua curia gratiosus et hilaris celebres." Ad quorum vultus et voces ille imperterritus manens sciscitatus est, quinam essent. "Cherubin," inquiunt,

On Ascension day, Dunstan has a vision of cherubim asking if he is ready to depart.

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[1] *quemlibet*] quenquam, S.

[2] *Deus noster*] om. S.

[3] *se sub uno*] ipso, S.

He says that he has duties on the feast.

" ac Seraphin sumus: quidquid velis ad hæc respondeas Adelard, p. 65.
" volumus." Tunc ille sacro cordis ac mentis affectu Osbern, p. 121.
cum supplici voce pro tanta gratia grates debitas
agens; " Hac," inquit, " die, qui honor, quæ spes, quod
" gaudium in Ascensione Christi Dei et Domini om-
" nium [1] generi humano provenerit, O sancti ac beati
" spiritus, nostis. Nostis nihilominus officii mei esse
" oves Ipsius Domini mei mihi commendatas hac die
" vitæ æternæ pane reficere, et eas quo tramite Illum
" sequi debeant, quo præcessit, informare. Cujus etiam
" rei gratia plurimi convenere, nec meum est in tali
" negotio illos decipere. Propter hæc, quo me invitatis
They bid him be ready on the Saturday. " non possum hodie venire." Dixerunt, " Eja! provide
" ut die Sabbati præsto sis hinc nobiscum Romam
" transire, et coram summo pontifice Sanctus, Sanctus,
" Sanctus æternaliter [2] canere." Annuit ipse dicto, et
illi in invisibilia ab oculis ejus dilapsi sunt.

Alfgar, afterwards bishop of Elmham, was the witness of this vision.

38. Hujus admirandæ visionis presbyter quidam Ælf- Adelard, p. 64.
garus nomine, qui in excubiis domus Dei assiduus esse Osbern, p. 120.
solebat, quique postmodum, sicut scriptura referente
accepimus, insignis in Elmham episcopus claruit, con-
scius esse promeruit. Nam nocte eadem pervigil sacris
meditationibus deditus, illucescente aurora, supra [3] se-
ipsum per visum raptus est, viditque beatum Dunsta-
num cathedræ pontificali præsidere, et ei canonica jura
clero dictanti formosorum juvenum immensum agmen
assistere. Audivit etiam ea quæ proxime digessimus
eosdem juvenes ei dixisse, quæque retulimus ab eo illis
responsa fuisse. Quod, ut reor, ea de re viro illi Do-
minus patefieri voluit, quatenus et gloriam transituri
fideli testimonio commendaret, et ipse ad eandem
gloriam tanto indicio vehementius anhelaret, necnon
antistes quandoque futurus eam suis utpote cognitam
certius prædicaret.

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[1] *Dei . . omnium*] Domini Jesu . . omni, S.

[2] *æternaliter*] æternum, S.

[3] *supra*] extra, S.

B. p. 51. Adelard, p. 65. Osbern, p. 121.

Dunstanus itaque de gaudio Domini sui ac de imminente sibi æterna felicitate securus, gratulabundus in Domino lætabatur, et spirituali ad omnes jocunditate replebatur. Jam diurni officii hora instabat, et pontifex, illud celebraturus, festivus ad altare processit. Populorum turba, quasi Deitatis instinctu, ad aliquid novi audiendum solito numerosior advolans, ecclesiæ parietes vix multitudini sufficientes undique complet. Lecto igitur ad Missam evangelio, procedit episcopus, populo prædicaturus, et regente cor ejus et linguam Spiritu Sancto, locutus est qualiter ante nunquam fuit locutus. Reversus deinde ad altare panem et vinum in Corpus et Sanguinem Jesu Christi immaculata benedictione convertit. Ubi vero ad benedictionem super populum ventum est, iterum populo prædicaturus ab altari digreditur, et debriatus Spiritu Dei sic de veritate Corporis Christi, sic de futura resurrectione et vita perenni tractavit, ut ipsius perpetis vitæ civem loqui putares si personam loquentis agnitam[1] prius non haberes.

Dunstan's exhortations on the feast of the Ascension, after the Gospel:

and before the benediction.

Osbern, p. 122.

39. De obitu tamen suo mentionem nullam fecit inter loquendum, pia videlicet animi teneritudine et tenera pietate præventus, nolens eis tristitiæ malum duplicatum ingerere, quibus diem mortis suæ judicabat in simplici tristitiæ malo posse sufficere. Sermone finito, altare repetiit, et pontificalem benedictionem super populum edidit. Interea nimium mente vulnerabatur, metuens videlicet ne carissimi sui quos deserebat, improviso mortis suæ jaculo percussi, atrocius dolerent quam si antequam ad ictum venirent illud præviderent. Unde data benedictione tertio populum cunctis stupentibus adiit. Mox autem ut os ad loquendum aperuit, tanta claritate vultus ejus resplenduit, ut in toto illo conventu nemo esset qui radios oculorum irreverberata acie in eum figere posset.

He does not mention his approaching death.

After the benediction his face shines like that of an angel.

[1] *agnitam*] cognitam, S.

He begins to reveal his approaching end.

40. Quæ ergo dulcedo, quæ suavitas, quæ jocunditas repleverit corda et ora cunctorum, qui præsentes quæ dicebantur meruerunt intelligere, verbo seu scripto exponere scio nulli esse possibile. Sed ubi servus Dei instantem sui obitus diem detegere cœpit, omnis exultatio mœrore concutitur, et tali mœrore ut ipse pater, qui jam gaudiis perennibus inserebatur, motus admiranda pietate qua præditus erat, unus de mœrentibus esse videretur. Verum tamen injecta vi spiritui suo lacrymans lacrymantes consolabatur, dicens inter alia eos nequaquam debere de transitu illius dolere, quem non labor aut pœna sed quies et gloria perpes exciperet. Dicebat etiam neminem veræ caritatis radice fundatum, qui magis suum temporale commodum quam proximi perpetuum diligeret emolumentum.[1] Ad firmamentum quoque consolationis ipsorum promisit in spe gratiæ misericordis Dei, quod, licet illis corpore absens fieret, nunquam tamen eis præsentia spiritus sui abesset. Finitis hujuscemodi dictis, commendavit omnes Christo, et demum illis adhuc gloriosum vultum ejus desiderantibus ad mensam Domini vitam suam epulaturus ascendit. Ipsa die cum a mensa sumpto cibo surrexisset, venerando suorum cœtu stipatus, oratorium petiit, designatoque loco in quo sepeliri volebat, sepulcrum sibi præparari præcepit. Inde jam languor sacri corporis artus invadit, et sua Dunstanus invalida membra quieti tradit. Itaque sexta sequenti feria lecto decumbit, et incessabili mentis devotione Deo intentus, omnes adventantes ad sectanda vestigia Jesu Christi incitabat.

Osbern, p. 123.

He comforts the weeping people.

He marks a place for his burial.

He takes to his bed.

The Saturday arrives.

41. Sic dies ille defluxit et laboris Dunstani ultimus, beatæque quietis primus dies illuxit. Confluit clerus et populus omnis, trepidi præstolantes eventum quem de se prædixerat pastor communis. Et jam Dunstanus

[1] *diligeret emolumentum*] om. S.

gaudium Domini sui intrare avidus, horam angelica sibi visitatione prædictam, Corpore Christi saginatus et Sanguine lætus exspectabat.

B. p. 52. Osbern, p. 123. Tunc subito invisibili quadam Deitatis virtute, cum lecto in quo jacebat, usque ad domus superiora levatus est; sed trabibus ne ultra veheretur obsistentibus, leniter est ad terram demissus. Pavore percussi nonnulli circumsedentium in diversa dissiliunt. Sed illo jam demisso, cum quasi ad quiescentem reverterentur, iterum sicut prius ad trabes rapitur, eisque offensis ad solum demittitur. Hoc et tertio factum est. Tunc pius pater congregatos circa se conspiciens filios suos dixit, "Fratres mei dilectissimi, oves pascuæ Dei, vos "ipsi oculis vestris intuiti estis quo vocor, quo vadam. "Nostis viam qua incessi, nostis opera quibus insudavi "dum vixi. Ecce consummatio illorum in superna me "tollit. Quapropter breviter moneo, hortor et consulo, "si quo vado vultis venire, via qua incessi non pigeat "vos ire. Ipse benignus Deus, Qui direxit iter meum "ad Se, dirigat ad omnem voluntatem Suam corda "et corpora vestra in pace." Et responso a cunctis Amen, transiit, et angelicis eum choris ducentibus migravit ad Christum Qui ei factus est corona et perenne præmium.

He is miraculously raised to the roof of the house.

His last exhortation, and death.

Osbern, p. 126. 42. Sepultus sane est in loco quo ipse disposuerat, loco scilicet ubi quotidie divinum officium a fratribus celebrabatur, qui fuit ante gradus quibus ad altare Domini Christi ascendebatur. Quod ab eo grandi pietatis affectu dispositum non dubitamus. Volebat enim benignissimus pater filiis suis quos veraciter diligebat, quosque in mundi turbine post se relinquebat, etiam defunctus corpore jugiter interesse, quatenus quæ vellent sicut vivo fiducialiter coram eo depromere possent, cujus spiritum ex promissione quam ipsis fecerat sibi semper affuturum non dubitarent. Et hoc quidem ita dixerim, secundum quod ex eo tempore factum scimus,

He is buried in the place appointed, before the altar.

There are daily evidences of his power.

et usque hodie fieri a monachis ipsius circa sacratissimum corpus ejus conspicimus. Quotidie namque de suis necessitatibus tam corporis quam animi levamen desiderantes, illuc currunt, et sicut a piissimo patre inter eos corporaliter conversante suffragia petunt. Ut autem justæ petitiones alicujus eo fusæ inefficaces existant, et miracula quæ post hæc de multis pauca scribimus, et ipsi qui ejus beneficia experiuntur singulis diebus, penitus negant.

He foreknew the troubles that were coming on England.

Non ergo dubitandum hæc illum ante obitum suum præscisse, et idcirco se suis spiritu affuturum promisisse, hisque de causis corpus suum inter eos pietate plenus voluisse potissimum poni. Miseriam præterea quæ post decessum ejus Angliam totam involvit et involvendo pessundedit, satis est in chronicis et in nostris tribulationibus me tacente videre. Unde cur quid inde scribam non video, quoniam sine omni littera res ipsa evidens est, ut veras miserias non possit ibi cernere nemo. Finis illarum quis vel quando sit eventurus ignoro, sed tantum procul dubio ignorare non queo, quod omnia quæ fecit nobis Deus in vero judicio fecit, quia peccavimus Ei et mandatis Ejus non obedivimus. Quapropter quid aliud dicatur aut agatur, vis enim humana et consilium omne sublatum est, non intelligo, nisi ut humiliato corde rogetur Deus Qui nos contrivit, quatenus det gloriam nomini Suo, et faciat nobiscum secundum multitudinem misericordiæ Suæ, ac per merita et intercessiones beatissimi patris nostri Dunstani, qui hæc eventura prædixit, eruat nos in mirabilibus Suis. Quod sive Tu, bone Domine et pie omnipotens Deus, aliquando propter immensam misericordiam Tuam feceris, sive propter inscrutabilem justitiam Tuam minime feceris, sit nomen Tuum, Deus Israel, benedictum in sæcula. Amen.

Adelard, p. 67. Osbern, p. 127.

There is still hope for the land from his influence in heaven.

Explicit vita beati Dunstani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.

INCIPIUNT QUÆDAM DE MIRACULIS QUÆ IDEM PATER MUNDO EXEMPTUS FECIT IN MUNDO.[1]

We proceed to describe some of Dunstan's miracles.

1. Nonnulla[2] quæ de vita Sancti Dunstani vitæque decessu, aut[3] scripto aut ab iis qui ab ejus tempore usque ad nos per successus ætatis fluxere, accepimus, in[4] quantum Deus illius intervenientibus meritis concedere dignatus est, succincte digessimus. Nihilo igitur minus succincte[5] digerere placuit quæ vel ad sacratissimum corpus ejus vel ad beatam memoriam beati nominis ejus, partim scripto, partim veracium virorum relatu, partim proprio visu gesta didicimus.

Osbern, p. 130.

Cure of a blind man.

2. Cæcus quidam prope civitatem Cantuariam habitabat. Hic admonitus in somno ad tumbam beati Dunstani a suis perductus est. Ubi eo in oratione pernoctante, a tumulo ipso mira suavissimi odoris fragrantia prodivit. Interea amissorum luminum loca pruritus vehemens subit, et ad defricationem[6] illorum cœcus statim lumen perditum lætus recepit. Hoc factum in brevi circumquaque innotuit, et Dunstanum jamjam mundo revixisse discurrens fama personuit.

Osbern, p. 131.

Cure of three poor blind women.

3. Erant quoque tres pauperculæ mulieres quæ visum et vitæ subsidium juxta perdiderant, et pariter in una mansione degebant. Hanc curam beatus Dunstanus dum vixit habebat, et eas inter alios ecclesiæ præbendarios vitæ necessariis sustentabat. Hæ igitur audito miraculo de cœci illuminatione, communi consilio ductæ, ad ecclesiam Salvatoris properant, sperantes se a beato viro lumen perditum recuperaturas, per quem[7] se me-

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[1] The text is from the MS. C.C.C. 371 (P.); the various readings from the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson, Misc. 263 (Q.).

[2] *Nonnulla*] Superiori libello, præf. Q.

[3] *aut*] quæ, Q.

[4] *in*] om Q.

[5] *succincte*] om. Q.

[6] *defricationem*] fricationem, Q.

[7] *quem*] om. Q.

They are healed.

minerant diu ab omni corporis egestate protectas; procedunt ergo ad sepulcrum sancti, et inter orandum lucem quam petebant una recipiunt, magnumque gaudium in populos exinde spargunt. Osbern, p. 133.

A rich priest is persuaded to have recourse to Dunstan's tomb to be cured of the palsy.

4. Prædives quidam presbyter et inter[1] suos nobilis, paralytico morbo percussus, totius corporis usum amiserat. Hic ab amicis suasus ut se ad requiem patris Dunstani transferri permitteret, renuit primo, indignum videlicet sibi fore superba mente existimans, si ipse nobilis ac dives, turba admixtus,[2] Dunstanum pro adipiscenda sanitate[3] requireret. Verum cum ingravescente languore seipsum ferre non posset, adquievit voluntati suorum atque ad corpus sancti delatus est; ubi die postera gravi molestia defatigatus, sensit quendam per corpus suum quasi manum hac et illac ducere et singulas membrorum suorum juncturas consolidare. Osbern, p. 133. Osbern, p. 134.

He is cured.

Confestim sanatus exsiliens stetit, sublimi voce Dei Filium in famulo Suo Dunstano, et Dunstanum in Domino suo Dei Filio benedicens; exinde in sua gaudens hilarisque reversus, post aliquot dies grande convivium fecit, volens vicinos et amicos[4] de reddita sibi sanitate congratulari. At ipsis inter epulas exultantibus, ac Deum omnipotentem, potentes non abjicientem, sed cum mitibus atque pauperibus eis quoque Suam misericordiam conferentem, in voce laudis simplici spiritu exaltantibus,[5] turbatus ille an se pauperibus annumerarent tumide quærit, et subdens, "Si me," inquit, "per Dun-
"stanum more pauperum sanatum putatis, non est
"verum, propterea quod pari modo mihi sanitas pro-
"venisset si Dunstanus non fuisset." Necdum plene dicendi finem fecerat, et ecce pristino languore acerrime percussus, in voces miserandas miser erupit, et infelix ultimum continuo flatum emisit. Metus igitur et veneratio multorum erga locum famuli Dei excrevit, et ex

At the feast held in commemoration of his cure he speaks contemptuously of Dunstan, is stricken again and dies.

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[1] *inter*] in, Q.
[2] *admixtus*] mixtus, Q.
[3] *sanitate*] salute, Q.
[4] *vicinos et amicos*] vicinis et amicis, Q.
[5] *exaltantibus*] exultantibus, Q.

Osbern, p. 133.

remotis partibus multi illuc confluebant, tum gratia recuperandæ corporeæ sanitatis, tum ut per ejus merita mererentur liberari a suis peccatis. Inter hos juvenis quidam, vultu formaque decorus, suorum humeris advehitur, pedum quidem officio penitus carens, atque a nativitate mutus existens, incurvus scapulis jam undecim annis sursum nequibat aspicere. Hic itaque, mox ubi sepulcrum viri sanctissimi [1] attigit, in pedibus constitit, et erecto capite linguam in laudem Dei laxavit, excelsa voce clamans [2] "Gloria in excelsis Deo, "Alleluya," sicque ex integro sanus sua lætus revisit.

Cure of a young man who was both dumb and a cripple.

Osbern, pp. 133, 134.

5. Turbæ ad sepulcrum beati pontificis confluenti miscuit se quædam paupercula mulier ferens in ulnis parvulam filiam quam in lucem hujus mundi profuderat cæcam. Incubuit ergo precibus pro filiæ sospitate, et plures dies in hoc quasi vane [3] consumpti sunt. Implorat fratres ecclesiæ et eos precum suarum adjutores efficit. Orant sanctum in commune quatenus solita benignitate subveniat afflictæ fœminæ. Tandem decima die cœpit puella videre, et in gremio matris recubans dixit ei, "Mater, mater, quænam sunt ista "quæ conspicio?" Ait,[4] "Vides, filia?" Respondit, "Homo quidam forma decorus mihi astitit et ut hæc "speciosa [5] quæ coram video considerarem præcepit." Res itaque per totam ecclesiam statim innotuit,[6] ac per magnum Dunstanum Sua opera Christum renovasse, in [7] illuminata cæca nata confluens multitudo intonuit.[8] Hujus facti puram [9] veritatem quidam addiscere cupientes, poma per pavimentum jaciunt, experiri volentes an ea more parvulorum puella insequens directo [10] gressu comprehendere posset. Illa post rotan-

A poor woman brings her little blind daughter to the tomb.

On the tenth day the child recovers her sight.

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[1] *sanctissimi*] beatissimi, Q.
[2] *clamans*] proclamans, Q.
[3] *vane*] vani, Q.
[4] *Ait*] illa, ins. Q.
[5] *speciosa*] om. Q.
[6] *statim innotuit*] patuit, Q.
[7] *in*] om. Q.
[8] *intonuit*] innotuit, Q.
[9] *puram*] om. Q.
[10] *directo*] recto, Q.

She runs after the apples.

tia poma[1] materno gremio desilit, et arreptis illis ad matrem alacris redit; patuit ergo quod oculi, qui prius sine luce patebant, jam luce perfusi, quæ coram erant clare videbant. Osbern, p. 134.

Cure of the blind woman who lost her guide.

6. Anus quædam visum quem perdiderat in juventute recuperare desiderans in senectute, perducta est ad memoriam præclari Dunstani. Ibi precibus dedita sed nihil remedii consecuta, ad sua unde venerat regredi cœpit. Et ecce ascenso fluminis ponte, ductor ipsius ab ea diffugiens[2] solam reliquit. Anxiata itaque spiritu clamavit dicens, "Ah! Dunstane, Dunstane, quam " vane, immo quam malo meo ad te veni. Quæsitum a " te lumen nequaquam obtinui, et væ miseræ,[3] lumen " quo in meo ductore fruebar, per te amisi." Dixit, et e vestigio quosdam homines per pontem ligna gestantes apertis oculis vidit; hos comitata redit qua venerat, et quæ secum Dei pietas per beatum virum sit[4] operata palam[5] cunctis edixit. Osbern, pp. 134, 135.

Cure of Clement the possessed German.

7. Teuto quidam, Clemens nomine, demens actione, ab episcopo suo pro crimine pravæ voluptatis et immanis arrogantiæ sententia excommunicationis mulctatus fuerat. In interitu ergo carnis Sathanæ traditus per septem annos sine loco manens, seu per diversa terrarum spatia perdito sensu discurrens, corpore toto tremebat. Hic tandem ad sepulcrum patris Dunstani pertractus, in nocte purificationis beatæ Mariæ ad inceptionem responsorii "videte miraculum" subito exsiliit, dæmonem quo tenebatur multo cum cruore evomuit, ac sic sanissimus effectus ab omni læsione tanti flagelli dum vixit immunis permansit. Osbern, p. 135.

Cure of Alfword the long.

Alfwordus[6] nomine vir erat cognomine Longus, per triginta annorum spatia contractis membris per terram

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[1] *poma*] mala, Q.

[2] *diffugiens*] defugiens, Q.

[3] *miseræ*] mihi, ins. Q.

[4] *beatum virum sit*] Dunstanum est, Q.

[5] *palam*] om. Q.

[6] *Alfwordus*] Alwardus, Q.

Osbern, p. 135. reptans. Hic a piissimo patre Dunstano mirabiliter curatus, omnium ora in Dei laudem et ex insolita sui proceritate vultus et voces quorumque vertit in admirationem.

Osbern, pp. 135, 136. 8. Unus alter homo carens unius pedis officio, loro astrictum ligneum sibi crus et pedem creaverat. Huic Dei amicus Dunstanus, per visum apparens, suasit ad locum suæ quietis accedere, pollicens eum illic sanitatem recuperare.[1] Ille visioni credens locum petiit, pro pollicita sibi sanitate precibus institit, sicque per plures dies orans, sed nihil remedii sentiens, tædio simul et desperatione affectus loco discessit,[2] ad locum de quo venerat reverti desiderans. Jam medium viæ peregerat, et ecce beatus Dunstanus homini occurrens inquirit unde venerit vel quo vadat. Refert ille se ad tumbam Dunstani causa recuperandæ sanitatis perrexisse, sed quia exaudiri non meruit spe frustrata domum redire. Ait, "Ego sum Dunstanus, qui tibi per " visum dixi quod in basilica Salvatoris, ubi quiesco, " fieres sanus. Verum te ibi in oratione prostrato " adesse nequivi, necessariis quibusdam filiorum meo- " rum inibi mihi obsequentium negotiis alibi detentus. " Siquidem Ælfricus,[3] qui Bata cognominatur, eccle- " siam Christi voluit exhæredare. Sed me obsistente[4] " malam voluntatem suam non potuit ad effectum per- " ducere. Nunc igitur redi, et illa die et hora ex- " perieris præsentiam meam recepta sospitate quam " promisi." Regreditur ille, prædictoque sibi tempore sanus effectus magnum gaudium intulit clero et civibus.

A lame man warned to go to Dunstan's tomb.

Returning unhealed he meets Dunstan,

who tells him that he has been busy, and bids him return on a certain day.

He obeys and is healed.

Osbern, p. 137. 9. Dies qui est nono kalendas Septembres festus habebatur Cantuariæ in honorem beati Audoeni confessoris Christi, necnon aliorum sanctorum quorum reliquiæ requiescunt in ipsa ecclesia Ejusdem Domini Christi. Ad hanc itaque festivitatem inter alios quædam mente

Festivity on S. Ouen's day.

[1] *recuperare*] recuperaturum, Q.
[2] *discessit*] decessit, Q.
[3] *Ælfricus*] Elfuricus, Q.
[4] *obsistente*] obstante, Q.

A maiden blind from her birth receives her sight.

et corpore virgo, quam maternus uterus cæcam ediderat huic mundo, orandi gratia venit. Hæc ad nocturnas vigilias tumbæ gloriosi Dunstani præsens, dum responsorium "Sint lumbi vestri præcincti" in choro cantaretur, defricare sibi oculorum sedes gravi pruritu titillantes acrius cœpit, et defluente undatim sanguine, statim ex insperato visum gratiosa recepit; hinc populorum concursus in fletum præ gaudio, monachorum chorus concitatur ad Deum glorificandum in voce laudis ac jubilo. Osbern, p. 137.

On the eve of S. Peter and S. Paul, a deformed girl is healed.

10. Gloriosa gloriosorum Petri et Pauli dies passionis instabat, et mulier una filiam suam jam pene adultam ad ecclesiam Jesu Christi Cantuariæ secum adduxerat. Ipsa namque puella, contractis et deflexis a cervice in gibbum humeris, digitis quoque in volam reflexis, ita ut ungues crescendo transita cute et carne nervis hærerent, sibi[1] vix tolerabilis, præstabat se pie intuentibus magnam materiam compassionis et affectuosæ pietatis. Hanc mater sepulcro boni Dunstani applicuit, et utræque procidentes unanimiter sibi sanctum misereri postulavere; dictis vesperis in vigilia ipsius festivitatis, precibus[2] incubuerunt et ante solis occubitum sanitatem juvenculæ anus et ipsa perfecte obtinuerunt. Quid laudum, quid gratiarum, quid votorum Domino Christo Ejusque Dunstano hinc a confluenti multitudine persolutum sit, quis describet? Osbern, p. 138.

A noble lady brings a lame child to the tomb. It is healed.

11. Item matrona[3] quædam nobilis oratum veniens ad memoriam sæpe nominati[4] pontificis parvulum, quem stupentibus nervis claudum genuerat, coram se fecit deferri. Illa igitur circa sepulcrum sancti prostrata orationi, parvulus, longiuscule in pavimento ecclesiæ situs, pomo quod ludens inter manus versabat intendebat. Et ecce subito de manibus infantis pomum dilabitur, et usque ad tumulum viri Dei rotando per- Osbern, p. 140.

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[1] *sibi*] sibique, Q.
[2] *precibus*] om. Q.
[3] *matrona*] om. Q.
[4] *nominati*] memorati, Q.

vehitur; quod puer aspiciens et pomum perdere nolens, sese in pedes, ac si prius in nullo læsus fuisset, continuo[1] misit, directo gressu pomum insequens apprehendit; itaque matrem lætabundus et incolumis adit, amplectitur et alludit. In quas ergo lacrymarum inundationes matrona præ nimio gaudio cordis erupit, quasve voces concurrens[2] ad rem tam mirabilem turba in gratiarum actiones emiserit, pietas facti intelligere quenquam docebit.

The child runs after an apple.

Osbern, p. 140.

12. Huic facto pie in puerulo[3] facto aliud pietatis opus ipsius piissimi patris in pueris ecclesiæ factum annectere placuit. Instabat festa dies Nativitatis Christi. Moris autem antiquitus fuerat in monasterio ipso, quinto die ante festum, pueros qui in scholis sub disciplina coercebantur gravibus et immoderatis verberibus cruciari, qui cruciatus miseris non pro commissis sed pro usu inferebatur,[4] et ea re nullo modo evadere poterant, nisi sævitiam magistrorum deliniret irrefragabilis intercessio advocatorum. Igitur vice quadam in tantam iracundiam magistri contra pueros uno assensu exarserunt, ut omnis advocatorum supplicatio, omnis omnium fusa pro eis intercessio, nihil ad sedandum conceptum furorem proficere potuit. Quid miseri agerent, quo se verterent ignorabant. Unicum refugium supererat, pietatem pii Dunstani interpellare. Jam prævia nefandæ crudelitatis nox inhorruerat, cum ecce! pius pater uni puerorum in somno[5] assistens blanda affabilitate, cur ipse et socii ejus tanto mœrore affligerentur interrogat. Ipse quis esset qui secum loquebatur ignorans, perfusus lacrymis, quomodo magistrorum furor in se sine ullo respectu misericordiæ conspiraverit enarrat. At ille "Ne time-" atis" ait, "ego enim sum Dunstanus pater vester,

Before Christmas it was usual for the boys in the monastery to be whipped.

The masters were inclined to be very severe.

The boys pray to Dunstan,

who appears to one of them.

[1] *continuo*] om. Q.
[2] *concurrens*] accurrens, Q.
[3] *puerulo*] parvulo, Q.
[4] *inferebatur*] inferebantur, Q.
[5] *somno*] somnis, Q.

He promises aid.

" quem vobis auxiliari postulastis: consideravi magis- Osbern,
" trorum vestrorum indiscretam et impiam iram, et p. 141.
" intuitus sum grandem necessitatem vestram: ne for-
" midetis, quia adero[1] vobis et nihil mali habebitis.
" Hodierna itaque[2] liberatio vestra sit tibi pro signo, ut
" ex mea parte dicas custodibus ecclesiæ quatenus aufe-

He is offended at the burial of the child of Harold.

" rant fœtidum cadaver[3] filii Haroldi, quod quorundam
" odiosa mihi adulatio juxta me sepelivit, et hoc quidem
" eo molestius fero quod animam ipsius pueri, quoniam
" renata non fuit, damnatam esse non nescio; si ergo
" ablatum in proximo non fuerit, noverint quia post non
" multum temporis grave dispendium pro hoc ecclesia
" tota subibit." Ad hæc puer evigilans et quid audierit[4] mente pertractans, inter spem et formidinem medius fluctuabat. Jam aurora, id est hora tremenda, adve-

When the time for whipping came the masters were asleep.

nerat, cum magistri flagris taureis et nodatis corrigiis armati locis sibi opportunis pueros illo transituros præstolabantur; sed malivolos illos subito gravissimus sopor simul involvit, et qui pueros per medium illorum transeuntes[5] retineret vel in aliquo læderet nullus fuit. Hinc magistros non sævitia qua fervebant contra innocentes, sed ipsorum innocentium cantus et congratulatio a somno excitavit[6]; et alta dies. Confusus ergo quod effectum sævitiæ suæ, a qua nullius prece discedere[7] passi sunt, dormiendo perdiderant, sero doluerunt. Puer igitur, cui pius pater apparuerat, re ipsa sciens Dun-

The boy carries the message to the keepers of the church, who disregard it.

stanum esse quem viderat, custodibus ecclesiæ de asportando fœtenti cadavere innotuit quæ audierat. At illi parvipendentes dicta adolescentis, monita et minas beati pontificis æque spreverunt; unde post hæc a quibusdam religiosis ipsius ecclesiæ monachis ipse pater nonnunquam loco decedere visus est. A quibus cum detinere-

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[1] *quia adero*] om. Q.
[2] *itaque*] om. Q.
[3] *cadaver*] om. Q.
[4] *quid audierit*] quod audierat, Q.
[5] *illorum transeuntes*] transituros, Q.
[6] *excitavit*] excitabat, Q.
[7] *discedere*] decedere, Q.

Osbern, p. 141.

tur et quamobrem discederet[1] interrogaretur, se fœtorem paganæ carnis et quorundam nequam hominum iniquitates illo in loco diutius tolerare non posse respondebat; "sed hæc," inquit, "si citius emendata non fuerint, "prædico contestans quod tota civitas et ecclesia meritas "exinde[2] pœnas in proximo solvet." Quæ verba rei veritas subsecuta declaravit esse vera. Nam non multis post hæc diebus elapsis, civitas et tota ecclesia cum officinis servorum Dei igne consumpta est. In qua tamen conflagratione magna misericordia et intercessione pii Dunstani actum est, ut duæ domus, sine quibus fratres esse non poterant, illæsæ ab incendio remanerent; refectorium, videlicet,[3] et dormitorium cum claustris quæ appendebant. Dehinc ædificata est domus non adeo grandis super locum quietis beati viri, et in ea circa sacrum corpus ejus missæ cum reliquo servitio Dei quotidie fiebant. Ipse vero pater suæ pietatis non immemor, eis qui sua ope subventum iri postulabant clemens aderat, et quam petebant opem largiter tribuebat.

Dunstan appears and foretells the destruction of the church.

Osbern, p. 142.

The church is burned, and only the refectory, dormitory, and cloisters remain.

13. Nam quidam sibi ipsi[4] a renibus et deorsum pene inutilis duobus baculis pro pedibus utebatur.[5] Hic ad[6] tumbam viri Dei sexta feria ante diem Paschæ perveniens, humi prostratus sanctum sibi misereri intenta mente lacrymosa voce poposcit. Quid moror? subsequenti nocte Dominicæ resurrectionis, dum sub specie trium mulierum in sepulcro quæreretur corpus Domini Salvatoris, idem claudus personantibus nervis suis extendit se, et erectus in pedibus constitit sanus et rectus. Metus ac veneratio invasit nos hoc videntes,[7] ac ut dignum fuit pro tali facto dignas Deo persolvimus[8] laudes.

A cripple is healed on Good Friday.

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[1] *discederet*] decederet, Q.
[2] *exinde*] inde, Q.
[3] *videlicet*] om. Q.
[4] *ipsi*] ipse, Q.
[5] *utebatur*] uteretur, Q.
[6] *ad*] om. Q.
[7] *Metus . . videntes*] om. Q.
[8] *persolvimus*] persolvit, Q., as a correction for persolvimus.

Lanfranc becomes archbishop, and arrives at Canterbury on the 15th of August;

14. Inter hujusmodi veneranda venerandi pontificis facta, Lanfrancus Cadomensis cœnobii abbas, vir præstanti sapientia pollens, Cantuariensem pontificatum regendum suscepit. Qui more electi antistitis Cantuariam xviii^mo^ kalendas Septembres veniens, susceptus est a clero et populo sicut patrem tantæ sedis et virum ingentis famæ suscipi æquum erat.[1] Hic adepta pontificali benedictione, quam quarto kalendas Septembres Cantuariæ suscepit, ecclesiam Salvatoris, quam cum præfatum incendium tum vetustas inutilem fecerat, funditus destruere et[2] augustiorem construere cupiens, jussit corpora sanctorum, quæ in orientali parte ipsius ecclesiæ humata erant, in occidentalem partem, ubi memoria beatæ Dei genitricis et perpetuæ Virginis[3] Mariæ celebris habebatur, demutari. Quamobrem celebrato triduano jejunio, sub innumera hominum multitudine levata sunt corpora pretiosissimorum pontificum Christi Dunstani atque Ælfegi; jam transferebantur ad destinatum locum sepulturæ, et omnium ora personabant in Domini laude.[4] Osbern, p. 142.

He is consecrated on the 29th of August 1070.

He prepares to translate the saints and begin a new church.

On the day of translation two knights who had killed a nephew of the abbot of S. Augustine's lay hold on the coffin and ask for pardon, which the abbot refuses.

Interea duo milites archiepiscopi, rupta constipatione consertæ multitudinis, coram feretro beati Dunstani, terræ procumbunt, misericordiam et indulgentiam per merita ejus sibi ab abbate Sancti Augustini, Scotlando[5] nomine, de morte nepotis ejus, quem nuper occiderant, dari postulantes. Denegat abbas, denegant[6] quoque fratres defuncti qui astabant; jungunt alii preces suas precibus militum, sed in vanum. Neque enim illos aut reverentia sancti aut supplicans multitudo ad miserendum flectere potuit. At pius Dunstanus non sic[7] auditu difficilis, surdam ab infantia[8] mulierem ipsa hora se requirentem[9] exaudivit, et ei coram omnibus auditum Osbern, p. 143.

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[1] *erat*] est, Q.
[2] *et*] in, ins. Q.
[3] *et . . Virginis*] om. Q.
[4] *laude*] laudem, Q.
[5] *Scotlando*] Scollando, Q.
[6] *denegant*] denegabant, Q.
[7] *Dunstanus non sic*] non adeo, Q.
[8] *infantia*] puellam, ins. Q.
[9] *requirentem*] quærentem, Q.

Osbern, p. 143.

integerrimum reddidit. Itaque sacratissima corpora decentissime tumulata sunt, et dies totus festivus, ac excepta obstinatione abbatis, gaudio plenus effulsit. Sed gaudium quod ipsa dies diminutum habuit, crastina duplicatum obtinuit, siquidem abbas idem, in sua pertinacia rigidus, nocte sequenti cum suis nepotibus coram se quendam reverendi habitus sacerdotem irato vultu stare conspexit, et quibusdam teterrimis hominibus, in medio cameræ in qua jacebant,[1] miræ magnitudinis cacabum supposito igne succendentibus, præcipere audivit, quatenus illos simul ligatos in candentem cacabum sine miseratione comburendos præcipitarent; percunctantibus quare tam crudeli pœnæ subjici deberent, respondetur, "propterea quod vos, furoris igne succensi, "mortem vestri germani noluistis perdonare[2] propter "amorem et reverentiam domini Dunstani." His dictis rapiuntur ad ignem. At illi nimia anxietate constricti miserandas voces emittunt, et se quam citius possent ad requiem sancti venturos eumque super illata injuria digna satisfactione honoraturos devovent; solummodo eos ab imminenti miseria sua gratia[3] liberet. Ad hæc tetri ministri nutu sacerdotis exterriti[4] cum suis ignibus disparuerunt. Nec dum splendor solis abegerat tenebras noctis, cum ecce abbas stipatus suis sepulcro patris assistens, monachos ecclesiæ citato accurrere sibique succurrere flebilis orat. Accurrunt illi, et audita serie rei dignis laudibus extollunt Deum in meritis gloriosi famuli Sui. Indulgetur ergo reis militibus mors defuncti, et redeunt in sua lætantes, prius tamen homines pii patris Dunstani effecti.

The abbot has an alarming vision the following night.

Early in the morning he comes to the monastery and pardons the knights.

15. Alio tempore idem abbas in vigilia festivitatis ejusdem nobilissimi patris forte in viridario suo vespertina hora sedebat. Dum itaque cum considentibus confabularetur, in ecclesia Domini Salvatoris, in qua quiescit

The same abbot has a vision in his garden.

[1] *jacebant*] jacebat, Q.
[2] *perdonare*] remittere, Q.
[3] *sua gratia*] om. Q.
[4] *exterriti*] deterriti, Q.

He sees Dunstan coming in glory to his church, on the eve of his festival.

venerabile corpus ipsius beati sacerdotis, ad nocturnas vigilias omnes campanæ pro usu loci simul pulsari cœpere. Tunc abbas, erectis ad [1] cœlum oculis, vidit ingentem splendorem inde super ecclesiam ipsam descendere, eamque de superioribus penetrare; quo viso et suis qui hoc videre merebantur secum ostenso, pio affectu suspirans ait, "Vere pius pater Dunstanus jam ad suam "festivitatem vadit, interesse volens obsequio quod sui "filii hac in [2] nocte Deo et sibi exhibituri sunt." Quod ita sicut dixerat actum est; experti sunt fratres qui ipsi festo meruerunt interesse. Nam ex dulci sanctoque affectu quo in Deum et famulum Ejus jocundati sunt, sanctam præsentiam ejus sibi adesse persenserunt.

Story of Egelward.

16. Quid vero circa juvenem quendam, Ægelwordum [3] nomine, in ipso monasterio gestum sit,[4] istis annectere cordi fuit. Juvenis idem ejusdem monasterii monachus erat,[5] et una dierum vocatus ad missam Lanfranci archiepiscopi evangelium legerat. Hic cum dicta oratione Dominica patenam pontifici ex more offerret, vidit coram se quosdam teterrimos et horridos malignorum spirituum vultus; ad quorum aspectum nimio pavore perterritus, antistitem inter manus sacra tenentem utrisque brachiis strictim amplectitur, horrido clamore vociferans ac dicens, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, "Christus imperat." Conterriti sunt omnes qui aderant, et arreptum juvenem milites de ecclesia in pontificis cameram rapiunt; post quæ fratribus in capitulo adunatis Lanfrancus pater ingreditur, et juvenis jam dæmone plenus a plurimis fortissimis viris constrictus ducitur in medium; prout petebat negotii tenor, sermo de illo conseritur, et fit oratio communis pro eo. Mox sano sensui, ut dabatur intelligi, redditus, ac demum pro agendis gratiis sepulcro patris Dunstani ab archiepiscopo et conventu præsentatus, tota die illa

Osbern, pp. 144, 145.

He sees evil spirits whilst he is serving at mass.

He is possessed, but, after having been prayed for, seems to recover

[1] *ad*] in, Q.
[2] *in*] om. Q.
[3] *Ægelwordum*] Agelwordum, Q.
[4] *sit*] om. Q.
[5] *erat*] fuit, Q.

Osbern, p. 147.

inter fratres mansit quasi nihil vesaniæ passus. Lætantur fratres in hoc, et lætitia futuri mœroris prænuncia modum excessit. Jam dies in vesperam declinaverat et horam completorii monachi in choro psallebant. Tunc ille subito, suæ stationis loco relicto, ad priorem ecclesiæ, Henricum nomine, cucurrit, et impetu facto manus illi injicere voluit. At ipse, porrectis contra brachiis, patientis manus arripuit, strinxit, ac in dormitorium ducto, noctem illam ante lectum ejus residens insomnem super eum sollicitus duxit. Tunc subito circa mediæ noctis silentia rupit silentium fratrum ac in immoderâtos clamores irrumpens confusis vocibus omnia inquietabat. Turbati fratres, nec tam grave malum diu fere valentes, lectis exsiliunt, furiosum arripiunt et ad tumbam confessoris Christi Dunstani omni modo reluctantem coactis viribus pertrahunt. Furit ibi sicut primo, et in Christum ac in famulum Ejus horrendas blasphemias jactitat, nec ab eis destitit donec sequens dies illuxit. Nil ergo remedii consecutus,[1] mane fertur in domum infirmorum, ubi per multos dies loris astrictus et funibus miserabili cruciatu torquebatur; inter quæ contingebat quoddam mirabili modo; ut cum quidam ad eum accederent, ilico, si quid gravis peccati de quo necdum confessi erânt in cordis secreto habebant, detegeret, et illos sibi in pœnis perpetuis socios fore futuros gaudens et hilaris pronunciaret. Ex hoc dum nonnulli gravem contumeliam incurrissent, ipsi apud[2] semetipsos gravíter erubescentes remedium sibi puræ confessionis adhibuere. Confessi ergo et pœnitentia cum absolutione peccatorum a præsidente suscepta, iterum se præsentaverunt dæmonioso, quos ille ex[3] transverso intuens, nec eos sicut primo cognoverat recognoscens, qui fuerint, unde venerint, quo lavacro loti tam subitam purgationem meruerint, quidve

In the evening he has a relapse and seizes the prior, who takes him into the dormitory and sits by him.

In the night he makes a great disturbance, raging and blaspheming at Dunstan's tomb.

He is lodged in the infirmary.

He has great power against those who have neglected confession.

They confess and he scarcely recognises them.

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[1] *consecutus*] est, ins. Q.
[2] *apud*] om. P.
[3] *ex*] de, Q.

It is true that there were grievous faults among the monks at the time.

rei contigerit quod suam societatem tam cito alterati amiserint, furibundus, spumans et ejulans mirabatur. Et hæc quidem, ut reipsa clarum fuit, Christus provida Suæ miserationis dispensatione faciebat, propter[1] monachos ipsius ecclesiæ, in istis videlicet eos ad correctiorem vitam erudiens. Quos a tempore Danorum qui beatum Ælfegum occiderunt, cessante disciplina, in sæculari videbat conversatione ultra quam debebant jacere. Inter hæc proficiente novo opere cœptæ ecclesiæ, res exegit residuum vetusti operis, ubi memorata sanctorum corpora erant locata, subverti; parato igitur refectorio fratrum ad divinum officium inibi celebrandum, omnes cum festiva processione illuc a veteri ecclesia perreximus, præferentes cum honore et reverentia gloriosos ac dulcissimos patres nostros Dunstanum atque Ælfegum. Et ecce dæmoniosus ille, toto corpore fortissimis funibus[2] lecto strictim colligatus, a multis delatus est, et e regione ostii per quod sancti inferri debebant, cum[3] lecto depositus; quos ipse[4] eminus intuens horrido clamore infremuit, et quod dictu fortassis alicui incredibile videbitur, cum lecto exsiliens erexit se, fugere volens præsentiam sanctorum quos horrebat. Sed illatis sanctis intra domum allatus est et ipse ac positus in medio eorum. Erat itaque infelicem miseriam videre; jacebat captivus in lecto supinus, undique constrictus nec in se sui juris quicquam habens. Cernebatur dæmon qui eum possidebat in ventre ejus hac et illac discurrendo vagari, ut putares illum modo per os, modo per inferiores corporis partes fugam parare. Quibusdam vero qui circumstabant manus ad discursum inimici protendentibus, et quod in modum parvuli cati discurreret Francigena lingua dicentibus, ille contra qui linguæ ipsius omnimodis inscius erat, subridens, eadem lingua similiter

Osbern, pp. 148, 149.

The relics of the saints are removed.

The demoniac is carried, tied to his bed, and starts up, carrying his bed, at the sight of the relics.

The evil spirit moves about in him.

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[1] *propter*] om. Q.
[2] *fortissimis funibus*] om. Q.
[3] *cum*] om. Q.
[4] *ipse*] om. Q.

Osbern, pp. 149, 150.

verbo diminutivo consonanter respondebat dicens, "Non "ut catulus, sed ut catellus." Interim hora refectionis advenit; manducante ergo conventu, remansit unus ex senioribus Ælfwinus nomine cum patiente domum observans. Hic ab infantia sua beato Dunstano dulci quadam et officiosa dilectione semper solebat adhærere, ac pro posse suo in ejus obsequio assiduus existere. Qui miseratus jacentis infelicitatem, et non parum confisus de beati Dunstani pietate, constantior,[1] crucem quam ipse pater in corpore degens coram se more summi pontificis ferri faciebat, accepit, eamque super dæmoniacum posuit devota mente, lacrymosa voce clamans et dicens; "Care domine, Sancte Dunstane, "miserere." Mirabile dictu, ilico fugato dæmone, æger elevatis pie sursum oculis et perfusus lacrymis ait, "Gratias tibi ago, piissime pater, gratias et tibi caris- "sime frater, quia tuis meritis, sancte domine, et tua "frater caritativa intercessione, hostis qui me vexabat "discessit[2] perterritus, diutius manere non potuit." Quod monachus audiens gaudio gavisus est magno, et persolutis debitis gratiis pio Dunstano, vincula quibus erat irretitus absolvit. Cum itaque fratres post refectionem illo[3] intrassent, et quem furiosum reliquerant leni sopore quiescentem repperissent, obstupefacti, immensas Deo et Ejus Dunstano gratias intimo corde persolverunt. Mansit ergo post hæc inter fratres per multos annos ab illa infirmitate sanus et incolumis; expletoque cursu vitæ præsentis sancto fine quievit.

He is left under the guard of a single monk,

who lays Dunstan's staff on him, and he is forthwith healed.

He had no relapse.

Quantum autem percussio istius valuerit ad correctionem eorum qui in ipso monasterio monachi erant, facile est videre omnibus qui unde ad quid ordo monasticus ab eo tempore illic profecerit sciunt. Sciunt quippe quia qui prius in omni gloria mundi, auro videlicet, argento, variis vestibus ac decoris cum

Good effects of this miraculous event.

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[1] *constantior*] constanter, Q.
[2] *discessit*] decessit, Q.
[3] *illo*] om. Q.

The monks had lived in too much splendour.

pretiosis lectisterniis, ut diversa musici generis instrumenta, quibus sæpe oblectabantur, et equos, canes et accipitres, cum quibus nonnunquam spatiatum ibant, taceam, more comitum potius quam monachorum vitam agebant. Hoc flagello, misericordia Christi cooperante et sagacitate boni patris Lanfranci archiepiscopi, ad id provecti sunt, ut omnibus illis abrenunciarent, et in veram monachorum religionem transeuntes cuncta quasi stercora reputarent; et nos quidem, qui qualiter ea tempestate res agebantur[1] novimus indubitanter, fatemur quia nequaquam processisset tam subita et salubris rerum mutatio, si præ oculis non fuisset ostensa illa crudelis et quæ cunctos terruerit[2] sæva examinatio.

A great reformation follows.

Bishop Odo prepares to attack the rights of Canterbury in a great court of the shires.

17. Circa hæc ferme tempora comes Cantiæ, qui et episcopus Bajocensis, Odo nomine, promisit fratri suo regi Willelmo copiosam pecuniam, eo pacto ut sibi liceret movere quasdam calumnias super terras et consuetudines ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, et inde adversus Lanfrancum archiepiscopum[3] pro more ac legibus terræ placita inire. Cui cum rex acquievisset, ille de cunctis comitatibus totius Angliæ prudentiores et juxta usus ac leges regni doctiores viros Cantuariam statuto die fecit venire, præcipiens eis ut, nihil hæsitantes, se tutore, armarentur ad impugnandum libertatem nominatæ ecclesiæ. Jam nox prævia statuti placiti instabat, et Lanfrancus quid regno super se ruenti responderet sollicitus cogitabat. Sciens itaque ad tantum negotium omnino necessarium fore divinum præsidium, ad hoc obtinendum beatum Dunstanum sibi ascivit advocatum. Fusis igitur precibus apud[4] sanctissimum corpus ejus disposuit sua membra quieti. Adest ergo ei in visu quem interpellaverat pater Dunstanus, angelico

Osbern, pp. 143, 144.

Lanfranc seeks aid and counsel from Dunstan.

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[1] *agebantur*] agebatur, Q.
[2] *terruerit*] exterruerit, Q.
[3] *archiepiscopum*] om. Q.
[4] *apud*] ad, Q.

Osbern, p. 144.

vultu conspicuus, stola sui patriarchatus insignitus, dicens illi, "Lanfrance, ne turbetur spiritus tuus in te "propter multitudinem hanc quæ coacta est contra "me et te. Quin securus placitum ingredere, et, me "tibi per singula affuturo, meas et ecclesiæ Domini[1] "nostri causas age; quod si eos qui obstiterint non "deviceris, me qui tecum loquor, Dunstanum, nec vi- "vere, nec meorum negotia curare, nec vera tibi dixisse "certissime noveris." Expergefactus a somno Lanfrancus confortatus est animo, et Deo ac beato Dunstano pro sua visitatione gratias agens, promissam victoriam bono potiri effectu[2] iteratis precibus obsecrabat. Adunata Anglia aulam et curiam pontificis implet, et querelæ hinc inde consertæ undique volant. Procedit in medium pater Lanfrancus, et superno vallatus auxilio, omnia quæ objiciebantur, stupentibus cunctis, annihilavit. Sicque juxta sponsionem veridici vatis nobili victoria functus est, quæ juris ecclesiæ erant inconvulsa servavit, quæ sub dubietate aliqua[3] fluctuabant irrefragabili veritatis ratione et antiquorum exemplorum auctoritate imposterum confirmavit.

Dunstan appears and promises help and victory.

Lanfranc wins his cause.

Osbern, p. 151.

18. Post hæc idem antistes, gravissima corporis infirmitate perculsus, desperatus est. Mittens itaque[4] præcepit majores fratrum personas[5] ad se venire, nolens in absentia eorum quos paterno affectu diligebat, et in quibus magnam suæ liberationis fiduciam posuerat, vitam finire. Decumbebat autem in villa sua quæ Ealdintune[6] appellatur, et nihil de eo nisi ultimam horam confluens multitudo præstolabatur. Verum cum a suis, videlicet monachis, clericis et aliis hominibus, hora qua decederet noctu observaretur, leni sopore circa ortum auroræ fessus opprimitur. Intuetur itaque et ecce viri[7] candidissimo amictu fulgentes coram se bini et bini in

Illness of Lanfranc at Aldington.

His vision of the white horsemen.

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[1] *Domini*] Dei, ins. Q.
[2] *effectu*] affectu, Q.
[3] *aliqua*] quadam, Q.
[4] *itaque*] igitur, Q.
[5] *personas*] om. Q.
[6] *Ealdintune*] Eldintune, Q.
[7] *viri*] om. Q.

Vision of the procession of Dunstan.

albis equis longa serie iter agebant, lætitiam animi jocundis vultibus cum modesta alacritate alterutrum demonstrantes: par et uniformis erat cunctis amictus, par species et æqua magnitudo omnibus equis, ætate sola discrepabant, et post pueros adolescentes, post adolescentes[1] juvenes, post juvenes senes equitabant. Erat ergo processionem pulchram videre. Percunctanti vero[2] Lanfranco cujusnam talis ac tanta profectio[3] esset, responsum est illius magni ac præclari patris Dunstani. Ait, "Et ille, quæso, ubi est?" Respondetur "Non longe "hinc." Transibant igitur, ut dixi, duo et duo, et tandem ipse qui maxime et solus exspectabatur, inter senes reverenda[4] canitie niveos sublimior cæteris, advehebatur. Quem Lanfrancus ut vidit protenus agnovit, et appropinquans eum per pedem strictissime tenuit; cumque caput ad pedem quem tenebat deosculandum demitteret, apprehensum crus suum ambabus manibus, pater sanctus reniti cœpit ne hoc faceret. In qua lucta Lanfrancus evigilans penitus se sensit convaluisse. Ilico surgens[5] et Salvatori suo gratias agens, eos quos circa se dolentes et gemebundos conspexit blande consolatus est, se integerrimæ sanitati restitutum contestans. Ex quo cum illos stupere nec verbis suis fidem præbere adverteret, retulit quid viderit et qualiter sanatus sit. Deinde subjunxit, "Surgite, præparate vos, quia volo "missam celebrare et Deo ac piissimo amico Suo pro "adepta sanitate debitas laudes exsolvere; vos autem[6] "filii et fratres carissimi, qui de Cantuaria huc venistis, cum benedictione Dei et mea redite, et cæteris "fratribus quæ Deus per merita communis patris nostri, eorum intercessione permotus, circa me peregerit "edicite, ac in commune debitas, ut nostis, grates in "voce laudis exsolvite." Fecerunt sicut præcepit, et

Osbern, pp. 151, 152.

Lanfranc tries to seize him, and on waking finds himself quite well.

He orders thanks to be offered for his recovery.

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[1] *post adolescentes*] om. Q.
[2] *vero*] om. Q.
[3] *profectio*] processio, Q.
[4] *reverenda*] veneranda, Q.
[5] *surgens*] exsurgens, Q.
[6] *autem*] om. Q.

gaudiis ac laudibus repleti sunt ad quos facti hujus fama pervenit. Rejoicings.

Osbern, p. 153. 19. Eadem hora atque momento quo venerabilis [1] pater Lanfrancus sanatus est, quidam de clericis ejus quem ægrotantem paries unus a Lanfranco dirimebat, a quartanis febribus, quibus per octo menses irremediabiliter vexabatur, liberatus est. Nam Lanfranco in conatu osculandi pedem sancti antistitis, sicut retulimus, elaborante, vidit in somnis se, ut referebat, lecta epistola ad missam ejus, pro [2] benedictione pedes illius ex more deosculantem; sancto autem benedictionem super eo [3] edente, sensit se omni [4] pristinæ infirmitatis molestia caruisse. Visa itaque sospitate utriusque compertum est beatum Dunstanum una et eadem hora per diversas visiones suam utrisque gratiam præstitisse. A clerk of Lanfranc, lying sick in the next chamber, has a vision at the same moment and recovers.

Osbern, p. 155. 20. Inter hæc jam monachica religione in ecclesia Salvatoris Christi [5] quoque fundata, circumquaque cœperunt boni clerici illuc ad conversionem venire et monachi fieri. Quos inter Edwardus quidam nomine, vir in scientia litterarum strenuus et Lundoniæ civitatis archidiaconus, veniens honorifice susceptus ad ordinem est. Qui novo conversionis suæ tempore religiosæ vitæ in suis moribus indicia præferens, post annum quo monachus factus est secretarii officio functus est; in quo officio constitutus, dum aliquantum majori libertate cæteris potiretur, cœpit a religione paulatim tepescere, et in quibusdam negligentius agere. Cum igitur ab hiis qui eo scientia et ordine videbantur inferiores modo privatim modo publice corriperetur, moleste ferebat, et quam prius amaverat religionem fastidiebat. Quid plura? Proponit animo de monasterio fugere: quæ itaque fugitivis necessaria videbantur [6] sibi et Edward, who had been archdeacon of London, becomes a monk, and secretary at Canterbury. He grows tired of his monastic life.

[1] *venerabilis*] om. Q.
[2] *pro*] om. Q.
[3] *eo*] eum, Q.
[4] *omni*] omnino, Q.
[5] *Christi*] om. Q.
[6] *videbantur*] sunt, Q., Mab.

He prepares to leave the monastery, cuidam juveni quem fugæ suæ socium asciverat, de rebus ecclesiæ parat. Jam noctem fugæ destinatam dies præibat, et fratres meridiana hora in lectis pausabant, ille vero in oratorio, quasi pro suo officio vigilans, de hoc quod se facturum cogitarat animo fluctuabat. Statuit tamen penes se præter licentiam patris Dunstani se discessurum minime fore. Itaque ad tumbam ejus sese confert, et stratus pavimento querula voce illos et illos injuriarum sibi illatarum accusat, utque sua benedictione propositum iter ejus comitetur obsecrat, pollicens quocunque pertingeret ipsius sese futurum. Deinde ecclesiam exiturus post chorum venit, ibique monachum quendam reverendi vultus decore conspicuum, vividos oculorum super se radios dirigentem, virga quam manu tenebat se sustentantem, stantem invenit. Quo viso, nec quis esset ullatenus agnito, expavit,[1] eoque relicto quo disposuerat pergere voluit.[2] At ipse opposita virga sciscitatus est "Quo vadis?" Ille sciens moris non esse monachos in oratorio loqui, digitis innuit ei ipsum ibi nequaquam loqui debere; cui monachus, "Si loquor, nihil ad te, sed tu ad ea "quæ interrogo mihi responde, dic quo vadis?" "Dare," ait, "operam iis quæ mea intersunt." Respondit "Nihil "est, redi magis ad sepulcrum ubi modo fuisti, et "mutata voluntate tua intentius ora." Stupefactus ille reversus est ad tumbam sancti viri, modum primæ orationis oratione secunda non mutans. Inde rediens et monachum ubi primo habuit obvium habens, secundo quo tenderet ab eo requisitus est. Ille animosior factus, quid hoc ad eum paululum dure interrogavit. "Multum," inquit, "ad me, quod et tu, si te "non correxeris, in proximo experiere, sed nunc vel "secundo admonitus redi, muta mentem, muta precem." Cumque potius transire quam redire conaretur, is qui monachus videbatur virgam contra vibrando erexit,

and asks Dunstan's leave.

As he leaves the church he is met by a monk, who asks where he is going, and bids him change his mind.

This occurs twice.

Osbern, p. 156.

[1] *expavit*] om. Q. | [2] *voluit*] cœpit, Q.

Osbern, p. 156.

atque ad requiem sancti[1] reverti coegit. Grandi ergo pavore percussus, incumbit precibus quibus jam incubuerat duabus vicibus. Posthæc ad locum rediens sed virum minime reperiens, jam se bene fecisse ratus est, et ad ostium quo claustrum intratur properavit. Ubi virum turbato vultu contra se stantem, et quo iret solito[2] interrogantem offendens, turbato et ipse spiritu, quis ille vel cujus potestatis esset, qui eum tanta auctoritate constringeret inquisivit. Ait "Quæris quis? audi. Ego! "Ego nimirum sum Dunstanus, provisor et proprius "archiepiscopus loci istius, amator atque adjutor om- "nium illorum qui vere[3] filii sunt ecclesiæ istius. "Sed tu voluntate perversa vis contra morem filiorum "bonorum deserere ecclesiam matrem tuam; vis deserere "Deum Patrem tuum; et ad id peragendum petis suf- "fragium meum. Stulta cogitasti dum in his me tibi "suffragaturum existimasti. Nec enim[4] tali via per- "veni[5] ad Deum. At semel monui et secundo qua- "tenus te corrigeres, et noluisti. Nunc igitur scias, "quia mea[6] licentia hinc nunquam exibis; sed velis "nolis hic remanebis; hic morieris. Propterea tamen "quod me monentem exaudire contempsisti, in pœna "tua ecce probabis quod non bene fecisti." Quibus dictis virgam levavit, et eum tertio acriter percussum in terram prostravit, et disparuit. Remansit igitur frater graviter debilitatus, et demum a fratribus in domum est infirmorum delatus. Facta sunt hæc inter duas festivitates Assumptionis et Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ. Fuit ergo in infirmitate quotidie proficiens, et semper sequenti die præcedente deterius habens. Quæ infirmitas talis erat ut qualitas ejus dinosci a nemine posset; nec ipse ulli volebat exponere unde processisset. Tandem languor vitalia subit, et morti propinquus inunctionem et communionem Corporis Christi suscepit.

On his third attempt he finds the monk at the door of the cloister.

The monk declares that he is Dunstan, and threatens him with death.

He then strikes him and disappears.

Edward falls sick unto death.

[1] *sancti*] illum, ins. Q., Mab.
[2] *solito*] more, ins. Q.
[3] *vere*] veri, Q.
[4] *enim*] om. Q.
[5] *perveni*] pervenitur, Q.
[6] *mea*] om. Q.

On S. Martin's day he begins to recover his senses.

Illuxit dies festivitatis [1] Sancti Martini, et ille juxta quod putabatur in suprema hora constitutus ad terram super cilicium positus est. Accurrentes fratres septem psalmos pœnitentiales et letanias pro obitu ejus ex more decantabant. Igitur in letaniis cum dicerent "Sancte "Dunstane, intercede pro anima ejus," et id ipsum, pro spe subventionis quam in ipso dulcius habent, iterarent, cœpit æger pene defunctus respirare, et in circumstantes pio intuitu oculos dirigere. Incurvavimus nos qui propinquiores stabamus ad illum, nosse quod vellet; at ille, "Ponite me, quæso," inquit, "super lectum nos- "trum, quia modo mori non possum." Quod et factum est. Deinde accersito Henrico priore, cujus supra me- Osbern, p. 156.

He confesses to the prior Henry.

minimus, ei rem totam sicut eam [2] retulimus ex ordine pandit, ac pro mala voluntate quam habuerat discedendi [3] a monasterio pœnitentiam egit, absolutionem ac veniam petiit. Asseruit quoque se nullatenus mori posse donec et rem eatenus cunctis incognitam denudasset, et remedio pœnitentiæ cum absolutione reatus sui potitus fuisset. Quod prior audiens admiratus misericordiam Dei est, et, pœnitentia morienti injuncta, de peccato quod fuerat confessus eum absolvit. Tunc ille mente exhilaratus, et, quod nihil peccati unde confessionem pœnitentiamque non fecerit in se cognosceret, Deo gratias agens, quatinus sibi jam de corpore liceret egredi postulavit. Ad quod prior ait, "Proficiscere "cum benedictione Dei Omnipotentis. Comitetur iter "tuum beatus et pius pater Dunstanus, et suscipiat "te in regnum Suum Filius Dei Dominus noster Jesus "Christus." In his verbis antequam lecto deponi posset, emisit spiritum. Cum igitur in conventu fratrum ecclesiæ ipse prior hæc omnia seriatim [4] enarrasset,

He prays for death, and dies.

Confession of his companion.

juvenis quem fugæ, ut diximus, socium sibi Edwardus [5] delegerat, surrexit, et humi stratus lacrymisque perfusus

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[1] *festivitatis*] om. Q.
[2] *eam*] om. Q.
[3] *discedendi*] decedendi, Q.
[4] *seriatim*] om. Q.
[5] *Edwardus*] prædictus frater, Q

se in fuga quidem homini consensisse, sed quod tali modo a patre Dunstano retentus fuerit illuc usque nescisse confessus est. He was ignorant of the vision.

See Osbern, p. 160.

21. Alius quidam ipsius ecclesiæ monachus, nomine Ægelwinus, cupiens ire Jerusalem, accepta licentia ab archiepiscopo et fratribus profectus est, commendans se et pollicens beato Dunstano quia, si iter suum prosperaret, pallium unum quam melius posset rediens deferret. Hoc siquidem quod nunc scribo factum fuit eo tempore quo monachi Cantuarienses, ut habita superius mentio est, magis more comitum quam pauperum et proprii nihil habentium monachorum vitam agebant. Profectus ergo frater, ut dixi, prosperrimo[1] itinere pervenit ad sepulcrum Domini, et inde rediens per Constantinopolim, emit ibi quod beato Dunstano deferret pallium unum pretiosum valde et pulchrum. Qui ubi, pertransita Apulia et Roma, venit in Longobardiam, obviavit expeditioni imperatoris. Quem plures honorati de exercitu viri cum honore et sæculi pompa proficisci conspicientes, et magnum aliquem esse conjectantes, humiliter salutatum benedicere sibi postulavere. Verum cum inter ultimos et ignavos multitudinis homines devenisset, ipsi considerantes mulam ejus diversis sarcinis digniter oneratam, rati sunt eam magna et multa pretiosa portare. Monachum igitur cum sociis viæ dimittentes, mulam invadunt, rapiunt, abducunt At ille, utpote in patria aliena, metuens ne plura perderet si eos insequens sua repeteret, substitit, et intuens bestiam cum suis rebus longius abductam vehementer indoluit. Occurrit interim animo quid de ecclesia sua exiens promiserit beato Dunstano. Descenso itaque animali quo sedebat,[2] terræ procumbit; Dunstanum, ne pallium suum quod asportabatur perderet, precatur et obsecrat. Mirabile dictu, necdum precem finierat, et ecce mula inter manus ab-

A monk named Egelwin goes to Jerusalem, having promised to bring Dunstan a pall.

On his return, in Lombardy he falls in with the army of the emperor.

The camp-followers seize his mule.

He prays to Dunstan for aid.

[1] *prosperrimo*] prospero, Q. | [2] *quo sedebat*] cui insidebat, Q., Mab.

The mule goes mad and shakes off the robbers.

ducentium se cœpit quasi insanire, ore et pedibus in eos qui sese tenebant mordendo et feriendo desævire. Cumque illi eam[1] exonerare et sic a se dimittere voluissent, illa, rejectis pedibus hunc et illum graviter lædens, quæ credita susceperat integra conservabat.

The monk recovers the mule and his baggage.

Tandem de manibus illorum rupto fræno elapsa rapidissimo cursu post dominum suum cucurrit, semper subsiliens et se ab insectantibus fortiter defendens. Quod monachus eminus intuens exhilaratus est, receptoque animali cum omnibus rebus suis patriam lætus revisit, ac patri Dunstano pallium quod promiserat obtulit.

The writer will tell two stories more.

22. Quid faciam? si cuncta quæ de isto gloriosissimo patre hoc tempore mira narrantur describere velim, prius mihi tempus quam materia scribendi deficiet.[2] Omissis igitur multis in quorum silentio scio me nonnullos offensurum, duo tantum quæ nuper acciderunt et celebri fama feruntur, brevi referam: sicque cœpto operi finem imponam. Illud tamen quod homunculo cuidam Lamberto nomine, qui in camera venerabilis Anselmi successoris gloriosi Lanfranci archiepiscopi ministrare solebat, oculos quos ferme[3] amiserat reddidit,[4] et item quod uni clerico, capellano ejusdem Anselmi, nomine et natione Normanno, equum, quem pestis quam camoriam vocant ad mortem fere[5] afflixerat, incolumem restituit; et plura hujusmodi in numero miraculorum tanti patris hac vice computare minimum judicavi. Unum igitur de duobus quæ spopondi me relaturum hoc est.

He omits miracles of recovery of sight by a man, and the healing of a sick horse.

Dunstan's chasuble was kept at Westminster.

23. Planeta qua ipse pater Dunstanus inter missas frequenter usus fuerat in abbatia beati Petri, quæ in occidentali parte Lundoniæ sita est, absque ullo auri apparatu existens habebatur. Matrona vero quædam Lundoniensis gravi infirmitate diutissime tenta, sanitatem se amplius recuperaturam nulla ratione credebat. Huic sicut putabatur jam et extemplo morituræ, per

[1] *eam*] om. Q.
[2] *deficiet*] deficiat, Q.
[3] *ferme*] fere, Q.
[4] *reddidit*] reddit, Q.
[5] *fere*] pene, Q.

visum vir Dei Dunstanus apparuit, sciscitans utrum ab illa infirmitate[1] convalescere vellet: qua et "maxime" quidem respondente, inquit, "Tolle aurifrigium quod in "arca tua reconditum habes, et pone illud in casula "mea quæ habetur apud Westmonasterium, et conva- "lesces." At illa mox facto mane misit et casulam deferri fecit, quam deosculans et aurifrigio sicut erat admonita perornans, ilico integerrime convaluit, et deinde pluribus annis incolumis vixit. In quo illud quoque admirationi nonnullis fuit, quod illud aurifrigium planetæ appositum nec majus nec minus inventum est quam vestis ipsius mensura petebat.

He appears to a sick woman and tells her to put an orfrey to it.

She obeys and recovers.

24. Aliud sponsionis meæ miraculum in Glawornæ civitatis provincia ab eodem sancto nuperrime factum accepimus.[2] Instabat beata solennitas ipsius beati famuli Dei quæ pro depositione ejus colitur, xiiii°.[3] kalendas Junii. Est autem in præfata provincia villula quædam Saprintune[4] dicta, et in ea ecclesia non adeo magna in honorem beati Dunstani antiquitus consecrata. Dominico igitur die ipsam solennitatem præcedente indixit parochianis suis plebeius presbyter imminens festum celebrare, et ab[5] omni opere manuum sicut in Dominico die vacare. Quod præceptum unus rusticorum nihilipendens, junctis bobus summo mane festivitatis agrum suum colere cœpit. Arguentibus autem[6] illum pro audacia sua notis suis, subsannando respondens ait, "Quid![7] pro Dunstano de Saprintune ego culturam "meam intermitterem? Stulta opinati estis cum hoc "mihi vos persuasuros æstimastis." Adhuc verba sub lingua volvebat, et ecce unus oculus ejus, de capite in terram decidens, dedit ei intelligere quod in laborando terram illa die non bene faciebat; una quoque ex vaccis, quæ juxta aratrum vacua ibat, eodem momento vesania

At Saperton in Gloucestershire was a church dedicated to Dunstan.

The parish priest announced the holyday on S. Dunstan's day.

A certain rustic went to plough notwithstanding, and spoke contemptuously of Dunstan.

He loses an eye.

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[1] *infirmitate*] om. Q.
[2] See above, p. 144, note.
[3] *xiiii°*] quarto, Q.
[4] *Saprintune*] Saprintrun, Q.
[5] *ab*] om. Q.
[6] *autem*] om. Q.
[7] *Quid*] om. Q.

He nearly loses his oxen.

capta super boves efferata est, ita ut eorum nonnullos perderet, si concurrentis multitudinis manibus non statim interfecta fuisset. Sequenti anno ipso die festivitatis ejusdem apud Burgum scindebant simul campum unum aratra septem. Igitur inter arandum unus eorum qui bobus præerat, aratro sedens, sibi ac bobus quietem præstabat. Et ecce cum nil sibi sinistri suspicaretur, de loco suæ quietis, nescit a quo, rapitur, sursum se ipso celsius jacitur, indeque rursum ad terram alliditur. Boves sub ipso aratro juncti, fractis jugis, vesani dissiliunt,[1] silvas et devia petunt; par fuga, dispersio eadem, alios juxta arantes boves involvit. Boum qui dispersi sunt quidam cum difficultate et vix capti, quidam nulla sunt ratione reperti.[2] Hæc duo de bobus arantibus acta ea consideratione sub uno posuimus, quod et similia pro quadam parte existunt, et pro ostendenda reverentia tanti diei, licet evoluto anno una die facta sunt.

The next year when ploughing on the same day a man is lifted up and dashed down on the earth, and loses his oxen.

Other miracles may be added in a later work.

25. Hinc jam, expleto promisso, debitum finem ratio postulat, et nos quidem illum, ecce, hic ponimus, licet de tanto patre jugiter loqui dulce habeamus. Quod tamen ea rationis consideratione nos facere accipiatur, ut nemo nos mendacio arguat, si iis[3] quæ digessimus pater idem suæ miserationis opera in futuro aliqua adjecerit, et ea si vita comes fuerit descripserimus. Scimus etenim quia pro pietatis suæ abundantia nulli eam ex corde quærenti novit non exhibere.

Water in which Dunstan's stick is washed works miracles.

26. De baculo interim illius, quem, sicut longe supra[4] narravimus, dente beati Andreæ apostoli insignivit, hoc paucis dicendum existimavi, quod ex aqua unde idem baculus abluitur multa solent febricitantibus et aliis modis infirmantibus sanitatum beneficia præstari. Ex

[4] Above, p. 190.

[1] *dissiliunt*] desiliunt, Q.

[2] *quidam . . reperti*] written over an erasure in P. Q. reads, "reperti, quidam sunt fluminis profunditate submersi."

[3] *iis*] in his, Q.

[4] *supra*] om. Q.

quibus quamvis plurimos, quos sanatos certissime scio, possim nominatim in medium proferre, ea tamen re illos cum cæteris[1] silentio premo, quoniam res ita evidens est et usitata, ut plus nonnunquam miraculum videatur[2] cum aliquis eadem aqua in potum sumpta ab infirmitate[3] non sanatur quam cum sanatur. Quapropter vas unum in quo de ipsa aqua assidue servatur in ecclesia Salvatoris Cantuariæ habetur, videlicet ne ii qui ea indigent aliqua mora vel incommodo ab adipiscenda sanitate præpediantur. Nam fere quotidie illuc pro ea a pluribus curritur, et certa medicina ægrotantibus[4] inde defertur. Pro his igitur et omnibus beneficiis Tuis sit Tibi, Omnipotens Deus, laus et gratiarum actio, et super populum Tuum, cui tantum patronum dedisti, sit, precamur, Tua semper larga benedictio; Qui unus in Trinitate et Trinus in Unitate vivis, regnas, et gloriaris[5] Deus per infinita sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[6]

The writer will not, however, give names.

A vessel of this water is always kept in the church, and daily works miracles.

Expliciunt quædam de miraculis gloriosi confessoris Christi Dunstani pontificis Cantuariorum.

[1] *cæteris*] om. Q.
[2] *videatur*] habetur, Q.
[3] *ab infirmitate*] om. Q.
[4] *ægrotantibus*] pro ægrotantibus, Q.
[5] *et gloriaris*] om. Q.
[6] *Amen.*]
Hactenus exscripsi tanti miracula patris
Scribar et ipse sui me, precor, esse gregis.
Add. Q.

V.

VITA SANCTI DUNSTANI AUCTORE WILLELMO MONACHO MALMESBERIENSI.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS DE VITA SANCTI DUNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI.[1]

William dedicates his work to the monks of Glastonbury.

Dominis suis venerabilibus et fratribus patribusque in sancta Glastoniensi ecclesia Deo famulari gratulantibus, Guilelmus vester devotione servus, commilitio frater, dilectione filius. In beatissimi patris vestri Dunstani amore et honore celebrando nostra, sanctissimi patres, cum omni Anglia devotio æmulo decertat exemplo. Et nescio an major sit nostra in hoc certamine gloria, cum nos eum diligamus ut alumnum, quem illi suspiciunt ut sanctum et archiepiscopum. Jungimus ergo amorem reverentiæ, in neutro Cantuaritis cedentes, qui se olim eum gloriantur primatem habuisse. Unde factum est, ut, scripta de vita ejus diligentius rimantes, expectationi vestræ non respondere doleamus. Antiquis enim sermonum gratiam, recentibus integritatem fidei deesse deprehendimus. Quare non immerito indulsimus eatenus mœstitiæ, quia et agrestia parum delectant, et pudet recitare quæ solida veritate non constant. Ille profecto abutitur litteris et otio, qui, de operibus sanctorum falsa scribendo, dum negligit famam consciscit infamiam. Quod novo scriptori[2] vitæ beati Dunstani accidisse utinam nescirem.

He finds that the older writers want grace, the newer veracity.

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[1] The text is that of the only known MS., Rawlinson, Miscell. 263 (Q.).

[2] A reference to Osbern.

Plerumque enim aut opinione decipitur, aut favore inflectitur. Sed hoc si pace animæ ipsius dici potest, delictorum singula exempla, licet plura suppetant, subjiciam. Remarks on Osbern's credulity.

Primo cum de miraculo luminis in templo exhibiti sermonem adoriretur, "maternis," inquit, "sinibus sacro "puerperio intumescentibus;"[1] egregie et pulchre dictum si esset catholicum. Non enim recte dicitur sacrum puerperium quod, iniquitati originali obnoxium, nondum est sacro baptismo dilutum. Cujus dicti mei rationem in fine vitæ sancti Deo juvante persolvere meditor. He finds fault with his doctrine.

Secundo cum de indole studiorum puerilium loqueretur, sensum secundi prologi de arithmetica pene totum induxit, loquens de philosophorum scientia de rebus quæ sunt et quæ aliter esse non possunt, ut sunt magnitudines et aliæ earum sibi adhærentes, aliæ separatæ, multitudinesque aliæ per se, aliæ in relatione positæ.[2] Videtis, domini, quantos fumos excitavit, cum potuisset simpliciter dicere puerum arithmeticæ et cognatis artibus invigilasse. He accuses him of foisting in unnecessary matter.

Tertio quod Glastoniam regali fisco addictam,[3] et Dunstanum ibi fuisse primum abbatem dicendo,[4] non mediocriter in historiæ veritate delinquit. Quod quantum a vero exulet testantur abbatum vestrorum nomina, qui annis ccccliii., sicut ex consequentibus liquebit, ante nativitatem Dunstani fuere in Glastonia. Ipsa quippe multo ante beatum Patricium, qui anno Incarnationis Dominicæ CCCC°.LXXII°. decessit, in jus ecclesiasticum transivit, et ipse nongentesimo vicesimo quinto anno ejusdem Incarnationis, qui fuit Ethelstani regis primus, cum esset Glastoniæ abbas Aldhunus, in He blames him for his ignorance of the antiquity of Glastonbury.

[1] Osbern, above, p. 72.

[2] Osbern, above, pp. 77, 78. The reference is to Boethius de Arithmetica, lib. i. c. 1 (ed. Basel, 1570, p. 1296).

[3] Osbern, above, p. 74.

[4] Osbern, above, p. 92.

He has misrepresented King Edgar.

lucem venit.[1] Nec minus quod Edgarum regem, unicum scilicet totius religionis tutorem, cum sanctimoniali volutatum asseverat. Illud cum omni historiarum testimonio careat, etiam si probari posset, magis pie dissimulari quam improbe propalari et in vulgus efferri deceret.

He has made Edgar the founder of Shaftesbury.

Quarto quia dixit eundem Edgarum Sceftoniæ monasterium fundasse,[2] ut fœminei animi tanto gloriarentur fundatore; cum multo ante tempore sub Eluredo rege constet[3] ibi monachas habitasse.

A new history is therefore needed.

His igitur falsitatibus offensi, fraternitate qua vobis obnoxius sum obedientiam meam pulsastis, ut gesta beati viri renovarem, et quasi quodam laboris mei prælo falsitatis fœcem depellens, rerum puritatem eliquarem. Quod ut fidentius facerem, scripta mihi tam Latina quam Anglica in antiquissimo armario vestro reperta exhibuistis, e quibus sicut e speculo rerum mihi resultaret veritas. Quæ falsa nullo modo crediderim, quia calente adhuc gestorum memoria, ad Eluricum, qui tertio anno post decessum patris Dunstani successit in archiepiscopatu, sunt edita.[4] Nam ut mendacia demerem et studio meo interruptam seriem resarcirem, non fuit consilium quin esset lacrymosum et vanum. Liber enim ita dilaniatus nec alterius esset nec meus. Præceptis ergo vestris festinus parui, et ut sancti et vestrum mercarer favorem, maledicorum me dentibus fortassis exhibui. Non enim defuturos opinor qui me ista ob aliorum scriptorum reprehensionem scripsisse pronuncient. Sed ab hiis Dominus Jesus

The monks have supplied materials in English and Latin.

He anticipates severe criticism.

[1] See the list of abbots compiled by William of Malmesbury himself in his work on the antiquity of the church of Glastonbury, ed. Gale, p. 328.

[2] Above, pp. 111, 112.

[3] W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontificum, ed. Hamilton, pp. 184–188.

[4] This is the life by B., dedicated to Elfric, who became archbishop in 995; not in 990, as William here states; but he transposes Sigeric and Elfric in the list of archbishops in the *Gesta Pontificum* also. See G. P., ed. Hamilton, p. 32.

bonam mihi veniam impetret, Qui me in his dumtaxat scriptis nihil vel odio vel livori deferre videt. Ego enim mihi conscius sum nunquam me laboribus insidiatum alienis, sed ut vobis morem gererem stilum his apposuisse gestis. Adde quod iś de quo memoravi scriptor, jamdudum vitą defunctus et invidia, divinæque subditus censuræ, humana parvipendit judicia. Facile autem excusabitur, quod minus continue fidem rerum attexuit, quia per incendium quod, sicut ipse in prologo [1] dixit, Cantuariensis ecclesia passa est, antiqua scripta non habuit. Quæ cum ita sint, obedientiæ meæ pignus injunctum suscipite, et si malivoli contra me jacula maledictorum intorserint, umbone vestræ auctoritatis elidite, domini venerabiles et merito amabiles patres.

But he only writes for love of truth and to please the monks.

There are excuses for the former writer.

LIBER PRIMUS.

B. p. 6. Adelard, p. 54. Osbern, p. 71. Eadmer, p. 165.

1. Annus igitur regis Athelstani primus produxit in mundum puerum Dunstanum totius Angliæ patronum futurum. Pater ejus Herstanus, mater Kynedrida nominati, ambo pietate in Deum et nobilitate generis insignes, pari virtutum studio et concordi morum elegantia ævum exegere. Quam vero grata Deo eorum fuit vita, Deus Ipse non dubitavit monstrare post funera. Siquidem hic idem eorum filius de quo sermonem adorsi sumus, postea jam archiepiscopus, utrumque parentem inter cœlestium choros gaudentem, matrem etiam Dominicæ genitricis familiari obsequio assistentem, defœcatæ mentis conspexit intuitu. Dignum nimirum divina providentia opus, ut bonus futurus filius boni lineam non peregrinis disceret exemplis, sed intra domesticos parietes a bonis mutuaretur parentibus. Hii ergo legitimo nuptiarum fœdere maturis amoribus in juventa convenere. Jamque post aliquan-

Birth and parentage of Dunstan.

Marriage of his parents.

[1] Osbern, above, p. 70.

Before Dunstan's birth, on the feast of the Purification at Glastonbury, the lights are put out,

tum copulæ tempus Kynedrida in spem prolis grandescebat utero, cum eam luminosa purificationis festivitas Glastoniam invitavit. Quo die sollemnibus jam inchoatis officiis in vetustam ecclesiam frequens matronarum ordo cum Kynedrida convenerat. Micabant per totum atrium lumina, ipsa constipatione turbæ acrius oculos perstringentia. Tum vero cessante intra ecclesiam omni ventorum inquietudine, divino credo nutu, omnium lumina uno confusa et extincta sunt ictu. Perculit ingens pavor omnem populum ambigentem de facto quid diceret, utrumne casui an miraculo deputaret. Extorsit metus silentium, attonitisque tantum oculis et vultibus mutam inter se agitabant mœstitiam. Sed non mora, propitia Divinitas factum correxit, et stuporem paventium in Suæ laudis materiam transduxit. Continuo enim serenum lumen cœlo emissum, cereo Kynedridæ infulsit, communionemque lucis cunctis accurrentibus exhibuit. Venerabile miraculum quod et antiquis respondit et futuris præludit. Ipsa enim quondam die beata Dei genitrix et perpetua Virgo Maria tulit ad templum Dei Dei Verbum Filium suum. Quem senilis devotio benignis astringens complexibus Ipsum prædicavit esse Qui lumen æternitatis, quondam per Adam amissum, declararet oculis omnium populorum. Nunc autem beata mulier, jubar Angliæ per Dei gratiam futurum alvo continens, collatione cerei sui damna perditæ lucis toti reparavit agmini: hoc profecto significante Spiritu Sancto, quod in illius lateret ventre, qui splendorem prædicationis omni diffunderet provinciæ.

Adelard, p. 54. Osbern, p. 72. Eadmer, p. 165.

and rekindled from that of Kynedrida.

Prophetic meaning of the sign.

Dunstan is born, baptized, and named.

2. Emensis ergo post conceptionem mensibus, absolvit partum fœmina, effuditque in vitam masculum, quem continuo per ministerium sacerdotis Deo renatum et in adoptionem filiorum Ejus translatum gavisa est. Dunstanus infanti nomen inditum, quod et montem et petram sonat; convenienti rerum præsagio, quia in utroque Salvatoris nostri pedissequus, et montem se

B. p. 6. Adelard, p. 54. Osbern, p. 73. Eadmer, p. 166.

B. p. 7. Osbern, p. 73. Eadmer, p. 166.

per virtutum sublimitatem et petram per fidei soliditatem exhibuit. Gratia enim eum divina excepit, et in omnibus dono liberalitatis Suæ prævenit et provexit. Et jam junioribus annis decursis, pueritiæ infantia cesserat, venitque ad solvenda vota Glastoniam illustris vir Herstanus cum religiosa conjuge et prosperrimæ indolis sobole. Illis igitur in præfata ecclesia excubias agentibus, puer irrepente somno indulsit quieti. Visus illi senior stellanti vultu, niveo habitu, assistere manuque prensum per circumjecta loca ducere, simul dulci affatu jocundari puero, et habili gestu dexteræ mensuram ædificiorum inibi per eum construendorum deliniare. Ille solutus somnio, et tunc parentibus assignavit visionem, et cum ætas tulit effectui mancipavit. Eadem enim forma posteriori tempore abbas erexit tecta qua recolebat sibi puero per angelicum indicium præsignata. At vero parentes ad indaginem visionis non hebetes, felixque præsagium libenter amplexi, filium ibidem litteris imbuendum reliquerunt.

His father brings him to Glastonbury.

He has a vision of future buildings there.

B. p. 8. Adelard, p. 55. Osbern, p. 75. Eadmer, p. 167.

3. Nec vero illorum spei defuit pusio, sed raptim elementa litterarum addiscens ad reliqua etiam alacri tendebat animo. Meditantem occupat febris, tenerasque paulatim depasta medullas desperabilem medicis facit. Sternitur ergo lecto et per horarum momenta morti accedere videtur. Certe animo absentissimus, nec quid ageret norat discernere, nec quid ab aliis ageretur poterat advertere. Adeo pestis cerebro insederat ut aliena jactaret verba et freneticus haud dubie putaretur. Spes itaque parentum quam. sibi de filio proposuerant jam dabat terga, cognatorum frigebat gaudium, languebat pollicitatio medicorum. Verumtamen accurrit necessitati, nec diutius passa puerum torqueri, pietas Christi medicabili visitationis Suæ præsentia cuncta propulsavit incommoda. Nec tamen modum remedii novit ipse qui sensit, sed nocte intempesta, quasi extasi captaretur, domum cursim exivit.

He is an apt scholar.

His illness.

He is given up.

He leaves the house.

A woman follows.

Exeuntem secuta est mulier quæ cæteris tædio languoris sternentibus sola super alumnum sollicitas prætendebat vigilias. Nactus ergo baculum quo vel viam regeret vel obstantes repelleret, nocturnam carpebat semitam. Et ecce magnum latrantium agmen rapidis in properantem inhians rictibus obviam veniebat. Quorum unus infestior dum etiam terga premeret, ille, aliud esse interpretatus quam canem, baculum totis viribus contortum, invocato Christi Nomine, in os beluæ sævientis intentat. Qua pueri constantia hostis elusus furvis inferni unde emerserat se indidit umbris. Ita Dunstanus Jesu Domini auxilio tutus cœptum ad ecclesiam callem persequitur. Sed eam firmis intus repagulis offendens obseratam, machinas quibus insistebant architecti conseendit. Forte enim fastigium templi dirutum manus artificum præstolabatur. Ita quem non sine cautela talium rerum consueti molirentur ascensum, ille intrepidus invasit. Jam vero quia in interiori parte superiora inferioribus nulli continuabant gradus, mirum quomodo descenderit. Descendit tamen, inventusque est mane a quærentibus in una porticu inter duos ædituos tertius, levi sopore membra confotus. Rogatus ut salutis et descensus modum exponeret, respondit se neutrum scire, et non minus quam ipsos de talibus miraculum habere. Mulier sane quæ præeuntis lento pede terebat vestigia, rerum usque ad ascensum index fuit. Cætera ad hanc diem incognita.

B. p. 8. Adelard, p. 55. Osbern, p. 75. Eadmer, p. 167.

He is beset by dogs, and drives them away with a stick.

He climbs the ladder outside the church.

He is found in the morning asleep inside.

He studies under the Irish scholars.

4. Ubi ergo Dunstano salutis refusus vigor, intermissum litterarum studium acrius aggressus, nihil quod cura sua dignum æstimaret inexpertum reliquit. Conveniebat honestis studiis divinæ serenitatis assensus, conciliando ei magistros, tum indigenas tum et Hibernienses. Hujusce quippe nationis homines cum magna frequentia locum incolebant illum; viri usquequaque peritissimi, et qui liberales artes ad plenum subdidissent ingeniis, quique ut perfectius philosophiæ inser-

B. p. 10. Osbern, p. 74.

B. p. 10. Osbern, pp. 74, 77, 78.

virent, relicto natali solo cunctarumque necessitudinum affectibus objuratis, Glastoniam contenderant, Patricii primi prædicatoris sui amore adducti, cujus corporales exuviæ ibi ab antiquo habentur repositæ. Horum ergo discipulatui Dunstanus deditus sacram scripturam medullitus ad extremam satietatem hausit; sæcularium litterarum quiddam negligendum, non nihil etiam appetendum putavit. Poetarum siquidem scripta dumtaxat quæ fabulis strepunt, et artes quæ citra utilitatem animæ armant eloquium transeunter audivit. Arithmeticam porro, cum geometria et astronomia, et musica quæ appendent, gratanter addidicit, et diligenter excoluit. Est quippe in illis et magna exercitatio scientiæ et veritatis integra castitas, et mirabilium Dei non vana consideratio. Harum artium scientiam hodie quoque Hibernenses pro magno pollicentur; cæterum ad formanda Latine verba et integre loquendum minus idonei. Quapropter cum cæterarum tum maxime musicæ dulcedine captus, instrumenta ejus tum ipse libenter exercere, tum ab aliis exerceri dulce habere. Ipse citharam, si quando litteris vacaret, sumere, ipse dulci strepitu resonantia fila quatere. Jam vero illud instrumentum quod antiqui barbiton, nos organa dicimus, tota diffudit Anglia; ubi ut fistula sonum componat per multiforatiles tractus "pulsibus exceptas, follis "vomit anxius auras." Hoc porro exercebatur non ad lenocinium voluptatum, sed ad divini amoris incitamentum, ut etiam ad litteram impleretur illud Davitici cum, "Laudate Dominum in psalterio et cithara; laudate "Eum in chordis et organo."

He studies the scriptures.

poetry.

mathematics and music.

His skill in music.

on the organ.

Ps. cl. 3, 4.

B. p. 10. Osbern, p. 77.

5. Interea ætas progressior, et adolescentiæ foribus insistens, spem parentum olim de puero conceptam in majus animabat. Quam[1] illi religiosis alentes affectibus ut sacros ordines reciperet invitaverunt filium, divinum circa eum favorem non negligendum arbitrati. Ille,

His parents urge him to take Holy Orders.

[1] *Quam*] quem, MS.

He goes to live with Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, who presents him to king Athelstan.

ne præcipientibus durus videretur, supposuit collum, minoribus gradibus titulatus ad Dei genitricis ecclesiam provectus, sui maternique miraculi consciam. Ita sacris initiatus ad patruum suum, (ex monacho Glastoniensi primus Wellensis episcopus) Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, Athelmum, contendit, ex cognati pectoris auctoritate religionis exemplum sumpturus. Excepit nepotem archiepiscopus qua decebat dignatione, patrio affectu quæcunque commoda liberaliter et affluenter indulgens. Deinde spectata ejus alacritate ingenii, cui etiam mores non dissiderent, regi Athelstano, quem sacra unctione in regem ipse sublimaverat, commendare curavit. Accessit curæ pontificis industria adolescentis, qua brevi effectum ut per se commendabilior esset tam regi quam aulicis. Familiarium ergo partium habebatur, nec erat quisquam in curia id ætatis juvenis qui posset cum rege aut esse secretius aut loqui jocundius. Denique frequenter ante illum, vel vocali melo citharæ vel tympani sono psallebat, nunc ut curas depelleret, nunc ut soporem somni discuteret. Felix eventus excitavit cognatorum invidiam, qui adolescentis successum reputarent suæ felicitatis detrimentum. Quocirca opinionem ejus apud regem lacerare aggressi, dicebant eum maleficis artibus niti, proindeque gratiam regalem mercari. Repulit ille primo susurronum calumnias, livori attribuens delationis amaritudinem. Hoc illi acrius instare et occasiones rimari donec rem divinæ dignationis in argumentum concinnarent furoris.

B. p. 10. Osbern, p. 77. Eadmer, p. 168.

He becomes a favourite and exposed to the envy of the courtiers.

He is invited by Ethelwynn to draw a pattern for a stole.

6. Rogatus est Dunstanus a quadam matrona Alwinna[1] nomine domum suam venire, quatenus in casula sacerdotali faceret picturam, unde puellæ suæ insuendi auri traherent formam. Opus plumarium vocant Latini. Erat enim Dunstanus etiam pingendi artifex, æmulari arte naturam, et quicquid vidisset uspiam speciosum a

B. p. 20. Osbern, p. 80. Eadmer, p. 170.

[1] The Æthelwynn of the first biographer (p. 21). No name is mentioned by the intermediate writers.

B. pp. 20, 21. Osbern, p. 80. Eadmer, p. 170.

vivo animali in mutum transferre simulacrum. Venit ergo et assedit operi. Interim cithara ejus paxillo appensa canoros edere sonos, et sine ullo digitorum pulsu hujus antiphonæ melodiam modulari audita est, "Gaudent in cœlis animæ sanctorum," et cætera. Mirum id, ut erat videri cæteris et maxime mulierculis, læto plausu gannientibus; Dunstano autem, cujus et sensus perspicacior et oculus interius mundior, non tam videri præsentis rei miraculum quam futuræ mysterium. Intellexit enim cantu hoc se admonitum ad tribulationum tolerantiam, quo fidentius Christi opperiretur gloriam. Respondit rerum veritas veraci præsagio. Namque sutores calumniarum rem quasi Dunstani maleficium curiæ auribus intulerunt. Serpsit rumor ab unis in alteros omnesque lividis obtutibus adolescentem aspiciebant. Quod quamvis ille animadverteret, omnes tamen susurros malignantium sicut Scyllæos latratus placido et potius obturato transibat auditu. Nec minus, secundum præceptum Salvatoris, bona pro malis reddens, persecutores suos blande alloqui, ipsis etiam benigne et opportune obsequi. Quo illi nihil infractiores calumnias serere in vulgus non cessabant. Nec prius abstiterunt quam res et regis aures obsedit et animos a Dunstano avertit. Ita turbatis rebus adolescens curia ultro cedendum putavit. Excedentem machinatores flagris adorsi; parum abfuit quin exanimarent. Nam equo dejectum, fœdeque cæsum calcibus, quo tardius exsurgeret pressum egerunt in cœnum. Tum quasi furori probe satisfecissent, abierunt. Ille vero vix ægreque luto emergens in villam cujusdam affinis sui e vicino commanentis concessit. Jam vero domui propinquante, canes domestici oblitum cœno et horrendum visu conspicati, pene fuit ut invaderent. Sed mox, blandientis voce cognita, frænarunt impetum et adulantibus caudis domum introduxerunt. Hanc canum mutationem primo Dunstani excepit suspirium, mox etiam hujusmodi dictum, "Alternat, ut video, natura rerum,

His harp plays an anthem untouched by human hand.

Dunstan takes this as a warning.

His enemies accuse him of witchcraft.

B. pp. 11, 12, 13. Osbern, p. 81. Eadmer, pp. 171, 172.

The king is alienated, and Dunstan leaves the court.

He is attacked and plunged in the mire,

but recognised by a neighbour's dogs.

Dunstan's reflexions.

"dum cognati bestiali feritate sævi, et canes in me humana lenitate sint blandi. Sed patienter ferendum est quod Deus jubet, quia pulchrum Sua gratia dedit commercium, quoniam assentantur canes etsi adversantur homines." B. p. 13. Osbern, p. 81. Eadmer, p. 172.

He goes to Winchester, to visit Elfege.

7. Hujus tempestatis jactatione discussa, Dunstanus Wintoniam ire perrexit. Erat tum ibi Deo acceptissimus sacerdos Alphegus cognomento Calvus, cujus consanguinitatis lineam proximo gradu Dunstanus attingebat. Hunc fuisse monachum Glastoniensem certum et abbatem constans apud Wintonienses opinio est. B. pp. 13, 14. Osbern, pp. 82, 83. Eadmer, pp. 172, 173.

Correction of a statement of Osbern.

Unde perspicuum est quod is, quisquis est, fallitur qui beatum Dunstanum monachos in Glastonia posuisse et primum ibi abbatem fuisse allegare conatur. Nam ut in epistola dixi,[1] et tempore nativitatis ejus Alduhunus abbas ibidem fuisse cognoscitur; et hic Alphegus ante monachus quam abbas Dunstanus. Ad hunc ergo veniens

Elfege advises him to become a monk.

sæpeque ab eo salubribus monitis pulsatus ut monachus fieret, distulit facetis responsis episcopum vel eludens vel suspendens, nonnunquam etiam monachorum vitam non magis placere Deo quam laicorum cavillatus. Irrepserat enim jam adolescenti voluptatum fomes, ut nihil minus quam monachum cogitaret. Quapropter Deo dilectus episcopus, qui prævideret in spiritu quantum deperiret religioni dilatio habitus mutandi, totius devotionis in orationem diffudit viscera, quatenus ado-

He is reluctant.

lescens flagello admoneretur corporeo, ne animæ obstaret commodo. Auditum est continuo in cœlis quod ille submurmuraverat in terris, et scintilla caritatis ex corde procedens episcopi reluxit in Dunstano ad flammam ægrotationis. Ita enim vesicis turgentibus per

His illness.

totum corpus intumuit, ut morbo intercutis vel regia valetudine laborare videretur. Hoc periculo territus nunciis missis rogavit ejus adventum. Maturavit iter

[1] Above, p. 251.

episcopus, et veniens audit quod diu optaverat, Dunstanum anxie expetere quod ante rogatus supersederat facere. Datur ergo effectus desiderio, alteratur Dunstanus et fit monachus. Dunstan becomes a monk.

B. pp. 14, 15. Inæqualitate igitur corporis fugata, mansionem circa Elfegum protelavit, ut in ejus vita legeret quid regulare tenere deberet. Interea oblitterandum non est quanta sub illo tempore providentiæ divinæ pietas ambobus consuluerit. Rogatu civium suorum dedicaverat pontifex ecclesiam extra occidentalem civitatis portam. Solenniis expletis, petitus ut domum unius convivio dignaretur suo, caritati non defuit invitatoris. Jam vero luce occidua cum vespertinum crepusculum videret accedere, data benedictione convivis Dunstano comitante valefecit. Tum forte viantibus obtulit se beati papæ Gregorii ecclesia viæ contermina. Illam ex voluntate præsulis ingressi completorium dicturiebant. Jamque pro more junctis et inclinatis capitibus confitebantur, et ecce ingens lapis, ambiguum quo casu, tecto elapsus, ita illorum periculo proximus fuit, ut amborum libaret cæsariem sed non turbaret salutem. Crediderim insidias antiqui hostis fuisse, qui totis machinis saxum detorserit, cum saluti utrorumque invidens tum etiam alterius celsitudinem futuram suspectam habens. Sed e vicino repulit ejus calliditatem divina dignatio, volens ut illi de hoste optimam raperent prædam, non ille de ipsis usurparet victoriam. He stays with Elfege. Dedication of a church. Dunstan and Elfege returning from the feast have a miraculous escape in the church of S. Gregory.

8. Isdem diebus Dunstanus, eodem antistite jubente, ad gratiam presbyteratus accessit, habens ad eundem gradum collaterales collegas Athelwoldum et Ethelstanum. Hii viri, sicut par in bono habuere principium, ita divisum habuerunt exitum. Quod, spiritu medullis influente, Elfegus præsentiens, ipsa eadem die ordinationis cum mensæ assideret, tali secretum mentis sermone resolvit. "Hodie sub ope Dei tribus viris manum im- " posui, quorum primus erit apud Cantiam archiepisco- " pus, secundus mihi quandoque in hac sede succes- Dunstan is ordained priest. Elfege's prophecy about him and his companions.

Fulfilment of the prediction.

" surus, tertius abjecto religionis quo nunc velatur " simulacro vitam terminabit in voluptatum volutabro."[1] Nihil hac prophetia mirabilius aut divinius; nihil ejus effectu verius aut sincerius. Dunstanus siquidem postea culmen archiepiscopatus, Athelwoldus ordinem episcopatus conscendit; Ethelstanus ut canis reversus ad vomitum miserabile apostasiæ fuit exemplum.

Dunstan goes to Glastonbury, and builds himself a cell there.

9. Nec multo post Dunstanus Glastoniam a pontifice missus est, ut qui abunde mores ad unius composuerat speculum, nunc ad multorum coaptaret exemplum. Ibi præter quotidianam cantandi sollertiam, ne mens inerti marceret otio, manuum se dedit exercitio. Sed ut operanti suppeteret diversorium, quoddam prope Dei genitricis ecclesiam tecto appendice continuavit spatium. Jam vero par est animadvertere quanta cura colebat animum, ut eo loci sedem poneret quo etiam licentiores cogitatus interpellaret et argueret. Mentem ergo frænabat loci reverentia, simulque corpus arctabant jejunia. Ibi manus applicabat operi, labia psalmis, animos cœlis. Ibi currebat per tabulam stilus, per paginam calamus. Ibi sumebat pincillum ut pingeret, scalpellum ut sculperet. Et, ut faciam compendium, ibi exercebatur quicquid est licitarum et utilium artium. Denique et fabrile studium quondam aggressum vicinia frequens ad emendandas recellas[2] suas precibus fatigabat. Ille in commune bonus omnibus, nihil alicui negare, æquum affectum cunctis præstare. Inde diabolus occasionem aucupatus, quadam die sole jam occasum meditante, ad fenestram astitit quidlibet operis molienti. Intuitus Dunstanus eum, qui et oris hilaritatem et hominis prætenderet effigiem, dolos non attendit. Quocirca rogantem ut, opere quod cœperat intermisso, suis serviret usibus, non aspernatus manum ejus suggestioni applicuit. Inter hæc inimicus sermone collato verba delicata jac-

Osbern, p. 83. Eadmer, p. 173.

His labours and mortifications.

The devil comes and asks him to do some smith's work.

Osbern, p. 84. Eadmer, p. 174.

[1] Our author tells the same story in the Gesta Pontificum (ed. Hamilton), pp. 164, 165. See too Wulfstan's life of S. Ethelwold, Mabillon, AA. SS. O. S. B. sæc. v. p. 599.

[2] *recellas*] altered from rescellas, Q.

Osbern, p. 85. Eadmer, p. 174.

tabat in medium, mollitiem inferebat fœminarum. Verumtamen ne aperta fronte proderentur argutiæ, simulationis velabatur pallio, eludens juvenem religionis fuco. Nec mora, relictis bonis rediebat ad noxia, talia commemorans quæ possent cujuslibet religiosi robur enervare, vigorem inflectere. Audiebat hæc sanctus, et multa volutabat animo. Tandemque, instinctu credo Dei, artificem doli comperiens ad ultionem armatur. Forcipes itaque ferrarias celeriter expedit, easque foco immittens in majori flatu fornaculam exsuscitat. Stridebat ergo incendium, fervebant tenacula. Quæ candentia corripiens in faciem portenti, jam se deprehensum intelligentis jamque fugam parantis, vibrat. Ille longe reducta facie ictum cavet. Sed insistit pronis nisibus presbyter, jamque impudentes fauces ignito ferro præcluserat. Nec ullo modo effugisset pestifer nisi, ad notas recurrens artes, inter manus tenentis in nocturnas elaberetur auras. Fugiens tanto hiatu insonuit, ut, procul repercusso aere, hujusmodi vox pene toti audiretur provinciæ, "O quid fecit calvus iste! O quid "fecit calvus iste!" Jocatus vel potius grassatus in hominem cui, refugis a fronte capillis, damnosa cæsaries erat. Diluculo vicinis a Dunstano auctorem ululatus percunctantibus, respondit "diabolum fuisse: ipsum "inquam nunc sibi struere insidias qui quondam in "palatio conflasset calumnias; ipsum nunc blandientem "ad vitia, sed post exacturum supplicia. Cujus com-"moti clamor intolerabilis monet ut caveatur consor-"tium in pœnis." Dixit plura fortassis ad hanc sententiam quæ magis conjicienda sunt animo quam committenda scripto.

He begins to talk loosely.

Dunstan heats his tongs.

He takes the devil by the jaws.

Lucan. Phars. x. 132.

Dunstan explains the cries of the devil.

B. p. 15. Osbern, p. 89. Eadmer, p. 179.

10. Eodem tempore Glastoniensis ecclesiæ monachus, felicem vitæ sortitus terminum, feliciter supremum incurrit arbitrium. Is erat Wlfredus nomine,[1] diaconus

Death of Wulfred.

[1] The name seems to be taken directly from the original biographer; above, p. 15.

He appears to Dunstan, and foretells his future life.

ordine, adolescens ætate, Dunstano jam inde a pueritia sancta devinctus amicitia. Quæ inter eos parili virtutum et morum coaluerat studio, nec eam ulla unquam amara dumtaxat interpellaverat offensio. Hic post paucum decessus sui tempus amico apparuit nocte, familiari qua cognosceretur specie. Tum visus futuræ vitæ seriem ad unguem exponere, adversa et prospera juxta et incunctanter prædicere. Nec tamen ad audita Dunstanus credulo statim exilivit gaudio, doctus in omnibus apponere cautelam, adhibere diligentiam. Quapropter, ut etiam in somniantis animo contempleris sapientiam, visus est talia referre, "Pulchra sunt," inquit,

B. p. 15. Osbern, p. 89. Eadmer, p. 179.

Dunstan demands a sign.

"quæ promittis, sed quo indicio habeam fidem pro-
"missis?" Tum ille manu ut videbatur comprehensum duxit ad australem partem atrii ecclesiæ sæpe nominatæ. Scatebat ibi tota humus defunctorum memoriis, ita ut, sicut hodie quoque apparet, vix alicubi pedem poneres si non ad aliquod sepulcrum offenderes. Parvulum modo erat spatium hujus immune injuriæ, ubi videbatur intactus cespes et herbosa virens planitie. "Hic,"

Walfred points out a place where a priest will be buried within three days.

ait, et digito locum ostendit ad veræ visionis indicium,
"sepelietur presbyter infra triduum, qui nullum adhuc
"patitur incommodum, corpus autem ejus ab occidentali
"parte huc deferetur tumulandum." Dixit et evanuit; alter etiam sopore solutus surrexit. Nec vero diu ingrato indulsit silentio, quin continuo mane amicis visionem communicaret. Simulque ad fidem dictorum jaculatus calculum in locum prædictum, subjecit, "Si
"vera est visio, illic infra hoc triduum tumulabitur
"presbyteri corpus qui adhuc est alacer et sanus."

Fulfilment of the sign.

Vix illi discesserant, et ecce capellanus matronæ nobilis Ethelfledæ ad eundem se locum matutinus agebat. Is cum totum cimiterium circuisset oculis tantillumque spatii mortuorum vidisset carere reliquiis, ait his qui in tempore advenerant ædituis, "Paciscar quæso vobis-
"cum hanc gratiam, ut cum anima exuerit corpus hic
"sit requietionis meæ locus." Assentientibus illis abiit, statimque tactus incommodo naturæque cedens, ubi

B. p. 16. Osbern, p. 90. Eadmer, p. 180.

rogaverat ante triduum sepulcrum promeruit. Nihil erat ultra quod de missione Dunstanus ambigeret. Quapropter ad virtutum incrementa exsurgere, ludicris mundanis, si quæ animo ejus restiterant, valefacere; conari prorsus ut labor suus accederet Dei gratiæ, quatenus quæ sibi promittebantur gratuito non conferrentur immerito. Nec vero ejus industria in vacuum cessit, quin potius cum multiplici Dei gratia favor potentum hominum bene viventi non defuit. Quod uno exemplo faciam in propatulo, si prius quædam ad id pertinentia, quasi extrinsecus a materia, posuero. Brevi ergo diverticulo utar si forte relationis necessitatem faciat brevitas lectionis excusabilem.

Dunstan strives to increase in grace and virtue.

B. p. 16. Osbern, p. 85. Eadmer, p. 175.

11. Neptis Ethelstani regis Ethelfreda,[1] summæ potentiæ fœmina, de cujus presbytero paulo ante dixi, viro de compari nobilitate nupsit primo vere adolescentiæ. Is cum diem clausisset, castitatem suam Deo consecravit, ut nunquam post primi damna tori secundos experiretur ignes. Quod ut expeditius teneret, Glastoniam sese in otium contulit, ædificatis propter ecclesiam domibus, sive ut Dei genitricis familiarius inhæreret obsequiis, sive ut Dunstani liberius frueretur colloquio. Erat enim ejus proxima cognata, et, ad bonum audiendum salutaribus animata monitis, quotidianis etiam ne deficeret roborabatur exemplis. Utrumque ergo agebat sedulo, tantumque corporis curæ deerat quantum illis operam impendebat. Proinde vicario dilectionis munere tantum illi Domina nostra impertiebatur gratiæ ut nec in minimis eam contristari sustineret. Quod dictum ut evadat ambiguitatis offensam argumentum subnectam.

Ethelfreda comes to Glastonbury.

and builds herself a house there.

Her devotion to the Blessed Virgin.

B. p. 18. Osbern, p. 86. Eadmer, p. 176.

12. Rex Athelstanus, quo nullus unquam regum vel in pace justior vel in bello victoriosior fuit, Glastoniam veniebat. Quo Ethelfleda cognito matrona, quæ cum in omnes tum pronius in regiam sobolem semper fuisset dapsilis, mandat ei ut non aspernanter ad se pransurus

Athelstan visits Glastonbury.

[1] The Æthelfleda of the first biographer, p. 16; the Elgifu or Æthelgifu of Osbern, p. 85; the Ælfgiva of Eadmer, p. 175.

He accepts the invitation of Ethelfreda and sends his servants to see that she has plenty of provision.

introeat. Expositis mandatis oneravit frontem regiam pudor. Si enim obaudiens dicto non esset, reverebatur ne ancillam Dei commoveret; si veniret, timebat ne minus sufficientem paratum ostenderet. Librato ergo consilio, ut nec neptis precibus resisteret nec ipse verecundiam suam urgeret, misit ministros qui sufficientiam victus explorarent. Illi concito equorum cursu arva morantia rapientes jussum exsequuntur, renunciantque invitatrici de cæteris quidem plurimum, de hydromelle vero minimum esse. Hujus si possit emendari detrimentum, nihil obstare quin rex ad ejus concordet votum. Quod ubi accepit mulier immodicæ in Deo spei respondit, " Nolit unquam sancta Christi mater, ut propter minus " sufficientem hujusmodi potum dominus rex declinet " meam domum." Et cum dicto templum ingressa compellat Virginem, ut quod deerat de industria suppleret ipsa ex misericordia; ipsa dolium emendaret, ipsa pateras spumantes coronaret. Has preces cassas non fuisse ostendit miraculum e vestigio subsecutum. Assedit rex mensæ totas secum in prandium trahens catervas. Accelerant pincernæ inter et post dapes frequentioribus poculis invitare convivarum hilaritatem. Apportant ultro citroque potionem Anglis gratam et pene naturalem. Contendebat liquor cum haustoribus, et quasi de fonte scaturiens damnis increscebat suis. Crederes hydriam farinæ et lecythum olei, quibus Sareptenam viduam ipse pascebat qui pasci venerat. Verumtamen nescias an hic majore miraculo et excellentiore gratia, quia ibi unius sustentata est natura, istic multorum oppleta est gula. Sed profecto imitata est mater Domini Filii miraculum in deserto, quando sub dentibus crevit panis, et majus augmentum invenit in mensa quam in unda piscis. Applausit rex miraculo per ministros cognito, nimietatem suam ultro inculpans, qua potuisset Ethelfreda premi si noluisset ei Maria opitulari.

B. p. 18. Osbern, pp. 86, 87. Eadmer, p. 176.

She prays the Virgin that she may not be put to shame on account of the want of mead.

Abundance is forthcoming.

1 Kings, xvii. 16.

13. Expedita re quæ aliquantum deviabat a proposito, nunc eam aggrediar quæ partem Dunstani spectat

B. p. 18. Osbern, p. 87. Eadmer, p. 176.

e proximo. Hæc eadem matrona, decursa religiosissime præsentis vitæ meta, lethalem valetudinem iniit. Jamque morbus quatiebat vitalia, et illa, Dunstano quadam die accito, ad ingressum alterius sæculi oratione et confessione animam composuit. Hæc occupatio sanctum avocaverat ne illa die vesperis monachorum interesset. Curis explicitis, cum damnum sarcire vellet, ad ecclesiam cum scholasticis contendit. Stabat ergo præ foribus clavigerum opperiens. Et ecce porrectis in sublime oculis, vidit alitem pernici volatu aera secare.

Illness of Ethelfreda.

Dunstan sees the mystic dove.

B. p. 19. Osbern, p. 88. Eadmer, p. 177.

Diligentius intuitus animadvertit esse columbam scintillanti alarum plausu flammeam, intellexitque esse Spiritum Sanctum, Qui quondam ejusdem avis mutuatus simulacrum apud Jordanem descendit in Dominum Christum. Lætis igitur luminibus tam gloriosam visionem hauriens, acuto volantem prosequebatur intuitu, donec tecto decumbentis vidit illapsum. Reflexo proinde pede, eo unde venerat impigre revertitur. Pulsanti ostium patuit, sed murmur intra cortinam auditur, gradum festinantis continuit. Interrogat ancillas forinsecus excubantes, quisnam cum domina interius consereret sermones. Nihil illæ certum referunt nisi quod nuperrime jubar splendidissimum domo infulgens omnem tenebrarum crassitudinem dispulerit. "Et extunc," inquiunt, "usque modo, prætento ante nos velo, "loquitur cum aliquo." Persistit pius explorator, aure apposita, donec cessaret sermocinatio alterna. Tum immissus cortinæ domestica personam collocutoris percunctatur audacia. At felix matrona vultu placido renitens, "Quasi vero tu," inquit, "non illum videris de quo "percunctaris. Ipse tibi præ foribus ecclesiæ visus "est: Ipse a me omnem hujus mortis sollicitudinem de- "molitus est. Quapropter de hoc excessu nec tibi nec "cæteris amicis meis lamentandum censeo, quia non est "hæc vitæ amissio, sed de captivitate in libertatem "migratio. Tibi autem speciales gratias et ago et "habeo, quoniam hanc beatitudinem meam tuis monitis, "tuis exemplis debeo. Nec vero fructu laborum tuo-

He hears Ethelfreda conversing behind her curtain.

She tells him with whom she has been talking.

She begs for the last sacraments,

" rum excides, quoniam quod cum aliquanto labore in
" me sevisti cum gaudio metes. Hanc porro unam et
" supremam petitionem dilectricis tuæ, dilecte dilector,
" ne respuas, ut, cum aurora in primos ortus eruperit,
" ad ingrediendum longum iter sacra unctione et
" vivifica communione me communias." Dixit et convalescente morbo exercebatur. Nihil fuit ex his quod segniter impleret Dunstanus, omnium obsequiorum officiis abeuntem animam prosecutus, pulchro et mirabili prorsus ordine, ut, cum ille mane missam cantans eam communicasset, ipsa supremum efflaret.

B. p. 29. Osbern, p. 88. Eadmer, p. 178.

and dies.

On Athelstan's death Edmund becomes king.

14. Defuncto interea Ethelstano rege, frater ejus Edmundus successit solio, annorum decem et octo adolescens. Qui, ut teneritudinem ætatis maturiori firmaret consilio, beatissimum Dunstanum inter primos optimates primum præfecit palatio. Non enim exciderat animo amicitia tempore fratris cum eodem viro fœderata. Hærebant menti prudentia in consilio, facundia in verbo, constantia in facto. Quocirca cum jam omnia nutum ejus spectarent, citra rationem putavit nisi cum eo participaret potestatem novam cui veterem communicaverat amicitiam. Assensus est precibus rogantis Dunstanus, remansitque in curia, quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari reddens, et quæ sunt Dei Deo. Regem ergo et principes primo de justitia convenire, nec ut flecterentur omnino sinere. Post etiam inferiores in eandem instruere formam, in delinquentes acrem exercere disciplinam. Nam et hoc non levi momento animos ejus impulerat, ut regiis se commodaret precibus, quatenus Anglorum regno consuleret, et jamdudum laborante justitia labefactatum in statum priscum erigeret. Rigor igitur viri, mentes procerum turbans, ignes irarum quondam sopitos exsuscitavit, donec in immensum flamma excanduit. Ad nocumentum ergo ejus nec temperabant palam convitio nec clam maledicto. Furor arma ministrat; invenit ira quod confingat; exsculpit livor quod arrodat. Et quia malignitas nunquam complicibus caret, tum per se,

B. p. 21. Osbern, p. 90. Eadmer, p. 180.

Dunstan continues at court.

His severity provokes enemies.

B. p. 23. Osbern, p. 90. Eadmer, p. 180.

tum per satellites, regem temptantes in eandem traducunt sententiam. Postposito enim jure amicitiæ, oblitus saltem humanæ verecundiæ, jubet eum omnibus necessariis ablatis curia eliminari. Stulte prorsus et proterve, quia nihil turpius est quam si cum eo bellum geras quocum familiariter vixeras. Hâc tempestate sanctus perculsus fluctuabat animo et sententiæ ambiguo. Ita quippe hostes omnes aditus præcluserant, omnes calles obsederant, ut ei ad Glastoniam commeatus non esset, quamvis nec ubi possit commorari tuto, averso a se regis animo. Res apud Ceddrum gerebatur. Erant ibi exterarum gentium legati, quos Dunstanus conveniens eis hostiles exponit calumnias, implorans ut fortunas tutentur suas. Illi dignitate viri et indignitate rei permoti, civilem induerunt animum, bona terræ suæ maxima polliciti, si vellet comitari secum. Et profecto nisi Deus illius tempestatis solvisset nebulam, amisisset tunc Anglia lucem clarissimam. Sed enim statim in crastinum serenior aura regis afflavit animum per Dei omnipotentis miraculum. Quod quatenus factum sit breviter expediam.

He is banished by Edmund from court.

He asks the help of some foreign envoys.

B. p. 24. Osbern, p. 91. Eadmer, p. 181.

15. Mons est in Ceddro arboribus opacis declivi crescens supercilio, faucibus immane quantum patentibus. Ibi cervi et cæteræ feræ venatibus aptæ in præruptis posuere cubilia saxis. Ad eas persequendas rex mane surrexerat ingenita divitum consuetudine, ut nihil putent voluptuosius quam indulgere venatibus. Canes ergo emissi copulis exciverant feras lustris; inter quas ingenti corpore cervum cursu insuperabilem, cornibus ramosis minacem. Hunc alipede cursu per plana, per avia fugientem animosius rex persequebatur. Jam fera declivia percurrerat, jam in summum montis jugum evaserat. Ibi quoque canibus terga ejus vellicantibus, negata omni fugiendi copia, præcipiti ad ima saltu complevit fata. Nec vero capacitas canum molliori mortis genere absumpta. Horum casu rex perterritus et equi rapiditatem frænare conatus, lusit operam, vires consumpsit anhelas. Nam nisui hominis repugnante bestia, habenæ

The king goes to hunt at Cheddar.

He pursues a stag to the brink of a precipice.

Edmund preparing for death,

diruptæ et procul disjectæ. Ita conatu irrito equus furens regem sub ipsum hiatum faucium pervexit. Non tamen ille in tanto periculo sui oblitus, sensatas cogitationes volvebat animo, et fortassis expromebat dicto; se in proximis diebus nullum aliqua temerasse injuria, nisi quod Dunstanum summa læsisset arrogantia, quod expulisset amicum curia, prius addictum quam convictum, ante damnatum quam auditum. Id se plane correcturum ex placito, si eum Deus ipsius meritis a præsenti eximeret periculo. Tua Deus misericors gratia, Tua Christe omnipotens clementia. Vix hæc vel cogitaverat vel dixerat, et equus, jam positis in voragine pedibus anterioribus, qui ante sævierat tyrannico cursu superbus, constitit ove placidius. Hæc res tantum apud Eadmundum valuit, ut ex illa die in reliquum nullus in animo ejus fuerit Dunstano gratiosior, nullus in regno gloriosior. Denique statim accitum benigno quidem respexit oculo, sed dissimulato paulisper animo jussit ut ascenso equo secum Glastoniam contenderet. Quo ubi perventum est, rex inclinatus ad preces de sua liberatione Deo recitavit grates. Comitabantur omnes lacrymæ veris singultibus expromptæ. Quas ubi et ratione resorbuit et digito compescuit, avide beatam beati viri dexteram apprehendens grato eam demulsit osculo. Tum deinde ut veteris scriptoris verba subjiciam, ducens eum ad sacerdotalem cathedram et eum imponens dixit, "Esto istius sedis princeps potensque "insessor, et præsentis ecclesiæ fidelissimus abbas." Siquidem proxime episcopus factus fuerat abbas Alfricus[1] successor Ealdhuni. Adjecit deinde rex quod quicquid

B. p. 24. Osbern, p. 91. Eadmer, p. 181.

bethinks himself of the wrong done to Dunstan.

He is saved.

He orders Dunstan to go with him to Glastonbury.

B. p. 25. Adelard, p. 56. Osbern, p. 92. Eadmer, p. 182.

He makes him abbot there.

[1] This is in accordance with our author's own arrangement of the abbots of Glastonbury; but in the more ancient list given in the Cotton MS. Tiberius, B. 5, Dunstan's predecessor is named Egwulf, and two other abbots, Guthlac and Cuthred, are interposed between him and Andhun, the Aldhun of the text. There were more than one bishop of the name of Elfric at this time; one at Hereford, consecrated about 941, and one at Ramsbury, in or about 942. In the ancient list, just referred to, Dunstan's *successor* at Glastonbury is named Elfric.

B. p. 25. Osbern, p. 92. Eadmer, p. 182.

necessariorum habitatoribus deesset ipse regia liberalitate suppleret. Quibus verbis novus scriptor indiscretionis, ut molliter dicam, arguitur, qui, ut alias dixi,[1] dicit et repetit Sanctum Dunstanum primum abbatem Glastoniæ concedente rege monachos posuisse. Quid enim per cathedram sacerdotalem nisi sedes abbatis intelligitur, cui Dunstanus a rege impositus dicitur? Quæ quomodo ibi sine monachis et abbate fuerit, dicat qui intelligit. Cæterum quanti penderet Edmundus Glastoniam ab eo tempore notius est quam ut nostro indigeat illustrari relatu. Ob hunc in Deo favorem arridebat ei omnis prosperitas et omnium bellorum invicta felicitas. Denique et Northanimbros, magnum et gentile tumentes, ita contudit ut omnem laborem successoribus suis abstulerit. Illud fuit tempus quo Sanctus Odo Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ossa beati Wilfridi ab ea regione ablata apud sedem suam aurea condidit theca. Quomodo autem et quo auctore reliquiæ sanctorum ex Transumbranis Glastoniam sint advectæ, in libro de Antiquitate ejusdem Ecclesiæ accepta inserere non pigebit, si Deus mentem meam ad quod intendo direxerit.[2]

Criticism on Osbern's statement that Dunstan was the first abbot of Glastonbury.

Victories of Edmund.

Odo translated the bones of Wilfrid.

16. At Dunstanus, regiæ liberalitatis et amicitiæ compos, monasterium Dei dignatione sibi concessum in summum provehere contendit. Est ibi ecclesiæ ligneæ, ut ante dixi, lapidea contermina, cujus auctorem Inam regem non falsa confirmat antiquitas. Hanc ille adjecta turri ad multum spatium prorogavit; et ut latitudo longitudini conquadraret, alas vel porticus quas vocant adjecit. Ita vir industrius impendit operam ut, quantum antiquæ structuræ patiebatur schema, utrobique fieret ingens basilica. Ubi et si aliquid desideratur venustæ pulchritudinis, nihil deest necessariæ capacitatis. Cimiterium monachorum ab australi ecclesiæ

Dunstan's buildings at Glastonbury; a tower and aisles.

B. p. 25. Osbern, p. 92. Eadmer, p. 182.

[1] Above, p. 251.

[2] W. Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccl. (ed. Gale), p. 301.

He built the wall of the cemetery.

pariete maceria in multos pedes protenta inclusit. Ipsum spatium quadratis lapidibus excitavit in tumulum, videturque quasi pratum amœnissimum ab omni ambulantium strepitu alienum, ut merito de sanctis ibi pausantibus dici queat, "Corpora eorum in pace "sepulta sunt."

Monastic revival in England.

17. Itaque ob præconium religionis ejus, quæ dulci compatriotarum fines impleverat aura, undatim ad ejus disciplinam confluebant homines. Suscipiebat ille omnes et offerebat Deo, promovens eos tam verbo quam exemplo. Dedit felix emolumentum divinitas magistri doctrinæ et auditorum obedientiæ, dum ex eodem grege abbatibus electis multæ per Angliam et emendatæ et fundatæ sunt abbatiæ. Quid dico de abbatibus? Episcopi et archiepiscopi, de conventu illo procedentes, dederunt orbi Britannico indicium quale de Dunstano mundus deberet habere judicium. B. p. 26. Osbern, p. 93. Eadmer, p. 182.

Fame of Ethelwold.

Unum pro exemplo Ethelwoldum advoco, quia de pluribus dicere in immensum esset pergere. Is nec iners nec imprudens nec præterea tenuis patrimonii clericus, cum multa monasteria voluntati ejus occurrerent quæ illum obviis manibus exciperent, solum omnium mortalium Dunstanum suæ vitæ consiliarium elegit, illius commilitium, illius contubernium desiderans, ei convivere, ei commori exæstuans. Venit ergo Glastoniam et ibi grammaticam artemque metricam edoctus, postremo etiam monachus factus monachi vigilavit in actus. Cujus religio quantum conferret mundo Deus Ipse ostendit Dunstano veraci et perspicuo somnio. Visus est sibi videre[1] infra septa monasterii arborem patulis ramis omnem Angliam obumbrantem. Ramos omnem monachilibus tunicis onustos in summo culmine unam latitudine sui cæteras obvelantem. Dunstanus, visionis subtilitatem discernere impotens, ducem venerandæ ut

He was a scholar at Glastonbury.

Dunstan's vision about him.

[1] See W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontiff., pp. 165, 166; Wulfstan, V. S. Ethelwoldi, Mabillon, AA. SS. O.S.B. sæc. v. p. 607.

videbatur canitiei presbyterum consulendum putavit. Ille remotis ambagibus dilucide omnia prosecutus est. Interpretation of the vision.
" Arbor," ait, "est hæc insula; major cuculla est Ethel-
" woldi monachi tui religiosa gratia. Cæteræ sunt
" multorum monachorum animæ quas ille contra dia-
" bolum religionis suæ velo, et quodam justitiæ defendet
" umbraculo." Hanc visionem abbas tunc quidem silentio dedit, sed cum vidisset spem suam, quam de Athelwoldo taciturnus alebat, in effectum procedere, non dubitavit quæ viderat multis coram ingerere. Secutus est rerum effectus cœleste oraculum, tantaque ac tot per illum virum, postea Wyntoniensem episcopum, constructa sunt monasteria, quanta ut aggrediatur nullius regis modo spirare ausit industria. Sed de hiis contraham stilum, ne videatur vagari extra propositum, quamvis a meta dicendi hæc relatio non exorbitaverit, cum deceat abbatem subjectorum bona provehere et prosperitates animo præsagire. Quocirca hoc de vita ejusdem Athelwoldi sumptum quominus apponerem non abstinui, quia, ut scriptum est, "Gloria patris est filius
" sapiens." Omnia ergo Athelwoldi benefacta in Dunstanum redundant, quorum fructum eo gratiosius tulit, quo cumulatius semen in alterum transfudit. Fulfilment in the career of Ethelwold.

B. pp. 26, 27. Osbern, p. 93. Eadmer, pp. 182, 183.

18. Horum ergo et similium bonorum fundamenta Dunstanus probe faciebat in Glastonia. Sed enim antiquus hostis sæpenumero aperta monstrabat impudentia quantus eum de præsentibus livor angeret, quantus de futuris timor torqueret. Armatus enim feralibus et malitiæ suæ congruis simulacris, beluinosque indutus vultus crebris eum fatigabat impulsibus. Denique nocte quadam orantem ter appetiit, trium ferarum figuram ementitus. Primo visus ursus hians et horrendis hispidus setis; secundo canis præmisso latratu torvos in eum rictus irritans; tertio ganniens vulpecula dolosaque alludens cauda. Quibus omnibus Christi signo in fugam actis, non solum non motus sed etiam materiam lætitiæ Attacks of the devil. He appears as a bear, a dog, and a fox.

Dunstan laughs him to scorn.

nactus est. Severitatem quippe frontis risu solvens ultro injecit hosti obprobrium quod speciem mutuaretur ferarum; ille qui quondam par Deo appetisset fastigium nunc se ostenderet in urso sævum et sanguinarium, improbum et ingratum in cane, versipellem et mendacem in vulpe. B. p. 27 Osbern, p. 93. Eadmer p. 183.

Defeated by Dunstan awake, he tempts him asleep, at the altar of S. George.

19. Confusus diabolus de sancti victoria, consilia, ut credi fas est, volvebat versuta. Et quoniam vigilanti non prævaluerat, arbitratus fortassis, si solutis in somnium sensibus eum adoriretur, levi negotio cessurum, has non neglexit insidias. Sedebat ille quadam nocte ante beati Georgii Martyris altare, et exercitio psalmodiæ nocturnas protelabat excubias. Peccavit in psallentem lassitudo, quæ paulisper eum dormitare coegit. Jamque somno in oculos serpente, et summissis palpebris nutabat mento, cum affuit ille cui nulla festinatior est voluptas, quam ut bono viro machinetur insidias. Villosam enim ursi speciem assumens, et pedibus super ambos humeros insistens, pestifero hiatu minari et unguibus arpagare visus est. Timor quietem depulit, statimque arrepto quem pro more gerebat baculo, dum informe portentum percutere conatur inanes ventilavit auras. Ictus vero non cassis viribus in lapidem proximum delatus, terribilis stridore soni ecclesiam implevit. Ita interruptum psalmodiæ ordinem continuans, ubi dimiserat incepit; "Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici Ejus, et fugiant qui oderunt Eum a facie Ejus." Quibus verbis se notatum intelligens hostis, exuit formam alienam et recepit suam. Namque nebulosa obtectus fuligine, visus est paulatim ante oculos viri in subtilem aerem evanescere. B. pp. 27, 28. Adelard, p. 59. Osbern, p. 100. Eadmer, p. 189.

Dunstan tries in vain to strike him, but he flies at the sound of the Psalm.

Ps. lxviii. 1.

Dunstan had a brother, Wulfric.

20. Nocturno aggressui diurnæ successere insidiæ. Habuerat hic sanctus fratrem, Wlfricum nomine, bonæ religionis laicum. Huic exteriorum curam delegaverat, ut ipse ab omni strepitu causarum feriatus avidius cœlestia gaudia prælibaret. Wlfricus fideliter et grate B. p. 28.

B. pp. 28, 29. officium exsequutus vitæ dies explevit. At Dunstanus germanæ necessitudinis pietate devinctus funus honorifice curari jussit. Monachi omnes, ut patri morem gererent, communem dolorem privato luctui accommodarunt. Itaque quidam ut corpus adveherent longe profecti, quidam ut acciperent extra septa progressi, cœnobium vacuefecerant. Solus pater remansit cum puero, qui ævo accedente factus episcopus hujusce relationis index fuit. Lento ergo gradu intra atrium quod supra dixi spatiabantur, adventum, ut credo, monachorum præstolantes. Et ecce, dubium quo eventu, velut funda emissus ingens lapis stridulas everberans auras in Dunstani caput venit. Nec vero ille prævidit ictum vel præcavit, sed Deus ab eo avertit. Nam citra ullam læsionem capitis pileo excusso, lapis longe ruit. Bone Deus! quid hoc monstri fuit? Mortales cuncti aberant, de puero porro nulla suspicio. Nam quomodo ei fuisset saxum jaculabile, quod cum sibi Dunstanus afferri jussisset vix potuit humo tollere? Præterea forma, Summertensi pago incognita, omnem de hominibus suspicionem purgabat. Quapropter dæmonis fuisse missile telum, sanctus et intellexit et dixit, qui suæ invideret saluti quam servire videret multorum profectui. Assignavit tamen cautelæ lapidem perditum iri non debere, ut hostiles insidias monachi tanto caverent promptius, quanto earum formam conspicarentur præsentius.

Wulfric dies.

On the day of the funeral, Dunstan, who is left with one companion in the monastery, narrowly escapes from a stone miraculously cast at him.

B. pp. 44–46. Osbern, p. 94. Eadmer, p. 184. 21. Interea suprema dies regis Edmundi mortis pulsabat januam, accitusque nescio qua de causa Dunstanus venit ad curiam. Pergebant ex more de villa in villam, quod unus locus diu tantam non sustineret frequentiam. Adequitabat sancto dux Elfstanus, et serebatur inter eos sermo varius, cum Dunstanus, porrectis ad agmen tubicinum oculis, vidit dæmonem histrionicos motus agere, gesticulari et saltare quasi plane ipsum diceret inter ejusmodi artifices esse. Diu hæsit obtutu intento petulantiam hostis admiratus. Mox ducem percunctatus an idem ille videret, ubi eum nihil præter solitum

Dunstan, on his way to court, rides with the ealdorman Elfstan.

He sees an evil spirit.

Elfstan, having signed his eyes with the cross, sees him also.

videre intellexit, "Signa," inquit, "vir illustrissime, "signa oculos tuos crucis signaculo, si forte possis "videre quod video." Paruit is et non distulit: nec mora, lux adeo clara bruta prius exacuit lumina ut non minus quam ipse sanctus conspicaretur impudentis monstri saltus. Inde abbas malum regi ominatus mortem ejus non quidem aperto sed suspenso prodidit vaticinio. Tum prætenta cruce et disparente fantasmate, protulit dux in medium proximæ noctis somnium. Visum sibi regem inter medios convivii strepitus obdormiscere, proceres omnes in hircos et capras mutatos esse. Corripuit verbum Dunstanus ab ore loquentis, et subjecit, "Dormitio ergo regis mors est. Mutatio pro- "cerum in petulcas pecudes est eorum vita putida et "lasciva perfidia." Mirum id dictu et verum! Nam partem prophetiæ in tempora regis Edwii fortuna distulit, partem continuo in effectum rapuit. Quod nimirum palam fecit eodem die repetita dæmonis visio et inter cœnantes discursatio. Hæc adeo sanctus præclare videbat et ostendebat, ut a quibusdam putaretur vel male credere vel parum prospere mente valere. Jam lux fatalis illuxerat, et rex auditis officiis ad curam corporis ab ecclesia in aulam festinabat. Ibi obvius quidam Dunstano rotulam undique perscriptam manu gestitabat. Consultus quis esset, respondit Anglice juxta polite ut indigena, ex orientali regno se venisse, quædam se regi secreto communicanda deferre. Ei nunciatus jussusque introduci, reperiri non potuit. Hac de causa quæstione inter aulicos orta, dum res diligentius disquiritur positis mensis rex discubuit. Adduxerat eo funesta sors quendam sicarium, quem quondam violatarum legum reum patria expulerat. Hunc intuitus Eadmundus, ira præfervidus et animum continere impotens, nemini quicquam dicens, in capillos involat. Latrunculus, qui ad tale infortunium se paraverat, sica velociter extracta, regem antequam a satellitibus accurri posset confodit. Exivit in orbem fabula, magno

B. pp. 44–46. Osbern, p. 94. Eadmer, p. 184.

Elfstan relates a dream.

Dunstan interpreta.

The evil spirit appears again.

The king sits down to meat.

He sees a robber and tries to arrest him, but is killed.

B. pp. 44–46. Osbern, p. 94. Eadmer, p. 184.

dedecore Angliæ, quod nulla possit emendare memoria. Communi ergo decretum consilio et funus Glastoniam delatum, ibique in aquilonali parte turris magnifice humatum. Id eum voluisse pro familiari abbatis amicitia per nonnulla claruerat indicia. Data in inferias villa in qua occubuerat, ut quæ semel conscia fuerat homicidii, semper in posterum pro anima ejus esset adjutrix beneficii.

He is buried at Glastonbury.

B. pp. 29–31.

22. Quia vero filii Edmundi pro ætate puerili ad regnandum non videbantur idonei, substituerunt proceres Edredum, ut regnaret loco fratrum suorum; virum paci et justitiæ accommodum, hominibus morigerum et jocundum, Deo devotum non minus pene quam monachum. Temptabat eum frequenter improspera valitudo, et vehementer ad patientiam exercebat. Nam præter alia quibus quotidianis horis anhelabat ad exitum, interraneorum maxime cruciatu vexabatur, cibum omnem stomacho nausiante rejiciens. Annis ergo novem in regno non tam vixit quam vitam traxit, totius corporis tormentis infractus et debilis. Quapropter Dunstanum, qui eum primus in regem acclamaverat, et aliis et sibi præfecit, ut pro scientia imperitaret regno, pro religione mederetur incommodo. Præterea quicquid pretiosissimum mortales opinantur ejus delegavit tutelæ, thesauros ab antecessoribus elaboratos et sibi hæreditario jure transfusos. Suscepit ille et suo reposuit monasterio, non auri specie captus sed depositoris amore devinctus. Tunc justitiæ normam per totum regnum extendere, et quæ ultra vagarentur severe simul et opportune recidere. Pati nullum peccatis insolescere, cunctis primum Dei judicium, secundo legum vigorem, proponere. Cuncta regis gratiæ, regis fidei, attribuens, magnis suis laboribus commoda ejus sæpe nundinatus; Dei timorem semper præ oculis habens, nihil quod Eum offenderet in se regnare permittens. Sciebat enim scriptum, 1 S. Pet. ii. 17. "Deum timete, regem honorificate." Nec minus Ed-

Edred succeeds, a good man but very sickly.

He reigned nine years.

B. p. 29. Adelard, p. 56. Osbern, p. 94. Eadmer, p. 184.

Dunstan was his chief adviser and treasurer.

Dunstan's friendship with Edred.

redus grato benefacienti concurrebat animo, nec unquam eum aliquis ullo potuit concutere maledicto, ut existimaret prave de Dunstano. Aderat ille pene semper et mansitabat in palatio, quamvis ejus curam cuncta in Anglia exspectarent negotia. Adeo eum amor regis sibi devinxerat, ut ne puncto quidem temporis abesse pateretur. Frequenter etiam captatis occasionibus tum in eum tum in sibi subjectos perliberalis et munificus fuit. Denique Athelwoldum, de quo supra dixi, Glastonia extractum in abbatem Abbendoniensem provexit, multa de suo viro largitus. Tantumque amori ejus detulit, ut raro stipatus satellite, ipse per se ad monasterium venire officinasque monachorum metiri non erubesceret.

Ethelwold made abbot of Abingdon.

Dunstan refuses the see of Crediton.

23. Jam vero relatu arduum est, quotiens Dunstano ut episcopatum dignaretur suaserit nec persuaserit. De duobus narrare sufficiet. Ethelgari Cridiensis episcopi senis anima, vetustate corporis deposita, in juventam aquilæ transierat. Ejus locum Edredus per Dunstanum supplere conatus plurimas in irritum fudit preces. Excusationis ejus ratio fuit in causa quod dominum regem, et debilem, et præsertim sui amantem, occasione tam longinqui episcopatus deserere videretur barbari et minime mitis animi. Præterea rem esse magni oneris et se minimæ religionis, nec expedire ut episcopatum accipiat nondum patientibus meritis. Ne tamen nihil pro rege, qui tam prona devotione amori suo deditus erat, facere videretur, de consilio suo electus est Alwoldus, qui maturis moribus juvenis sedi succederet boni senis. Hoc consilio rex dejectus molimen alterum aggreditur. Nam Elphego Wintoniensi episcopo, de quo supra diximus, ad felicem quietem composito, res suggerere videbatur ne Dunstanus ulterius petenti regi negaret assensum. Nam et ipse sanctus rudimenta religionis in eadem urbe conceperat, et Edredus episcopali ecclesiæ honorificandæ mentem addixerat. Quippe, ut verba illius qui vitam sancti Athelwoldi composuit

B. pp. 29, 30. Adelard, p. 56. Osbern, p. 95. Eadmer, p. 185.

On the death of Elfege, Winchester is offered him.

apponam, erat rex "veteris in Wintonia cœnobii specialis "amator et defensor, ut plura testantur" quæ ibi larga manu contulit. "Qui etiam, si vita comes esset, orien- "talem porticum ejusdem ecclesiæ auratis imbricibus "adornare disposuerat."[1] Ad hunc ergo episcopatum Dunstanum sublimare intendens, sed pudori suo consulens ne iterum repulsam pateretur, simulque sciens quantum fœmina valeat viriles animos tentare viresque inflectere, Elfgivæ matri suæ opus injungit. Monentis fuit sermo ut Dunstanum communem amicum, tutorem unicum, precibus ad suscipiendum episcopatum impelleret. Id convescens faceret, quo facilius hilaritas convivii et astantium frequentia eum a sententia negandi deduceret. Illa, quæ non minore dignatione sanctum suspiceret, nescio etiam an ei majori dilectione obnoxia esset, adornat probe convivium, adornato amicum introducit, affectat blanditias, sermones componit, precibus pulsat, promissis onerat, postremo quantum fœmina, quantum amans, quantum regina potest, aggreditur. Sed parum procedit, parum aut nihil ille omnibus his motus urget propositum, rationes quas prædixi allegans. Nec vero adhuc illa desineret nisi sanctus nonnihil stomachatus diceret, "Certissimum tibi, domina, constet quod nun- "quam in diebus filii tui ero episcopus." Quo dicto et reginæ silentium et sibi otium indulsit.

Edred's love for Winchester.

He asks his mother to persuade Dunstan.

B. p. 30. Adelard, p. 57. Osbern, p. 96. Eadmer, p. 185.

Dunstan refuses to be made bishop while the king lives.

24. Et quidem tanta placidi viri ex intentione boni procedebat obstinatio, sed eam minus Deo placere sequentis noctis ostendit visio. Qua etiam luce clarius constitit, quanta illum semper gratia miseratio divina prævenerit. Adhuc puero senex in somnis apparens, Glastoniam per eum reparandam promiserat. Juveni æque juvenis visus ad summos eum gradus provehendum prædixerat. Nunc vero ut omne visionum suarum eluctaretur involucrum,

Dunstan's visions.

He now has a vision of the apostles.

[1] The passage is very nearly in the words of Wulfstan, the biographer of S. Ethelwold; Mabillon, AA. SS. O.S.B., Sæc. v. p. 600.

He dreamed that on his way home from Rome he met S. Peter, S. Paul, and S. Andrew, each holding an inscribed sword.

solvit Ipse Deus per apostolos Suos omne ambiguum, quarum ecclesiarum pontifex esset futurus palam præconatus. Visus sibi erat Romam isse et apud apostolos deposita oratione pedem ad reditum reflectere. Tum ad locum citra Sutrium venisse cui Mons Gaudii nomen a peregrinis datum. Ibi enim ab itinerantibus Romana cernuntur mœnia, ibi magnæ viæ laboribus emensis peregrini felicis spei præsumunt gaudia. Eo loci Petrus et Paulus et Andreas apostoli ei occurrere visi, singulos gladios tenentes singuli. In duorum autem gladiis eorum nomina legeres; porro in beati Petri ense aureis litteris scriptum cerneres, "In prin- "cipio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum." Omnes ergo parili liberalitate gladios Dunstano præbuere, Andreas autem hilariori vultus lætitia visus amicum perstringere. Quantum enim mortales possunt supernorum hærere contubernio familiari ab ævo ineunte famulatus ei fuerat obsequio, multa ejus beneficia frequenter expertus. Ille igitur quasi etymologiæ cognominis sui alludens, qua mitissimus sanctorum et sentitur et dicitur, simulque legationem allegans suam, suavi melo insonuit, "Tollite jugum meum super vos, "quia mitis sum et humilis corde." Deinde Dunstanus dulci beati Petri conventus imperio manum porrigere, blandientisque virgulæ crepitum persentiens, audire promeruit, hanc esse pridie refutati præsulatus vindictam, et ulterius non refutandi suadelam. Hoc excitus sono finem dedit somno. Pro magno sane miraculo quasi alienatus animo, interrogavit prope accumbentem monachum quisnam eum perculerit. Illo percussorem negante, sobria tandem ad se reversus mente dixit, "Nunc "scio, fili, nunc scio, inquam, quis me perculerit." Nec mora, noctis reliquias in Dei egressus laudibus, prorumpente diluculo, ad regem ingressus totius visionis non falsus index fuit. Tunc gloriosus rex concepto vaticinii spiritu, futura incunctanter exsolvit, gladios apostolorum ecclesiasticum significare pontificatum. Futurum ergo eum episcopum ecclesiarum quæ prædic-

B. p. 80. Adelard, p. 57. Osbern, p. 96. Eadmer, p. 185.

S. John i. 1.

The words of S. Andrew.

The blow of S. Peter.

He awakes.

Edred interprets.

B. p. 30. Osbern, p. 97. Eadmer, p. 186.

torum apostolorum operiuntur nutum. Porro scriptu- He foretells Dunstan's promotion.
ram quæ de beati Petri micabat gladio, significare futurum eum in Cantia primatem; ibi est enim Salvatoris Jesu Christi ecclesia; depostea protulit verba beatus et verus symmista. Dixit hæc ille, non conjectantis animo sed veraci præsagio, sicut et rerum effectus ostendit et lectionis continuatio manifestabit. Quid in his mirabilius dicam non diffinio, Dei gratiam occurrentem viro, an viri meritum concurrens Deo, an regis mentem accurrentem vaticinio. Sed Tua, Christe Deus, sunt omnia. Tua fluxit in Dunstanum gratia, Dunstani excrevit per Te gloria. Tuo munere fuit vera regis prophetia.

B. p. 31. Adelard, p. 58. Osbern, p. 98. Eadmer, p. 187.

25. Non post multum tempus, Edredus, violentia morbi Illness of Edred.
pressus, lento in mortem agebatur spiritu. Mandatum ergo curavit Dunstanum vitæ arbitrum, mortis tutorem. Ille tristi perculsus rumore, celer equum insilit. Tantum moræ in medio ut jumenta thesauris oneraret Dunstan goes to visit him.
quos rex supremæ voluntatis arbitrio dispensaret. Conficit iter nocte dieque stimulis amoris negotium accelerans. Nulla viro pausa, nulla requies calcaribus; labor ingens subinde mutatis animalibus. Sed Deus et amici pectoris sollicitudinem, et afflicti corporis laborem miseratus, utrumque demissa superne voce com- He has a warning of the king's death.
pescuit. "Modo," inquit, "Edredus rex obdormivit in "Domino." Tum jumentum cui sedebat cœlestis tonitrus impatiens animam amisit, sed ipse itineris continuationi securior indulsit. Turbavit sodales vocis crepitus et animalis interitus, qui sonum quidem audierant, sed sensum non discreverant. Absolvit Dunstanus timorem, rem ut erat ordine pandens, et pro regis anima preces Deo medullitus fundens. Modicum He receives the news, and finds the king's body uncared for.
inde cum progressus esset, venientibus nunciis post nuncios alteris post alteros, cœlestis oraculi fidem approbavit. Jam vero, ubi ad locum perventum, fuit videre miseriam; exanime regis corpus pene sine custode jacere, familiam omnem diffugisse. Momentum fortunæ sequebatur pro-

Neglect of the courtiers.

cerum fides, et qui olim adulantes astiterant vivo nunc subsannantes abibant a mortuo. Fit enim fere in rebus hominum ut in divitibus magis quidam sectentur pecuniam quam gratiam, magis avaritiæ famem quam amicitiæ fidem. Indoluit visu vir beatissimus, tum defuncti modestiam recordatus, tum in desertores vehementer indignatus. Regales ergo exuvias suo diversorio intulit, eisque cum presbyteris et monachis suis justa persolvit. Mane autem succollantibus ministris, Wintoniam in episcopatum provectas, quieti æternæ sedis imposuit.

Edred buried at Winchester.

Dunstan retires to Glastonbury.

26. Quo sepulto curiales tumultus perosus monasterii sui sinibus exceptus est. Ibi dulci pace componens animum religionem de integro novat, divinæ contemplationis sedulus explorator. Sed quamvis Mariæ partem elegerit, Martham tamen non usquequaque aspernatus, semper aliquid utilis fabricæ comminiscebatur. Unde factum est ut turri quæ proxime facta erat tectum juberet imponi. Fervebat igitur labor artificum, stridebat funalis machina immensas rapiens ad fastigium trabes. Et cæteræ quidem ordines agnoverant, una vero ruptis, ut credo, funibus deorsum vergere cœpit. Tum fragore cadentis trabis et strepentis vulgi clamore concitatus abbas impiger accurrit. Rogantibus cæteris ipse immanitate periculi constantior et fidei arma concutiens, ore Christi auxilium asciscit, et manu signum crucis emittit in auras. Vis signaculi trabem ruentem retro depulit et in altum actam suo loco restituit. Hoc miraculum sicut et cætera quibusdam in eodem monasterio fratribus bonis erant ad augmentum in patrem gratiæ, malis ad cumulum invidiæ. Nec enim vir ille, cujus purissimam vitam nullius unquam contagionis nævus infecit, livorem suorum effugere potuit, quominus in eum occultis dumtaxat sævirent calumniis.

Adelard, p. 59. Osbern, p. 99. Eadmer, p. 188.

Miracle of the falling beam.

27. Sed hæc postmodum etiam divino claruere indicio; tunc autem causa exstitit ut omnibus principibus patriæ

B. p. 32. Osbern, p. 99. Eadmer, p. 187.

convocatis ad curiam deesse non deberet. Nam e duobus filiis Edmundi superioris regis, major electus est qui patruo succederet; Edwius nomine, juvenculus ævo, immaturus consilio, perniciosus omnibus, pestifer sibi; præceps ad omne vitium, maxime crudelitatem petulantiamque; altera in omnium et in bonorum potissimum fortunas et vitas sæviens, altera pudicitiam suam omni pene momento lædens. Captus enim miraculo pulchritudinis cujusdam Elfgivæ, quæ sublimitatem generis pravitate morum premeret, nihil non arbitrio ejus faciebat. Hærebat mulierculæ filia plenis jam nubilis annis, quæ genitrici haud absimilis, vitricum delinimentis etiam suis devinxerat. Ferebaturque Edwius lascivire tam in matrem quam in filiam et in ambabus satiare voluptatem vicariam. Sed hujus dicti credulitas penes antiquos auctores sit. Utinam in hoc dumtaxat sim vanus nullusque ad imitandum mihi fidem accommodet, quod unquam Christianus se tali probro subjecerit. Enimvero tunc, sicut est ignara futuri mens hominum, qui plerumque magno favore aliquid faciendum commendant, quod postea magno dolore factum deplorant, consensu principum aulam vacantem occupat Edwius. Convenerunt ad eum coronandum, ut mos est, omnes patriæ magnates, episcopi et abbates, vocibus in gaudium profusis futurum sui dispendium urgentes. Dictis missis cum cibo curassent corpora, ille quasi ventris desiderio pulsatus primo in secretum, mox in triclinium fœminarum concessit. Cum moram faceret, res interrogantes latere non potuit. Tum Odo Cantuariensis archiepiscopus omnium ævo et gradu maximus, paterno cunctos frementes lenivit hortatu. Iret aliquis et regem, dedecoris quod faciebat admonitum, ad consessum reduceret optimatum, renuentem excommunicationis minis percelleret. Cunctis pro inertia conscientiæ fugientibus, duo se voluntati archiepiscopi obtulere, qui periculo suo rem tractarent justitiæ, Kinesius episcopus et Dunstanus abbas, par

Edwy is chosen king.

B. p. 32. Osbern, p. 100. Eadmer, p. 190.

His love for Elfgiva and her daughter.

The writer doubts.

On the coronation day, at the festival Edwy leaves the banquet.

Odo proposes to send for him back.

Dunstan and Kinsige find him with the women.

insigne constantiæ nec minus affines sanguine. Abeuntes comitatus est sedentium plausus, more hominum qui nonnunquam in aliis laudare sciunt quod ipsi facere non præsumunt. Egerunt illi primo legationem placide constanti animo non titubanti verbo. Verumtamen parum promoventes terruerunt eum excommunicationis suspendio. Volutabatur ille inter meretriculas, diademate procul excusso et humi jacente. Quapropter adhuc cunctantem Dunstanus apprehendit dextera, impositaque corona violenter eduxit triclinio. Is nihil contra sive auctoritate viri motus, sive conscientia sua territus. At Elfgieva muliebris impatientiæ signifera, torvos in eum vibrans oculos, "Quia," inquit, "tam "audax es ut educas regem, velit, nolit, triclinio; fa- "ciam ego ut hujus diei meique semper memineris "cum potero." Sed licet illa sacrilega in ipsum cœlum verba jactaret, Dunstanus juxta firmitatem nominis sui, velut pelagi rupes immota resistens, ut cœperat regem educens prostibulo, collocavit et sedere fecit in solio.

B. pp. 32, 33. Osbern, p. 100. Eadmer, p. 191.

The crown lying on the ground.

Designs of the evil woman against Dunstan and his monastery.

27. Tum vero mulier ad omnem se proterviam armans, suasionum suarum classico virum in bellum contra Deum accendit. Excogitato enim quid Dunstano maxime posset esse dolori, feralia per totam Angliam mittuntur edicta. Tunc res monachorum præceps agi, tunc monachi proscribi, tunc monasteria fisco regio addici. Putabat enim adultera minus regiæ majestati convenire, si omnem in unum hominem vim furoris effunderet, nisi, ut de quodam dicitur, incendium suum ruina extingueret. Jamquè proscriptores Glastoniam venerant, et arrosis omnibus eum loco excedere jubebant. Convenerat frequens vicinia, velut ad patris exsequias, omnes præter paucos de quibus diximus et dicemus susurrones lamentabantur in cœlum, onerabant æthera suspiriis. Interim non potuit dissimulare lætitiam suam diabolus, fœdos et petulantes cachinnos in

B. pp. 33, 34. Osbern, p. 101. Eadmer, p. 192.

B. p. 34. Adelard, p. 59. Osbern, p. 101. Eadmer, p. 192.

atrio ecclesiæ ingeminare auditus. Dunstanum auctor risus non latuit, qui etiam quamvis majora urgerent, dicere hosti non abstinuit, "Nihil est, diabole, quod "de abscessu meo gaudeas, si vaticinari possis quam "multiplicius in reditu meo doleas." Cedendum ergo tempori ratus, ne præsentia sua furentes exstimularet, transito mari Flandriam intravit. Quo audito, altera Jezabel nihilo modestior ministros direxit e vestigio, scrutarique jussit eos quicunque sanctum Dei caritatis suscepissent hospitio. Omnes itaque accusati, proscripti vel absumpti. Quid enim non auderet furiarum maxima quæ illius oculos, oculos columbinos, oculos semper superius intentos, si forte inventus esset, intentaverat cavis orbibus evellere. Sed prævenit audaciam fœmineam sancta sancti viri providentia, immo ut verius fatear, Dei Omnipotentis Qui Angliæ consultum volebat clementia.

Laughter of the devil at Dunstan's expulsion; Dunstan's answer.

He goes to Flanders.

B. p. 34. Adelard, p. 59. Osbern, p. 101. Eadmer, p. 193.

28. Erat eo tempore Arnulphus comes Flandriæ, Elfredi superiorum regum avi ex filia Ethelsuitha pronepos. Princeps magnificus et Dei amori deditus, qui monasterium apud Gandavium, olim a beato Amando episcopo constructum, nobiliter eo tempore ampliabat. Cui etiam ad tutelam sui et patriæ corpora sanctorum intulit, Wandregisili, Ansberti, Wlmari. Quorum primus Fontanellæ abbas, secundus et tertius primum ibidem abbates, mox alter apud Retomagum, alter apud Senones archiepiscopi fuerant. Hoc ergo audito et expulsionis suæ causis expositis, convenientem religioni suæ benignitatem ejus expertus est. Siquidem eo jubente in prædicto exceptus monasterio, non mansitabat ibi ut exul et incola, sed colebatur ut domesticus et abba. Frustra enim certabatur totis Angliæ tumultibus adversus eum cui Deus aderat. Frustra gloriabantur quidam expulsum patria, cui familiaris sui Andreæ apostoli non deerant suffragia. Ipse vigilanti quæcunque placita suppeditabat; ipse dormienti consolationes divinitus exhibebat. In eodem quippe monasterio multa

Arnulf, count of Flanders.

He receives Dunstan at Ghent.

Friendship of S. Andrew.

ei cœlitus ostensa, quibus vel dolorem de suorum perfidia extenuaret, vel exitium hostile cognosceret. Verbi causa utrorumque sequantur exempla.

His dream about his enemies at Glastonbury.

29. Visus est sibi quadam nocte in Glastoniæ choro esse, ibique a monachis hanc antiphonam cantari audire; "Quare detraxistis sermonibus veritatis? ad "increpandum verba componitis et subvertere niti- Job, vi. 25. "mini amicum vestrum." Ibi antiphonam interruptam silentio monachosque scientia sequentium verborum frustratos, quamvis multiplici temptarent repetitione, nunquam potuisse titubantem memoriam emendare. Tum se vehementi eos invectione arguere, quod ita sequentia nescirent, "Verumtamen quæ cogitastis ex- "plete." Sed mox divinum oraculum auditum a templi latere, "Ideo fraudantur horum verborum notitia "quominus ea dicere sciant, quia nunquam explebunt "opere quod cogitant, ut te a possessione hujus mo- "nasterii funditus extrudant." Quibus auditis somno excedens, rediit ad vigilias, misericordi et omnipotenti Deo de tam manifesta consolatione quales decebat referens gratias. B. p. 35. Eadmer, p. 193.

Whilst at Ghent he sees Edwy's soul carried off by evil spirits.

30. Nec minus mors Edwii regis, quæ quomodo accidit sequens libellus declarabit, mors inquam Edwii Dunstano in Gandavio præclaro monstrata est indicio. In ipsa nocte obitus ejus ante altare pro more orans stabat, ejusmodi quippe consuetudinem pene in naturam traxerat. Et ecce mirabile dictu videt cominus transeuntes piceæ fuliginis formam indutos dæmones. Nec vero ipse more nostro inerti pavore refugit, sed diligentius in ipsas tenebras exacuens oculos vidit ab eis trahi regis animam continuo Gehennæ mancipandam. Id illi et tripudio lætitiæ suæ et imperioso sancti jussu coacti prodidere. Stetit ante oculos Dunstani humanæ conditionis miseratio, et si quid residuum erat rancoris, fugit ex animo. Hæc consideratio scaturivit in corde beati hominis, et profudit uberem fontem lacrymarum Osbern, pp. 104, 105. Eadmer, p. 196.

ab oculis, gratum Deo sacrificium et suave holocaustum. Quod ille prostratus in humum thurificavit in cœlum, pro eo qui se patria expulerat, qui denique, suum sanguinem sitiens, cupiditate si non mucrone illum libaverat. Quo facto Dunstanus palam fecit mundo quam bonus esset in amicos qui tam gratus erat in hostes. Oderat ergo in Edwio non naturam sed culpam; amaverat quidem hominem, execrabatur libidinem. Dunstan's prayers for Edwy

31. Hactenus librum primum protraxisse et de hoc miraculo dixisse suffecerit. Cæterum verba sancti ad dæmones vel dæmonum ad ipsum, præterea precibus ejus animam a dæmonibus extortam, narrare refugio, quia in veteri exemplari nec hæc nec alia perplura invenio. Talia enim novus scriptor, ut esset sermo politior et voluminis moles grandior, ex suo adjicienda putavit. Sed nos ea inserere fastidivimus, intelligentes quod nostræ laudis, præsertim falsæ, non est indigus Dunstanus. The author does not pretend to give the exact words of Dunstan's speeches, as Osbern has done.

Explicit Liber primus; incipit Prologus secundi.

Liber Secundus.[1]

Prologus.

The author has completed his work on the antiquity of Glastonbury.

Antiquitatem istius sanctissimi cœnobii Glastoniensis, in quo cœlestem profitemur militiam, alio opere quantum divinus favor affuit absolvimus; quam si cui voluptati erit legere, poterit alias apud nos invenire. Negotium sane illud nos frustra suscepisse non causabitur posteritas, quoniam subinde legens intellexerit quam immaniter Cantuariensis cantor in describenda patris nostri vita peccaverit. Nam, præter paucissima in quibus rectam semitam tenuit, multa sunt vel pene omnia, ubi vel turbavit miraculorum ordinem, vel minuendo et augendo neglexit veritatem: rhetorum morem imprimis æmulatus multorum repræsentans verba quæ dici quidem potuerunt in tempore, sed quis, quæso, ea nostro sæculo intulit integra veritate? Vix enim, vix, inquam, tenuis ad nos gestorum manavit fama, nedum ego crediderim potuisse teneri verba, cum ipso dicto, volatica. Nihil tale scriptores antiqui, secundum quorum tenorem ego, vestris obsecundans jussis, miracula ordini suo reddidi, et rerum integritatem restitui. Adjeci quæ deerant, abscidi quæ superfluebant. Sed huic dicto timeo ne difficulter ab improbis detur venia, quamvis, secundum sententiam oratoris egregii, in re vera crimen arrogantiæ non debeam vereri.[2] Inter quæ notandum quod utriusque linguæ scriptores, quos mihi ad exemplum dedistis, dicunt quidem plerumque unus plus altero, sicut se habebat scribentium memoria vel intentio. Cæterum in hiis quæ utrique dicenda putaverunt in unanimem concurrunt assensum, ut nihil

Criticism on Osbern.

His account of his own work on the life and miracles.

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[1] The second book is in a much later hand than the first, but it is the only known copy of the work of William. See the Preface to this volume.

[2] Cicero, Orator, (ed. Steph.) s. 72.

videatur diversum. Solum excipiatis licebit quod diaboli fantasma in urso, cane et vulpe, alter tempore regis Edmundi, alter Edwii, Dunstano intentatum asserit. Sed quid hoc sugillare attinet, in quo etsi discrepant de tempore, nihil dissident de facti veritate? Nec illud generabit litem quod alter Ethelgari Cridiensis, alter Elpheagi Wintoniensis, episcopatum ab Edredo rege Dunstano dicit oblatum; credibile enim est ut quod unus dixerit alter tacuerit, et rex utrumque obtulerit, sed de neutro impetraverit. Hæc dixi fortassis quam lex prologi sit loquacius; sed, quia dicenda erant, non dici potuerunt brevius. Quapropter, quia omnia quæ in scrupulum venire poterant vera fide absolvi, nunc secundum librum de vita Dunstani ab ortu regis Edgari incipiam. Et quoniam primo minores ejus annos et gradus percurri, nunc eum per auxiliatricem Dei gratiam ad bravium supernæ coronæ per summos honores deducam.

General harmony of the ancient lives.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

1. Eadmundus rex, de quo superius diximus, duorum fratrum regum medius, in spem hæredum pruriens, accepit uxorem Elfgivam summo loco natam, pudicitia et sanctitate præstantem. Ea fœcunda utero contulit marito liberos, Edwium, quem superior sermo infamavit, et Edgarum de quo nunc dicere pergam. Cujus futuram magnitudinem et felicia tempora Ipse auctor felicitatis Deus Dunstano Suo prænunciare dignatus est. Sub ipso enim momento quo eum mater effundebat in lucem, audivit Dunstanus tum abbas vocem de cœlo dicentem "Pax Anglorum ecclesiæ, exorti nunc "pueri et nostri Dunstani tempore." Audivit hæc ille facienda, nos audivimus et vidimus facta, nam quanta fuit eis viventibus pax in Anglorum ecclesia non est in promptu dicere. Cæterum Edgaro defuncto

Edmund and Elfgiva had two sons.

Prophecy of the birth of Edgar.

Adelard, p. 56. Osbern, p. 93. Eadmer, p. 183.

per aliquanta monasteriorum membra pax elanguit, sed Dunstano excedente hic fax bellorum æterna, illic febris interna malorum per omne Angliæ corpus excanduit.

Edgar in his early years contemplated a monastic reformation.

2. Edgarus, per incrementa temporum in pueritiam provectus, crebro adhuc privatus monstrabat indicio, cui se in regno applicaturus esset studio. Spirabat enim tenera ætas illustris et prudentis pueri, quod robustiores anni mirifico dedere affectui. Denique, ut in cujusdam prologo legi,[1] qui regulam Benedicti Anglico enucleabat fuso, dum quadam die ludibundus sagittis exerceret animum, animadvertit procul ædificia magna, sed situ et ruinis deformia; consuluit ergo socios quid esset, indaginem veri sollicita mente rimatus: dictum est ab eis fuisse ibi monasterium olim magnificum, nunc, vel bellica hostium clade vel tyrannica regum destructum, raro incoli habitatore. Tum ille levatis in altum oculis huic se voto fecit obnoxium, ut si unquam regnaret, et istud et alia in statum pristinum excitaret, per hæc Deo, Qui scrutatur interna, et hominibus qui præsentem indolem futuri boni viderent interpretem, carus, statim ut anni tulere ascitus est in regnum magna hominum felicitate.

Edwy persecutes his grandmother.

3. Gravabat adhuc superas auras vivendo Edwius, cujus quanto extendebatur vita, tanto augebatur malitia. Nam præter insaniam, quam retuli superius, in ecclesiam et Dunstanum, etiam in aviam suam Edgitham crudelitatem anhelavit et evomuit; fœminam cujus nulla unquam littera digne mores effigiabit, nobilitate et religione juxta præstantem. Contempsit in ea Edwius dignitatem regiam, quod duorum fuisset mater regum; parvipendit generis affinitatem quod tulisset utero patrem suum; despexit annorum maturitatem quod jam

Osbern, p. 99. Eadmer, p. 188.

[1] See Mon. Angl. i. p. xxvii. Reyner, de Apostolatu Benedictinorum, pt. iii. p. 77, where the Reguaris Concordia is given in Latin; the procemium is printed by Selden in Anglo-Saxon and Latin in the notes to Eadmer, p. 145.

vergebat in senium; nihili duxit dapsilitatem quod esset omnium gentium quasi fidum ærarium. Conscidit igitur omnia, interdicens ei curia et patrimonio. Non potuerunt ultra ferre Angli proterviam insani juvenis qui etiam in proprios sæviret affectus. Uno ergo consensu plusquam civile bellum consciscunt. Quicunque citra Humbram, quicunque citra Tamensem fluvium populi erant, in Edwium pari armantur sententia. Ita multis conspirantibus, nullis vel paucis auxiliantibus, facili negotio pulsum ultra Tamensem reliquere, has interim ei partes ad tutandam quam ei polliciti fidem concedentes. Fuerunt enim semper tenaces fidei, nec unquam in dominos quantumlibet asperos rebelles. Denique per ducentos et quinquaginta annos audivimus, cum eos West Saxonum reges multis sæpe irritassent injuriis, semper tamen illorum ditioni succiduis subdebantur sæculis. Quocirca cum istum, ut dixi, justis et necessariis causis parte tantum regni mutilassent, Edgarum fratrem præfecerunt alteri, voluntati nimirum Dei consentanei. Ille statim ut ætatis infirmitatem, non enim major quam sedecim annorum erat, maturiori fulciret consilio, partis suæ optimates indicto convocavit consilio. Ibi cum aliis illud præcipue decretum ut privilegia ecclesiarum, quæ sæculo suo tyrannus inviderat prona libertate restituerentur. Quod ut enucleatius fieret, Dunstanum ab exilio revocandum, qui et ea omnia nosset, et quominus renovarentur nulli potestati pro conscientia religionis cederet.

This provokes a rebellion.

B. p. 36. Osbern, p. 103. Eadmer, p. 194.

He is rejected by the people north of the Thames, but retains the south.

Loyalty to the West-Saxon kings.

Edgar at the age of sixteen becomes king and recalls Dunstan.

B. p. 36. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, p. 103. Eadmer, p. 195.

4. Edwius interim fatali sorte vitam exivit, festinatæ mortis beneficio multis exemptus injuriis, sive dolor repulsæ obitum celeraverat, sive sustulerat Deus hominem de medio, parum ecclesiæ profuturum, non dico multum nociturum. At Dunstano ab exilio reverso ab omnibus optimatibus libenter occursum, a rege favor effusus, parum intercessit temporis et, coacto apud Bradford consilio, censitum est ab episcopis ut Dunstanus episcopatus gradum sumeret, quo majori auctoritate regis tirocinia posset regere. Tunc enim Ke-

Edwy dies.

Dunstan is chosen bishop.

B. p. 36.

As bishop of Worcester, he has the promise of S. Peter fulfilled.

nenwaldus Wigornensium antistes moriens ei locum vacuefecerat. Properabat quippe impleri quod viderat somnium, quod verius quilibet vocet divinum vaticinium. Tunc enim beatus Petrus suum tradidit ensem, quum ei in Wigornia suam non invidit sedem. Nam thronus pontificalis in Wigornia nondum transierat in nomen beatæ Dei Genitricis. Quomodo autem et quando transierit sequens sermo elucidabit. Quo deinceps ambiguo Osbernus multa casso labore verba consumpsit,[1] dum aliquid verisimile conaretur procudere quare Dunstanus in Wigornia episcopus fuerit, cum eam sedem a Domini matre sibi datam non viderit. Unde comperio parum eum investigasse historias, qui suæ patriæ nescierit ecclesias. In hanc ergo sedem consecrandus, pro more Cantuariam contendit. Durabat adhuc in rebus humanis beatus Odo archiepiscopus infractus ætate sed integer mente. Is super electum egit consecrationis solemnia, non ut Wigorniæ pontificem sed ut Cantuariæ primatem. Nec, quamvis multo circumstantium interpolatus murmure, abstitit. Quinimmo susurros eorum levi sermone compescuit, non se oris vel mentis titubantia peccasse, sed esse factum suum non inane, ore suo loqui Spiritum Sanctum, Qui præsignaret beatum illum post se fore archiepiscopum. Hujus denunciationis præsagio Dunstanus insignis omni constanti reverentia et reverenti constantia agere, vitæ suæ potissimum intendere, postea subjectorum mores non negligere, postremo tota niti solertia, ut minæ quibus obstrinxerat diabolum prodirent in effectum. Credo nequam spiritum sæpe momentaneam deplorasse lætitiam, cum tantum videret a se dissociari turbam. Hoc quippe quotidianum pontificis erat exercitium, comminisci unde faceret gaudium bonis, tristitiam spiritibus protervis.

B. p. 36. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, pp. 103, 104. Eadmer, p. 195.

Criticism on Osbern.

Odo consecrates Dunstan as archbishop.

5. Impleta erat jam visionis portio, pars implenda restabat. Petrus fidem pollicitam solverat; ut Paulus

[1] Above, p. 106.

B. pp. 36, 37. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, p. 105. Eadmer, p. 196.

idem faceret supererat. Nec vero distulit, sed, ut credi fas est, exorato Deo Londoniensium episcopum in quietas sedes traduxit. Tum vero rex, qui nullam occasionem prætermitteret quominus Dunstanum sublimaret, eum ad Pauli ecclesiam gubernandam crebro invitavit; prudens primi episcopatus administratio regis animum exstimulaverat, spem auxerat. Nihil quippe nimium videbatur committi ei in cujus animo ad multa gubernanda concordabat sapientia cum religione, ingenium cum virtute. Renuit illé diu, frustraque trivisset Edgarus preces, nisi communis episcoporum assensus renitentem superasset, quamvis et mentem ejus sollicitare potuit supradicta visio, ne obstinate putaret negandum quod per apostolum jam noverat præsignatum. Quapropter subjecit jugo quod imponebat caritas ex fraterno episcoporum animo. Nec fuit hoc transgredi canones, quia cedunt leges humanæ ubi promulgantur divinæ. Quocirca nulla sanctum virum transgressionis pulset invidia, ubi non fuit ambitus honoris, non appetitus potestatis. Nam quid horum in ejus pectore potuit esse qui fuit per apostolos designatus, per collegium sacerdotum ascitus? Sed de hiis cuique liberum erit judicium, dummodo non avertatur in pravum, sed declinet in bonum. Ego cœptam narrationem prosequar quomodo secundum prophesiam regis Edredi pro "in principio erat Verbum," quod erat scriptum in gladio Petri, fuerit Dunstanus constitutus princeps et primas Angliæ in ecclesia Salvatoris Cantuariæ: nec minus quomodo Andreæ gladium acceperat, quia Rofensis ecclesia, eidem apostolo dedicata, sequitur Cantuariensem sicut matrem filia, sicut dominam pedissequa. Qui enim Cantuariensis archiepiscopus est in Rofensi ecclesia proprius vel dominus si sævus, vel patronus si bonus. Hoc igitur dicturus quædam ad rem pertinentia præmittam.

He becomes bishop of London.

His reluctance is overcome by the persuasion of the bishops, and the promise of S. Paul is fulfilled.

The third promise still remained.

How S. Andrew's was to be fulfilled.

6. Maturus erat jam cœlo sanctus archiepiscopus Odo, poscebaturque a superis civibus, ut ejus adventu eorum augeretur numerus. Nec ille vi morbi tactus, ulla

Death of Odo.

tristitia excusavit adventum, sed "exultavit ut videret "diem Domini, vidit et gavisus est." Tum vero Edgarus rex oblatum sibi tempus existimans quo Dunstano facere bene tantum posset pene quantum vellet, ut archiepiscopatum susciperet preces ingessit et regessit, sed nihil profecit. Quapropter Elfsius Wintoniensis episcopus sedem summam involavit continuo, surreptis per advocatos suos regis edictis; homo intractabilis avaritiæ, ambitionis nimiæ, qui multum diuque Cantuariæ inhiaverat. Quod ipso die processionis suæ dissimulare non potuit. Magna enim cum fuisset pompa exceptus, sacrilegum spirans accessit ad tumbam beati Odonis. Putabant fortasse comites quod sanctæ animæ vellet officium deferre. At ille, O dolendum nefas, et tumbam pede depulit et in defunctum convicia effudit. "Tandem," inquit, "vivacem animam effudisti, "pessime senex! Tandem tua mala gratia potior sede "cupita." Facinus miserandum et sævum, fuisse pontificem qui in memoriam defuncti pontificis tam execrandas ructaret injurias! Sequenti sane nocte, apparente sibi sancto, temeritatis admonitus et in futurum minis territus, nihilo secius Romam pro pallio ire perseveravit. Jam vero prope Alpes ventum cum esset, miserabile frigus medullæ concipiens, nulla copia vestium, nullo ignis admotu calefieri potuit. Itaque exinteratis equorum ventribus pedes immittens, cum nec in veporem eos animare posset, anima fugiente diriguit. Hoc in Angliam nuncio delato, iterum ad Dunstanum de archiepiscopatu preces relatæ, iterumque cassatæ. Tum fuere qui dicebant Brichtelmum Dorsatensem episcopum pro animi modestia et vitæ munditia debere Cantuariam migrare. Facilis fuit regis concessio, qui ad hoc animum induxerat suum, ut, amplitudine fortunæ non abutens, bonorum precibus refragari non videretur. Verumtamen post paucos dies cognitum est, quia illud quod putabatur in Brichtelmo mentis modestia erat potius inertia. Quapropter remissioris animi judicatus minusque magno regimini accommodus, ex volun-

B. pp. 36, 37. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, p. 107. Eadmer, pp. 197, 198.

Dunstan refuses Canterbury.

Elfsin succeeds.

He insults the dead Odo.

He is killed by cold on the Alps.

Brihthelm succeeds.

His weak-

B. p. 38. Adelard, p. 60. Osbern, p. 107. Eadmer, p. 198.

tate regis valefecit alienis honoribus in suos regressus. Ita rex, adjuncto sibi omnium episcoporum et procerum suffragio, Dunstanum precibus tentavit, nec destitit quoad ille importunitati succumbens omnium voluntati manus daret. Omnes enim illi, non tam humani casus quam divini nutus, servierant somno Dunstani et vaticinio regis Edredi. Non enim otiosum esse vel in vanum cedere poterat, quod gloriosus rex per Spiritum dixerat. Suscepit ergo Dunstanus nostrarum ecclesiarum principem, ecclesiam olim sibi præcellentis metalli litteris in gladio principis apostolorum designatam. Suscepit Domini Salvatoris in Ejusdem basilica jugum, Qui Ipse principium, et Ipse in principio Verbum, caro factus est in fine sæculorum. Non minus, ut ante dixi, cum Cantuariensi primatu suscepit beati Andreæ in urbe Rofensi sedem, quæ nunquam potest divelli ab ejus caritate, sicut nec membrum a capite; nihil restat ergo de debito; solutum est quicquid debebatur ex promisso. Itaque probatur non fuisse frivolum somnium quod tam nobili ordine constat esse impletum.

His retirement.

Dunstan accepts Canterbury, and the rest of the vision is fulfilled.

B. pp. 38, 39.

7. Pro more igitur antecessorum, pro insigni primatus sui suscipiendo ad Romam iter composuit. Currente per regiones viæ coterminas fama, turmatim ad eum ruebant populi, hii victum, hii vultum, omnes benedictionem ejus optantes. Impartiebat ipse omnibus necessaria, et dabantur eo jubente cibi, effundebaturque pecunia. Suggerentibus ciborum ministris, jam exhaustum esse marsupium, jam in angusto esse victum, semper prætendebat Christum, darent illi libere, redderet Christus liberaliter. Præterea convenire archiepiscopo ut omni die omnem hominem suo illustret beneficio. Non erat ministris obniti constantia auctoritate viri devinctis. Ita quamvis darentur omnia quæ vel extulerant patria vel largitas contulerat aliena, nunquam tamen eis defuit Christus. Denique cum quadam die, con-

He goes to Rome for the pall.

His lavish charity on the way.

Complaints of his steward.

sumptis sumptibus, ne diurnus quidem suppeteret victus, secessit pontifex jam illatus hospitio, ut vesperas hora monente conficeret. Cavillante interea ministro cui dispensandi provincia fuit delegata, quod frustra sibi de Christo applauserat, ex insperato abbas e vicino commanens multa intulit xenia, tanta congessit obsonia, ut eo et sequentibus diebus non solum tolleret famem sed etiam cumulavit satietatem. Sic ministro ne grunniret cohibito, præsul liberalitatis in pauperes propensior Romam pervenit, ibi ab apostolico Johanne dignanter exceptus, pallium cum gratia, cum gloria reditum, impetravit; privilegium etiam intulit patriæ quod hic pro antiquitatis indicio volo apponere;[1] B. pp. 38, 39.

His wants fortunately supplied.

Privilege granted by pope John XII. to Dunstan.

"Johannes episcopus servus servorum,[2] confratri Dun-
" stano Dorobernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopo vitæ[3] per-
" manendam in Christo salutem. Si pastores ovium
" solem geluque pro gregis sui custodia nocte ac die
" ferre contenti sunt, et oculis circumspectant[4] vigilan-
" tibus ne[5] aliqua ex ovibus aut errando pereat aut
" ferinis laniata morsibus rapiatur; quanto sudore,
" quantaque cura debemus esse pervigiles ob salutem
" animarum, quī dicimur pastores earum! Attendamus
" igitur nos officium exhibere erga custodiam Domini-
" carum ovium, et ne quasi lupo veniente territi fu-
" giamus, ne in die divini examinis pro desidia nostra
" ante summum pastorem ex[6] negligentia nostra ex-
" cruciemur. Unde modo honoris reverentia in sublimiore arce cæteris dijudicamur. Primatum itaque
" tuum, in quo tibi ex more antecessorum tuorum vices
" apostolicæ sedis exercere convenit, ita tibi ad plenum

[1] Given also partly in the Gesta Pontificum (ed. Hamilton), pp. 61, 62; Eadmer, Hist. Nov., p. 128; and in Mabillon, AA. SS. O.S.B. sæc. v. p. 643, from the Paris MS. 943, whence the following various readings are taken.

[2] *servorum*] Dei, ins. Mab.

[3] *vitæ*] tuæ tantummodo, ins. Mab.

[4] *circumspectant*] conspectant, Mab.

[5] *ne*] ut ne, Mab.

[6] *ex*] pro, Mab.

" confirmamus, sicut beatum Augustinum ejusque suc- How he was to use
" cessores præfatæ ecclesiæ pontifices plenius habuisse the pall.
" dignoscitur.[1] Pallium vero [2] fraternitati tuæ ex more
" ad Missarum solemnia celebranda commendamus, quo
" tibi non aliter, ecclesiæ tuæ privilegiis in suo statu
" manentibus, uti concedimus,[3] nisi quem usum ante-
" cessores vestri [4] prodiderunt. Neque tua prudentia [5]
" hoc incognitum habet,[6] quoniam indumenti honor
" moderatione actuum tenendus [7] erit, honestati morum
" tuorum hæc ornamenta conveniant, quatinus auctore
" Deo possis esse conspicuus, ita ut vita tua filiis tuis
" sit regula, et in ipsa si qua tortitudo [8] illis inest,
" dirigatur, dum in ea quod imitentur aspiciunt,[9] in
" ipsa semper considerando proficiant, ut tecum Deum
" per hoc quod bene vixerint videre mereantur. Cor Good advice of the
" ergo tuum neque prosperis, quæ temporaliter blan- pope.
" diuntur, extollatur, neque adversis dejiciatur. Quic-
" quid illud fuerit adversi virtute in Christo patientiæ [10]
" devinciatur. Nullum apud te locum favor indiscre-
" tus inveniat, in omnibus discretionem alii in te cog-
" noscant. Insontem apud te culpabilem suggestio
" mala non faciat. Nocentem gratia non excuset.
" Remissum te delinquentibus non ostendas, nec quod
" illis non profuerit hos perpetrare permittas. Sit in
" te [11] boni pastoris dulcedo, sit et judicis severa de-
" strictio. Unum scilicet quo innocentes foveas, aliud
" quo inquietos feriendo a pravitate compescas. Sed
" quoniam nonnunquam præpositorum zelus, dum dis-

[1] *Primatum . . dignoscitur*] "Hæc "desunt in MS." Mab.

[2] *vero*] autem, Mab.

[3] *concedimus*] nisi solummodo in Nativitate Domini et in Epiphania, atque in Resurrectione, et Ascensione Domini, ac Pentecosten, pariterque in Assumptione Dei genitricis Mariæ, seu in natalitiis apostolorum; verum etiam in consecratione episcoporum atque in natalis tui die, necnon in die consecrationis ecclesiæ, quem usum, &c., ins. Mab.

[4] *vestri*] nostri, Mab.

[5] *tua prudentia*] tuus usus, Mab.

[6] *habet*] vel cujusque, ins. Mab.

[7] *tenendus*] tremendus, Mab.

[8] *tortitudo*] fortitudo, Mab.

[9] *aspiciunt*] aspiciant, Mab.

[10] *patientiæ*] a te, ins. Mab.; devincatur, Mab.

[11] *te*] et, ins. Mab.

Privilege of Pope John XII. to Dunstan.

" trictius malorum vindex est, transit in crudelitatem,
" correptionem [1] in judicio refræna, et censuram dis-
" ciplinæ discute, ut et culpas ferias, et a dilectione
" perversorum quos corripis [2] non recedas. Misericor-
" diam, prout virtus patitur, pauperibus exhibe, oppres-
" sis defensio tua subveniat; opprimentibus modesta
" ratione contradicas. Nullius faciem contra justitiam
" accipias. Nullum quærentem justa despicias. In
" custodia æquitatis excellas, ut nec divitem pro poten-
" tia sua apud vos aliquid quærentem [3] extra viam [4] de
" accusatione audias; nec pauperem faciat humilitas
" sua desperare; quatenus Deo miserante talis possis
" existere qualem sacra lectio præcipit dicens, 'Oportet 1 Tim. iii. 2.
" 'episcopum irreprehensibilem esse.' Sed hiis omni-
" bus uti salubriter poteris, si magistram caritatem
" habueris; quam qui secutus fuerit a recto [5] tramite
" non recedit. Ecce, frater carissime, inter multa alia,
" ista sunt sacerdotum, ista sunt pallii jura, quæ si
" studiose servaveris, quod foris accepisse ostendis [6]
" intus habebis. Sancta Trinitas fraternitatem vestram
" gratiæ Suæ protectione circumdet, atque ita in timo-
" ris Sui viam te dirigat, ut post vitæ hujus amaritu-
" dinem ad æternam simul pervenire dulcedinem me-
" reamur. Et hoc scriptum est per manum Leonis
" scrinialis sedis apostolicæ, in mense Octobri, indictione
" iiii[ta]. data die i.[7] kalendas Octobris; anno duodecimo[8]
" summi pontificis Johannis."

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[1] *correptionem*] correctionem, Mab.

[2] *corripis*] corrigis, Mab.

[3] *quærentem*] om. Mab.

[4] *viam*] suam, ins. Mab.

[5] *recto*] aliquando, ins. Mab.

[6] *ostendis*] ostenderis, Mab.

[7] i.] ii°., Mab.; primo, Gest. Pontif.

[8] As John XII. only reigned from 955 to 964, we should perhaps read vii^mo. for xii^mo., or accept the conjecture of Baronius, and read "anno vi°. Johannis duodecimi." The indiction seems to point to 960, which would be the sixth year of John. There is no reason to question the genuineness of the letter, which is found in the pontifical of Sherborne, a MS. of Dunstan's own time, in the Royal Library at Paris, MS. 943.

Adelard, p. 62. Osbern, p. 109. Eadmer, p. 203.

8. Beatum ergo pontificem feliciter totum iter emensum desideriis patriæ sospes carina restituit. Cujus reditum tam sibi prosperum quam suis votivum, primo exceptionis suæ die in Cantia, miraculum divinitus ostensum commendavit. Assistebat candidatus altari, archiepiscopatus sui redimitus insigni, cum interim templum lucida opplevit nubes, et columba, incertum unde, veniens, sacrificantem diu multumque plausibili volatu circuivit. Ad postremum ejus vertici, familiari scilicet Sancti Spiritus subsellio, insidens, ante peractum officium non abscessit. Inde super sepulcrum beati Odonis pausam habuit, quod modo pyramidis in australi ædis parte fabrefactum fuit. Quod pontifex intuitus tantum reverentiæ in sepultum concepit, ut non facile locum transiret nisi et genua flecteret et caput submitteret. Nec dubitabat cum omni occasione sanctum vocare et patrio sermone utens concinna urbanitate, "Ode the goode" dicere.

Dunstan's return.

Miraculous event at his first visit to Canterbury.

9. Sedit ergo in Cantia Dunstanus, ut verbis illius qui vitam beati Athelwoldi composuit, utar, vultu angelicus, quasi columna immobilis, eleemosynis, doctrina et actione præcipuus, prophesia præpollens. Paucis profecto scriptor ille[1] comprehendit beati pontificis vitam. Cujus ego particularius enodabo sententiam. Nam quod in Dunstano nitori animi responderit claritas faciei, testantur multæ quas sæpe legi epistolæ ad eum missæ, quæ nivi capitis candorem morum dicunt convenisse. Quamvis quantulum hoc ad ejus attingit laudem, in quo majora fuerunt omnia quam ut ea quælibet possit adornare facundia, nisi major videatur Dei gratia in homine quando hilaritas frontispicii concordat pectoris puritati! Fuit porro vir ille columna immobilis, quoniam nullius unquam potestatis terrore concussus est a

Dunstan's character a archbishop.

Exposition of the words of the biographer of Ethelwold.

[1] Wulfstan, the biographer of S. Ethelwold; Mabillon, AA. SS. O.S.B. sæc. v. p. 601: "Mansit in "Cantia triginta et septem annis "quasi columna immobilis, doctrina "et actione præcipuus, angelico "vultu decorus, eleemosynis et pro-"phetia præpollens."

Excesses of the secular clergy.

veritatis soliditate. Namque, ut a sanctuario Dei exordiar, eo tempore omnium ecclesiarum in Anglia clerici omnino a canonum regula desciverant, nundinis negotiorum dediti; aleæ lusores studiosi, fluxu vestium, voluptatum luxu, laicis vel pares vel præminentes; cibo intenti ad gulam, potui ad vomicam; litterarum perinde nescii, quasi dedecus esset si clerici essent litterati; usitata officia citra intellectum verborum vix ægreque balbutientes. Osbern, pp. 112, 113. Eadmer, p. 211.

Dunstan prevents their promotion;

Huic verecundæ miseriæ et miseræ verecundiæ antistes medendum arbitratus, ita consilium expedivit, ut nullum ad ecclesiasticos honores, episcopatus dico, aspirare pateretur, nisi religiosæ vitæ abbatem aut monachum; id ideo ut subjectis clericis tales præsules verbo et exemplo facienda formarent. Paruerunt sedulo pontifices summo primati ad emendationem clericorum; parum propemodum hac profecerunt industria. Adelard, p. 61.

and orders them to live canonically.

Tum ille severioribus remediis inveteratos rescindens morbos, clericos omnes hoc convenit edicto; "aut canonice vivite aut ecclesiis exite." Illi calcantes contra stimulum, mollioremque vitam eligentes, ecclesias monachis vacuarunt. Cumque miserabiliter per patriam vagabundi a fortunis suis exularent, et regem et principes fautores apud archiepiscopum habuerunt ut sententiam temperaret. Verumtamen nunquam ille ullis precibus adduci potuit ut canonicos sumptus haberent qui canonice vivere nollent. Quapropter rex rei æquitate et archiepiscopi voluntate permotus, cessavit ultra illis suum exhibere favorem, qui turpiter viventes antistitis non mererentur absolutionem, quia vulnerarent mentem. Nihil enim putabat expetendum quod vel saltem ejus turbaret vultum, in omnibus ei deferens obnoxius ut gratissimo parenti filius. Nam ubi antistitis in delinquentes minus operabatur sermo, ipse judicium exserens legali utebatur gladio, omnes legum rebelles earundem severitate coercens. Itaque omnes vel clam fures vel palam prædones exitio dati vel exilio deportati. Monetarii qui damno provincialium suum infarciebant marsupium, si corrigi nollent, pedibus et pugnis exspoliati. Veneficæ,

The king mediates: but afterwards compels them to obey.

Treatment of robbers and fraudulent moneyers.

Osborn, p. 110.

et quæ caritatem connubii oblitæ viros necassent, incendio datæ. Alieni matrimonii expugnatores ab ecclesiæ liminibus coherciti. Qui conjugia incesta contraxerant diducti; quod si qui eorum opibus freti, subreptitiis a rege vel apostolico papa epistolis niti cœpissent, nihil quod suis artibus conducerent in Dunstani pectore invenientes, vigorem apostolicum inflexibilem in eo mirabantur. Hæc erat columnæ immobilis constantia, hoc robur, hic status, quibus factum est ut omnes peccata committere timerent, dum illa impunita non fore scirent.

Dunstan's severity against unlawful marriages.

Adelard, p. 67. Osbern, p. 106. Eadmer, p. 200.

10. Jam vero quam liberalis illa quæ vulgo dicitur eleemosyna in pauperes fuerit, alio scripto non constat. Verumtamen hujus fides non vacillat. Quod si gratum Deo est perituras hominum carnes cibo ne deficiant sustentare, quam eo gratius monasteria in æternum victura a fundamentis erigere. Hæc sunt illius opera in Domino stabilita. Has ejus eleemosynas enarrabit omnis ecclesia sanctorum. Nam si Osberno credimus,[1] quinque monasteria de suo patrimonio fecit; Glastoniense vero monachis, prædiis, ædificiis ampliavit. Antiquum id quidem, ut dixi, et multum ejus anticipans tempora, sed quod, ut prioribus veterem fundationem, ita Dunstano novam sublimitatem debeat. Certe quod procul ambiguo et exacta fide dico,[2] cœnobium Malmesberiense, clericis ejectis quos Edwius intruserat illuc, ad pristinum statum, id est ad monachorum habitationem reparavit. Multa ibi largitus insignia, quorum quædam ad hunc diem oblivionis senium potuerunt eluctari. Miræ magnitudinis signa, non quidem, ut nostra fert ætas, dulci sed incondito sono strepentia, organa quæ concentu suo in festivitatibus

His liberality.

The monasteries he founded.

His gifts to Malmesbury.

[1] Above, p, 89.

[2] Much of what follows about Malmesbury is also in the Gesta Pontificum, pp. 407, sq., and in the book de Antiquitate Eccl. Glaston., Gale, pp. 324, 325.

Dunstan's gifts to Malmesbury.

lætitiam populo excitarent, in quorum circuitu hoc distichon litteris æneis affixit,

" Organa do sancto præsul Dunstanus Adhelmo;
" Perdat hic æternum qui vult hinc tollere regnum."

De fulvo ære vas aquatile fusili opere, in quo scriptum erat cernere,

" Idriolam hanc fundi Dunstan mandaverat archi-
" Præsul ut in templo sancto serviret Aldhelmo."

He translates the bones of S. Aldhelm.

Erant tunc ejusdem Sancti Aldhelmi ossa composita in scrinio, pretiosi metalli mole operosa. Hæc ille scrinio exempta reposuit tumulo, dictante Spiritu, non ignarus quatenus post dies suos Danorum turbo provinciam esset inquietaturus; maturum commentus consilium ne quis barbarus auri specie captus scrinium occuparet, ossa quoque pariter exportata et sanctissimos cineres cœlo alicubi exponeret. Et certe paulominus contigit quod spectabilis viri providentia cavit, quamvis ultioni suæ Aldhelmus non defuerit; dum enim Dani post multos annos per monasterium grassarentur, unus eorum cui mens præruptior, extracto cultello, aurum excrustare conatus, sine mente in terram ruit retroactus et illisus. Sed hæc postmodum; tum vero Dunstanus ibidem Elfricum, cui multum religionis, plurimum litterarum inesse cognoverat, abbatem constituit; nec multo post in episcopatum Cridensem, qui nunc Exoniensis, promovit;[1] virum singularis utrobique industriæ, hic in construendis ædificiis, ibi in refrænandis clericis. Talia archiepiscopus eleemosynæ opera per totam serebat Angliam, commilitonibus suis fortissimis et magnanimis viris singulas provincias delegans, et rempublicam Dei multorum collato umbone et communicato labore velut strenuissimus imperatorum administrans.

His foresight in doing so.

He appoints Elfric abbot, and afterwards bishop of Crediton.

Dunstan's learning.

11. Doctrinam multam, sicut ante dictum est, per Dei gratiam hauserat, quia in ejus animo cum strenuitate

[1] Elfric succeeded Sideman as bishop of Crediton in 977.

studii præcedebat vivacitas ingenii. Doctrinæ porro res duæ adminiculabantur, eloquentia elimata sed illaborata, dictorumque executio prompta et impigra. Neque enim tantam procerum cervicositatem suo unquam subdidisset eloquio, si ei defuisset bona operatio; quorum alterum in prædicatore pendet ex altero, quia neutrum valet, vel si bona dicta male vivendo destruxeris, vel bonum exemplum sermone non firmaveris. Utrumque autem in Dunstano vigebat, qui esset et facundus verbo et fœcundus exemplo. Sed quod dico proprio nititur argumento, si quam efficax ejus in auditoribus fuerit doctrina paucorum discipulorum exemplo monstravero.

His power of preaching.

Examples among his pupils.

12. Athelwoldus, ut supra dixi, ex monacho Glastoniensi abbas Abbendoniensis, idemque post episcopus Wintoniensis, tot et tanta monasteria fecit quod vix modo videatur credibile, ut talia fecerit unius urbis episcopus qualia vix posset rex Angliæ totius. Mentior si non palam sit quod loquor, qualia sunt cœnobia de Heli, Burhc, Thorni; quæ ille a fundamentis suscitavit et sua industria perfecit. Quæ cum semper exactorum vellitæ nequitia, sunt nihilominus habitatoribus suis sufficientia. Taceo quod monasteria quæ sunt apud Wintoniam monachis vel monachabus replevit; quod clericos de episcopatu projecerit, qui cum, data optione ut aut regulariter viverent aut loco cederent, magis delicatam vitam elegissent, pulsi nec unquam redire permissi sunt.

Ethelwold bishop of Winchester founded three monasteries.

13. Oswaldus Odonis archiepiscopi nepos per Dunstanum Wigorniensis episcopus et Eboracensis archiepiscopus, titulos non inferiores Athelwoldo promeruit. Nam easdem terens orbitas, monachorum regulam jure suo ampliavit, monasteria plura, inter quæ præcipuum Ramsiense, construens. Sedem episcopalem Wigorniæ clericis non vi expulsis, sed sancto ingenio circumventis, regularibus implevit monachis; siquidem ecclesiam beati

Oswald bishop of Worcester placed monks in his cathedral.

Dunstan's gifts to Malmesbury.

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Oswald bishop of Worcester

placed monks in his cathedral.

He worships in the church of S. Mary.

Petri, cui sedes illa serviebat antiquitus, artifici negligentia destituens præsentia sua, in ecclesia beatæ Dei Genitricis, quam in cimiterio construxerat, cum monachis suis pontificale officium agebat. Ita populis ad episcopum et monachos confluentibus, clerici destituti aut effugere aut monachatui collum subdere.

Wulfsige introduces monks at Sherborne.

Sanctissimæ memoriæ Wlsius,[1] ex abbate Westmonasterii Dunstano agente Sireburnensis episcopus, monachos ibidem posuit, posteris factum vel gaudendo æmulantibus vel invidendo patientibus. Ita per beatum archiepiscopum multiformi sanctorum lampade Angliam serenante, crassæ tenebræ vitiorum evanuere. Sic vigebat religio, sic florebat justitia, sic omnia bona, ut crederes de cœlo renidere sidera.

Good effect of Dunstan's counsels on Edgar.

14. Postremo in Edgari regis pectore, quantam Dunstani doctrina frugem tulerit, grave cogitatu, nedum non facile dictu. Nam præter severitatem in improbos quam superius explanavi, bonis duleis, religiosis acclivis, monachis affabilis erat. Nec ullus fere annus ejus in chronicis præteritus est, quo non magnum aliquod et patriæ necessarium fecerit, quo non monasterium novum fundaverit. Nemo ejus tempore privatus latro, nemo popularis prædo, nisi qui mallet in fortunas grassari alienas propriæ vitæ dispendio. Per hæc Dei favore tuto quantum pacis arriserat, quantum favoris suorum, quantum timoris hostium accesserit, libenter dicerem, si non a proposito vagabundus indulgere viderer eloquio. Cæterum cui curæ sit de talibus legere,

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[1] The ancient list of the bishops of Sherborne in the Sherborne Pontifical (MS. Paris, 943) was drawn up in the time of Ethelric, who presided there from 1001 to 1009. It contains two persons named Wulfsige who were contemporary with Dunstan, one of whom, however, disappears from the charters in 958, before Dunstan was archbishop, and the other appears as bishop only in 992, four years after Dunstan's death. The letter to Wulfsige ascribed to Dunstan, which will be given below, must be referred to another archbishop.

Gesta Regum Anglorum, quæ ante aliquot annos edidi,[1] dignetur invenire; hic quod ad rem attinet diximus, sententiamque antiqui scriptoris de Dunstano intellectu latiori diffudimus. Quapropter quædam miracula quæ ad nos fama sua manarunt, necnon et vaticinia de quibus dicere restat, apponemus, quæ ita conspicue videbat et enunciabat ut nulli prophetarum videatur esse secundus.

General reference to the *Gesta Regum*.

Osbern, p. 109. Eadmer, p. 204.

15. Eo tempore quo primum post susceptum pallium archiepiscopatum reditu suo nobilitavit, a quodam magnate ad ecclesiam quam in villa sui juris fecerat consecrandam invitatus, non recusavit officium. Processum est ecclesiam; antistes ad consecrationem stabat accinctus. Verumtamen fefellit officiales incuriositas, quominus omnia procurassent. Nam ministraturo aqua defuit, cujus copiam in tali officio esse debere nemo fere est qui nesciat. Cursitabant ministri; stabat attonitus dominus magno pudore frontem oneratus; pallebat illorum culpa, hujus tumebat verecundia. Erat pontificis pro amico confusio. Erat ingens vulgi exspectatio, præsertim quia non erat aqua de proximo. Omnibus hiis humanitas sancti consuluit, et oratione fusa de rupe proxima aquam affluentem elicuit. Crediderim ducem tunc amasse negligentiam suam, per quam sanctus sacerdos tanti miraculi rapuisset causam; facit certe in præsenti hominibus ejus provinciæ gaudium, qui vident per rupis amfractus levi susurro dulcis aquæ serpere rivum.

At the consecration of a church there is a want of water.

Dunstan prays and the water flows from a rock.

B. p. 46. Osbern, p. 94. Eadmer, p. 183.

16. Beatus igitur pontifex, ut nihil quod sui officii interesset negligeret, sæpe obibat cœnobia, ut quæ bene fiebant auctoritate sua muniret, quæ perperam corrigeret. Hac consuetudine Bathoniam venit, ubi calidæ aquæ vis emergens bullatis scatebris balneas quibusdam ægritudinibus salubres evaporat. Susceptus dapsili fra-

Dunstan's visits to monasteries.

To Bath.

[1] This passage definitely determines the authorship of the present work; the Gesta Regum (as distinct from the Historia Novorum) ends in 1120. William lived for more than 20 years longer.

At Bath he is warned of the death of a pupil at Glastonbury.

trum caritate: jam cibo curatus inter eos pro more assedit, et ecce animo cœlum transvectus, videt cujusdam Glastoniensis scholastici animam supernis sacrariis magno angelorum plausu importari. Lætatus de felicis pueri gloria, gaudium considentibus participavit. Postero die præpositus Glastoniensis eo venit, antistitem de quibusdam necessariis consulturus, cum statim post impartitam benedictionem interrogavit rectene an secus circa fratres constaret. Ille, cujus menti mors innocentis exciderat, recte omnia Dei gratia et ejus orationibus agi respondit. Non se putare, retulit Dunstanus, eos sine proximo funere fuisse; tunc demum præpositus, memoriæ redditus, omnia dixit bene procedere, præter quod quidam puer pomeridianis horis excessit pridie. "Hoc est," ait pontifex, "quod dixi; anima ergo ejus "requiescat in pace. Amen." B. p. 46. Osbern, p. 94. Eadmer, p. 183.

At Glastonbury he hears a voice calling on Elfsige.

17. Ita cum cœnobia cætera, tum frequentius visitabat Glastoniam, felicitatis et religionis suæ nutriculam. Ibi non ut in peregrino diversorio, sed ut in domestico contubernio, seposita episcopalis comitatus pompa commanebat. Exierat quadam vice in atrium ecclesiæ spatiatum uno tantum fratre obambulante. Elfsius ei nomen. Venerat ad occidentalem veteris ecclesiæ partem, cum vox cœlestis æthere pulso sonuit, "Veni, veni, "Elfsi veni;" continuoque Dunstanus concepto vaticinio, respiciens comitem, "Præpara ergo," inquit "te, frater, "et viaticum compara quo possis ingredi tantum iter. "Instat enim vocationis tuæ dies." Paruit patri monachus, post paucos dies prophesiæ veritatem expertus. Quid hoc divinius, quid hoc mirabilius homine! curaverunt alii paucorum valetudines corporum, hic depulit innumerabilium morbos animarum; fuerunt alii prudentes in sæculo, ille et hoc non omittebat, et totus inhærebat Deo; fecerunt alii duo vel ut multum tria monasteria, hic a fundamentis multa extruxit nova, et quæ jam ruinam minitabantur reparavit vetera. B. p. 47.

He warns him of his approaching death.

Edgar dies, and is buried at Glastonbury.

18. Interea Edgarus renunciavit vitæ, vir omni ævo prædicandus. Namque non infirma inter Anglos fama

est, nullum nec ejus superioris ætatis regem in Anglia æquilibri judicio comparandum Edgaro. Ita nihil vita ejus sanctius, nihil justitia probabilius fuit, qui patriam suam præclara fortitudine illustravit, et rerum gestarum claritate et Deo servientium multiplicitate, in paucorum annorum angustia rem sæculorum includens. Sepultus est Glastoniæ. Corpus tunc quidem terra opertum, sed post scrinio in argenteo et inaurato locatum pro merito personæ honoratur. Successit ei Edwardus filius, annitente Dunstano quamvis obnitentibus proceribus et maxime noverca, quæ vixdum septem annorum puerulum Egelredum filium provehere conabatur, ut ipsa potius sub nomine ejus imperitaret. Extunc malitia hominum pullulante felicitas regni immutata, jam enim Edgarus in supernum regnum obierat, cujus tempore futuram pacem cœlestis vox Dunstano nunciaverat. Tunc ergo visus cometes qui vel pestem hominum vel mutationem regni portendere pro vero asseveratur. Nec mora, secuta sterilitas anni, fames hominum, mors jumentorum. Apud vicum regium quæ vocatur Calna casus insolitus, quem equidem scriptores vitæ Dunstani præterisse miror, cum in chronicis[1] ad ejus præcipuam gloriam annotatus sit.

Osbern, p. 114. Eadmer, p. 214.

Edward succeeds, by Dunstan's advice, notwithstanding the queen's opposition.

19. Nam Edgaro rebus exempto, clerici quondam ab ecclesiis expulsi rediviva prælia suscitarunt, ingens esse et miserabile dedecus, ut novus advena veteres colonos expelleret. Hoc nec dico gratum videri qui veterem eis a longinquis sæculis habitationem concessisset, nec alicui probo homini qui sibi idem timere posset, quod aliis præjudicio accidisse cerneret. Ea de re in clamores et iras surrectum et ad Dunstanum perrectum; proceribus præcipue, ut laicorum mos est, succlamantibus præjudicium quod passi fuerant leniori consilio succidi debere. Itaque frequenti synodo coacta, primo Wintoniam ventum. Quis ibi fuerit finis certaminis aliæ docent litteræ. Cum enim omnes adversariorum objec-

The clerks attempt to recover their churches with the help of the nobles.

Osbern, p. 113. Eadmer, p. 212.

Council at Winchester.

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 978.

tiones rationalibus responsis confutasset archiepiscopus, illi contentione irrita, versi ad preces, favore optimatum fulciebantur. Is responsum non retulit, ne vel in tempore optimatibus adversari, vel nefandis precibus assentire videretur. Quapropter Dominicæ crucis imago quæ adhuc Wintoniæ habetur antistitem dubietatis absolvit periculo, repetens tertio "Absit hoc ut "fiat." Sed adhuc non sedatis animis Calnæ consilium edictum, ubi cum in cœnaculo, absente propter ætatem rege, insidentibus totius Angliæ senatoribus, magno conflictu res ageretur, et validissimum illum ecclesiæ murum, Dunstanum dico, multorum jacula impeterent convitiorum, nec quaterent suas partes, cujusque ordinis viris summo studio tuentibus, solarium totum repente cum axibus et trabibus dissiluit et concidit. Omnibus ad terram elisis, solus Dunstanus stans super unam trabem quæ superstes erat probe evasit. Reliqui vel exanimati vel perpetui langoris compede detenti. Hoc miraculum archiepiscopo exhibuit pacem de clericis, omnibus Anglis tunc et deinceps in ejus sententiam concedentibus.

A crucifix speaks. Osbern, pp. 113, 114. Eadmer, p. 213. Council at Calne. Fall of the floor. Dunstan's escape.

20. Interea Elfthrida mater Egelredi novercali odio vipereum dolum ruminans insidias privigno struere, quas hoc modo consummavit. Lassus venatione revertebatur propter laborem siti anhelus; comites quo quemque casus tulerat canes consequebantur; auditoque quod illi in contigua villa habitarent, equo concito illuc contendit juvenculus solus, nihil propter innocentiam metuens, aliorum quippe animos ex suo ponderans. Tunc illa muliebri blanditia advenientem alliciens sibi fecit intendere, et post libata oscula, porrectum sibi avide poculum haurientem, per satellitem, sica transfodit, quo vulnere saucius cum quantis potuit animæ reliquiis sonipedem calcaribus movisset ad suos reverti, uno pede lapsus alteroque per devia tractus, undante

Edward, tired with hunting, visits his stepmother. He is slain.

[1] See W. Malmesb. Gesta Regum, § 162, p. 258, where the story is told in very similar language.

cruore, indicia interitus sui se quærentibus dedit. Et tunc quidem sine honore apud Werham sepeliri jusserunt, invidentes scilicet mortuo cespitem ecclesiasticum cui vivo inviderant decus regium. Sed affuit divinæ serenitatis assensus qui innocentem cæsum miraculorum sublimaret gloria. Quapropter Elferius dux, sacro corpore de ignobili loco levato, justas et egregias inferias apud Sceptoniam solvit. Creditumque et celebriter vulgatum quod propter Elfthridæ in Edwardum insolentiam multo post tempore tota patria servitutem infremuisse barbaricam, quam fidem minæ Dunstani firmarunt, sicut paulo post narrabitur. Nam et regis sanctitas antistitis proxime attingebat gloriam, quod ejus suffragio imperium conscendisset, quod ejus monitis paternæ religionis vestigia trivisset, quod ejus meritis commercium regni cœlestis pro terreno fecisset.

and buried at Wareham.

Elfhere removes his body to Shaftesbury.

Judgments on the country for the murder.

Osbern, p. 115. Eadmer, p. 215.

21. Tunc obsedit regnum Egelredus frater ejus de patre, cujus vitæ cursus, sævus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu asseritur. Ita parricidio cui conniventiam adhibuerat immanis, ita fuga et mollitie infamis, ita morte miserabilis fuit. Ignaviam ejus prædixerat Dunstanus fœdo exemplo admonitus. Nam cum pusiolus in fontem baptismi mergeretur, circumstantibus episcopis, alvi profluvio sacramenta interpolavit. Qua re ille turbatus, "Per Deum," inquit, "et matrem Ejus, "ignavus homo erit." Matris ergo suffragio proceribus congregatis, dies dicta, ut Dunstanus adveniret. Ille licet infensus esset supersedit resistere, pontifex ævi maturioris et in sæcularibus emeritus; jam vero diadema componens non se continuit quin spiritum propheticum totis medullis haustum ore pleno effunderet. Verba ipsa quæ alias legi dicturus sum, quamvis, ut in prologo hujus libri dixi, eis consensum non obligem meum, qui verba nusquam audita vel lecta apponunt quia dici potuerunt. "Quia," inquit, "per mortem fra- "tris tui aspirasti ad regnum, propterea audi verbum "Domini; hæc dixit Dominus Deus, 'Non delebitur "'peccatum ignominiosæ matris tuæ et peccatum viro-

Ethelred becomes king.

Dunstan's prophecy at his baptism, and at his coronation.

Dunstan's prediction concerning Ethelred.

" ' rum qui interfuerunt consilio illius nequam, sine Osbern, p. 115.
" ' multo sanguine miserorum provincialium.' Et veni- Eadmer, p. 215.
" ent super gentem Anglorum mala qualia non passa
" ex quo Angliam venit usque in tempus illud." Nec multo post simile vaticinium effudit ejus pervicacia hoc modo irritatus.

Ethelred's quarrel with Rochester.

22. Surrexerat inter regem et episcopum Rofensem si- Osbern, p. 117.
multas, incertum qua de causa. Quocirca contra civitatem exercitum duxit. Mandatum ei ab archiepiscopo ut furori desisteret, nec Sanctum Andream, in cujus tutela episcopatus est, irritaret, sicut ad indulgendum facilem, ita ad ulciscendum terribilem. Verborum nuditate contempta adornat præceptum pecunia, et mittit centum libras, ut obsidionem solveret, pretio emptus abiret. Quo ille accepto, receptui cecinit, procinctum militum feriari permisit: miratus Dunstanus hominis cupiditatem hæc per nuncios retulit; "Quoniam prætulisti argentum
" Deo, pecuniam apostolo, cupiditatem mihi, veloci ter
" venient super te mala quæ locutus est Dominus, sed
" hoc me vivente non fient, quia et hoc locutus est
" Dominus."

Dunstan bribes him.

Dunstan's contempt for him.

Character of S. Edith the daughter of Edgar.

23. At non ita melior Edgari soboles Edgitha; non ita Dunstani animum offendebat, sed ejus potius gratiam sedulo demerebatur. Unde quiddam quod in ejus vita[1] legi, apponere non fastidiam: quod quia alienum non est a Dunstano, non interim a materia vagabitur oratio. Ea abbatissa Wiltoniæ, videratque illam Dunstanus in consecratione ecclesiæ Sancti Dionysii, quam illa in amorem martyris ædificaverat, pollicem dexterum frequenter protendere, et signum crucis fronti e regione pingere. Delectatusque admodum, "Nunquam," inquit,
" putrescat hic digitus," continuoque intra Missarum agenda prorupit in lacrymas adeo profluas, ut singul-

Dunstan foretells her death.

[1] See the Life of S. Edith by Gotselinus in Mabillon, AA. SS. sæc. v. pp. 624, 625. The story is told by our author in much the same words in the Gesta Pontiff. ed. Hamilton, § 87.

tiente voce ut discipulum propter astantem concuteret. Reique causam quæsitus, "Cito," ait, "hæc florida rosa "marcescet, cito avis dilecta Deo avolabit, post sex ab "hoc die septimanas." Consecuta est igitur rerum veritas pontificale vaticinium. Namque illa, nobilis propositi tenax, prædicta die citra juventæ terminum efflavit, cum esset annorum viginti trium. Nec multo post idem beatus vidit somni visione Sanctum Dionysium virginem amicabiliter manu tenentem, et ex oraculo divino constanter jubentem ut a famulis honorificaretur in terris, sicut a sponso et Domino venerabatur in cœlis. Ita crebrescentibus ad tumbam miraculis, edictum, ut corpus virgineum levaretur et altius efferretur. Inventumque totum in cineres solutum, præter digitum et alvum et alvo subjecta. Unde disputantibus nonnullis, uni qui viderant dormienti ipsa virgo astitit dicens, "Nimirum[1] si partes illæ corporis putruerint, "quod usus habeat exanimata corpora in quosdam arca-"nos recessus defluere, et ipsa, utpote puella, membris illis "peccaverat; cæterum juste ventrem nulla putredine "corrumpi, qui nulla sit unquam aculeatus libidine; "immunem se fuisse crapulæ et carnalis copulæ."

Vision of S. Denis.

Wonders at the translation of S. Edith.

Osbern, p. 115. Eadmer, p. 215.

22. Similem prophesiam in prænunciando Adthelwoldi Wintoniensis episcopi excessu Dunstanus exhibuit. Is veniens Cantiam benigne et liberali aliquamdiu confotus est hospitio. Suspiciebat enim in eo archiepiscopus veræ virtutis specimen et non fictæ religionis simulacrum, quod ab eo in se rapuerat et æmulo exemplo prætendebat. Post dies abeuntem, cum Rofensi episcopo qui eo forte venerat, dignanter prosequebatur. Et jam aliquantum confecerant, et vesper occiduus tenebris minabatur, quoniam in movendo moras nexuerant. Tum Rofensis antistes sanctum submissis precibus ambit archiepiscopum, ut non refutaret diversorium quod sui

Prediction of Ethelwold's death.

He had been visiting Canterbury with the bishop of Rochester.

[1] *Nimirum*] non mirum, G. P. § 87.

Dunstan foretells the death of both.

juris erat, viæ proximum. Qui cum in Athelwoldum suæ voluntatis refudisset arbitrium, Adthelwoldo exorato, Rofensis utrorumque obtinuit assensum. Fugata nocte, mane inclaruerat et illi viam adoriebantur. Cumque collem ascenderent qui plurimus villæ imminet, postulant a summo pontifice benedictionem episcopi mox digressuri. Ille porrecta dextra et benedictionis verba concipiens suspirium dedit; liquitur doloris imber ex oculis, succutitur singultu pectus, vestes lacrymis infunduntur; pavifacti ambo, tam subiti et tam effusi fletus portento, inter se diu multumque mussitare; demum lacrymarum occasionem placide percunctati, audierunt doloris sui esse causam illorum proximam. Contra illi orare ut asperum amoveret vaticinium, futurum Deo auctore sæpe hujusmodi conventum, si quid præsagii vidisset alio intellectu divinandum. Nec minus Dunstanus sententiam astruere, sed spe blandienti lenire; morituros eos sæculo, sed victuros cum Deo; præsentibus carituros, sed gaudiis perpetuis fruituros. Ita unusquisque diversis affectibus viam suam abiit; ille vaticinii sui conscius, hii curiosi de hora imminentis transitus. Et Rofensi quidem ingresso mœnia suæ urbis statim occurrit exitus vitæ. Athelwoldus porro priusquam iter a Cantia emensus esset, decubuit incommodo quod eum intulit cœlo. Cujus excessus magnas turbas conscivit in Wintonia; clericis olim amisso loco inhiantibus, monachis regis Edgari privilegia obtendentibus. Ita dum quisque sui ordinis cupit habere episcopum, partes fecere, crevissetque immanis tumultus, nisi Dunstanus arbitrium litis refudisset in Deum, orans ut litigantibus bonæ voluntatis suæ objiceret scutum. Statim consecutus precum effectum, vidit Andream apostolum Dei manifeste dicentem sibi orationem suam cœlum penetrasse, providisse Deum desolatæ pastorem ecclesiæ, proinde securus abbati Bathoniensi Elphego episcopatum imponeret, cujus ad utramque religionem temperata tantam seditionem sedaret modestia. Nec potuit bea-

Osbern, p. 116. Eadmer, p. 216.

Death of the two bishops.

Contest at Winchester.

Adelard, pp. 61, 62. Osbern, p. 116. Eadmer, p. 216.

Dunstan is bidden to consecrate Elfege.

tus vates, quem nullum unquam fefellerat præsagium, de visione dubitare, quippe qui faciem apostoli probe norat et sæpe benivolentiam comperisset. Itaque per nuncios regem Egelredum rei certum facit, voluntatem simul allegans suam. Ille quanquam insulsus in cæteris, in hoc tamen resipuit, ne voluntati Dei contrastare præsumeret. Ita Elphegus episcopatui datus, quinque annis Dunstano vivente, decem et octo post ejus excessum Wintoniæ præfuit. Tum archiepiscopatu septem annis potitus, postremo martyrium iniit.

Ethelred consents.

Career of Elfege.

25. Illud erat in Dunstano mirabile quod etiam verba quæ casu non studio effunderet effectu non carerent, nihil unquam pene dixerit, quod inani pondere in leves auras efflueret, ut illud. Opulentus quidam Alwoldus nomine pulsatus valetudine agensque pœnitentem, monachi pannos apud Glastoniam petierat et impetraverat. Accessio temporis, vel potius sanctorum virorum conversatio, incommodum depulit, visusque est aliquanto tempore integerrimæ sospitatis compos. Qua elatus iterum spiravit sæculum, concepitque regulæ et monasterii nauseam. Obstinata intensio perversam cogitationem aluit, donec rejecto habitu in mundum prosilivit. Ante, cum morbus insedisset præcordiis, parvi faciens divitias contulerat monasterio quasdam possessiunculas. Tunc vero abbatis et monachorum aures tum per se tum per amicos fatigabat de restitutione. Cum nihil promoveret, regis Egelredi animum oblatione nummorum tentavit. Ille, sub cujus regimine magnus erat labor justitiæ, sub quo nullus tutus nisi pecuniosus, missis apparitoribus Alwoldo quicquid interrogabat in solidum restituit. Ita rusticus invadens omnia, etiam multa præter hæc monasterio inflixit incommoda, ut est agrestium cum incipiunt sævire protervia. Monachi, ad unicum recurrentes patronum, archiepiscopo de fugitivo monacho querelam deponunt; multis respondit ille plangentibus, sed hæc fuit summa, "a Domini " matre ultionem exigite; illum comedant vulpes:" quod illum non crediderim dixisse maledicentis animo,

Even the hasty words of Dunstan are fulfilled.

Alwold, having become a monk, grows tired and demands his property back.

Dunstan said, "Le foxes eat him."

Fulfilment of the word.

sed vel pro casu lapsum vel vaticinio impulsum. Nec tamen secus evenit; nam post aliquantum tempus prævaricator morbo corripitur, excruciatur, defungitur, prius tamen, anima in egressum festinante, jusserat ut

As Alwold's body is brought to Glastonbury, it is eaten by foxes.

cadaver suum Glastoniam deferretur, quatenus locum, quem superbe contempserat vivus, suppliciter occuparet mortuus. Effertur ergo corpus exanime; aliquantum viæ processerant qui ferebant, et ecce undique vulpes, incertum quo spiritu agente, accurrunt; acclamatur undique "Vulpes, Vulpes," et exceptum clamorem ætheris convexa multiplicant. Strepit vulgus ignobile, ita ut vespiliones etiam deposito cadavere ad bestiolas insequendas incurrerent. Illæ parumper fugientes mox compendiaria via sunt reversi; antequam recurri posset, cadaver invadunt, corrodunt, disjiciunt; nec scio si aliquid superfuit, quod posset condi humo, tremendo Dei judicio, ut parum aut nihil de illo in placiditatem sinus sui terra susciperet, qui Dei matris benignitatem irritasset.

Description of Dunstan's daily life.

26. Hactenus forensia ejus lectoris notitiæ intuli; nunc interiorem vitam ejus paucis absolvam. At primum ille vetus vitæ scriptor eum observasse potissimum commemorat, ut nihil citra doctrinam suam ageret, nihil quod a subjectis digne reprehenderetur aut doceret aut faceret. Et diebus quidem hoc fere modo vivebat, si aliæ curæ non evocarent, aut hymnodiæ jugi, indefessæque orationi insudaret, aut litterarum studio et librorum emendationi totum diem insumeret. Nec

B. pp. 40, 49. Osbern, p. 110.

His studies.

aliud præter curam corporis actitaret; hoc post peracta solemnia, statim subeunte aurora, incipiens. Sin vero infirmis negotiis hominum servire cogeretur, rectum

His discipline.

semper pensabat judicium, ut nec divitem pro persona susciperet, nec pauperem pro fortuna despiceret; præcipuum studium habens legitima conjugia conciliare, illicita diducere, pronuncians frigidam esse virtutem sobolis adulterinæ, et parum valentem ad defensionem patriæ quæ furtivo conciperetur calore: pacifici salu-

britate sermonis jurgia sedare, et turbulentos animorum motus in serenam quietem revocare, viduis et orphanis non solum patrocinium exhibens, sed etiam dignanter eos juxta præceptum Jacobi revisens. Omnibus postremo pauperibus sæpe et opportune adesse, his victum, illis vestimentum largiri; aliquibus tectum, nonnullis nummum, cunctis auxilium. Ædificia labantia et vetera restituens, nova nec ignave aggrediens, nec avare absolvens, provisioni monasteriorum curam suam in patria exponere, nec transmarina maximeque in Flandria negligere. Prædicationis ex ejus ore manabat imber continuus; bonis lenis et profluus, malis ut fulmen et tonitrus. Hoc agere ad præsentes verbis, ad absentes epistolis. Jam vero in ipsis negotiorum tumultibus constitutus, reducta ex his cogitatione, sæpe quidem oculum, semper autem animum librabat in cœlum, nec unquam eum tantarum rerum moles inquietare poterant, quin animo tranquillo vultuque immoto decederet. Quietem mentis faciei commendabat alacritas, simulque quod statim imperturbato vocis sono psalmodiam incipiens in curam transibat animæ. Quanta sane ipsi compunctionis inesset gratia, quæ possit explicare lingua. Nunquam dedicationes ecclesiarum, nunquam ordinationes sacerdotum sine lacrymis peregit. Quicquid in ecclesiis majoribus fiebat solemniis, suis nobilita fletibus, tanto diluvio beatam irrorabant animam, irriguum superius, et irriguum inferius. Hæc diebus; noctibus porro nunquam ad plenam satietatem indulsit somno; nec vero pervigiliam fabulis vel inerti consumebat otio, sed orationibus assiduis, genuflexionibus, crebris suspiriis ex imo petitis. Unde factum est ut defœcato carnis et mentis intuitu, utriusque substantiæ oculis hauriret divina mysteria, dum adhuc gravaretur mole terrena, multoties audiens agmina superna suave *Kyrie eleyson* cantantia.

His charity.

S. James, i. 27.

His care of the monasteries.

His sermons and letters.

His gift of tears.

B. p. 50.

His employment at night.

27. Quadam deinde nocte post multas vigilias delinito in soporem corpore, mente in cœlum evasit; ibi festivam

His vision of his mother's marriage.

frequentiam supernorum civium, ibi concentum inæstimabilis suavitatis audivit. Sedebat mater ejus, ut videbatur, instar sponsæ compta crinem stellante diademate; sedebat inquam sublimi solio nixa, cuidam præpotenti regi nuptura. Erat magna constipantium caterva, fervebat vigor lætitiæ, resultabant atria vocum dulcedine; solus Dunstanus diuturnam premebat silentium, vel melo captus vel gaudio attonitus. Tum juvenis de proximo stans, cujus præstabilis forma reverberabat oculos, arguit tacentem, cum vel propter matris gloriam debuisset in Christi erumpere laudem. Cumque ille retulisset se nec ignavum nec ingratum, sed hujus concentus esse ignarum, "Vis," inquit, "ut "doceam te;" simulque cum dicto ita modulatus est, "O Rex gentium Dominator omnium, propter sedem "majestatis Tuæ da nobis indulgentiam, Rex Christe, "peccatorum, Alleluya:" hiis verbis frequenter ad subsidium memoriæ repetitis. Pontifex somno amisso cunctis prope cubantibus monachis et clericis statim verba et melum insonuit, quibus in disciplinam propere surgentibus, ipse interim largo imbre humectabat faciem, subinde repetens, "Discite, filii, quia fidelis et bonus "est a quo ego hæc didici."

B. pp. 41, 42. Osbern, pp. 117, 118. Eadmer, pp. 205, 206.

The hymn he learned.

His vision at S. Augustine's.

28. Hac vigilandi consuetudine, noctibus ad cœnobium beati Augustini extra muros Cantuariæ procedebat. In eo cœnobio est beatæ Dei Genitricis ecclesia, a Sancto Adriano abbate constructa. Illuc una noctium, post consummatos in majori ecclesia psalmos, cum tenderet, eminus quoddam cœleste murmur auribus captavit. Ulterius felici audacia progressus, videt totam ecclesiam crebris micare luminibus. Nec cunctatus cuncta rimari, rimis ostiatim patentibus oculo apposito, conspicatur in solio sedentem ipsam Dei genitricem, quam circumdabat chorus virginum, et vultibus et vestium cultibus insigne Deitatis præferentium. Has omnes domina imperatrix blando sono ad Christi laudem

B. pp. 48, 49. Osbern, pp. 118, 119. Eadmer, p. 208.

B. pp. 48, 49. Osbern, pp. 118, 119. Eadmer, p. 208.

hortatur his versibus, "Cantemus Domino, sociæ, can- The choirs of virgins singing.
"temus honorem, Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio." Respondebantque beatæ virgines heræ præcinenti versus sequentes hoc modo; "Fœmina sola fuit patuit "qua janua lethi, Per quam vita redit, fœmina sola "fuit." Magna sunt hæc ad ostentandam hominibus beatæ Mariæ dulcedinem, quam exhibuit servulo, qui eam multo mulcebat obsequio; magna viri præconia, ut, lutea nondum compage solutus, videret oculis, hauriret auribus quod in futura vita concredendum alii sancti magno et diuturno suspirant desiderio. Senserint alii quodlibet, ego unam beatissimæ dominæ visionem toti præponerem mundo, et omnia miracula quæ quisquam fecit facturusve sit in ejus libra minus pondero.

29. Multa sunt ejusmodi et quæ numerum excedunt, No words can tell the happiness of England under him.
nec erit ulla meta referenti, qui consideret quantum Anglia bonorum virorum copia et pacis sereno floruerit per gratiam Dei agente Dunstano, viro cujus, ut ita dicam, vita tota in virtutes transierat. Pauca tantum eademque strictim libavimus, propenso ad utrumque consilio, ut lectoris mederemur fastidio. Nunc quia sufficienter ostensum et pene digito notatum quam pure et gratiose hunc incolatum coluerit, restat paucis absolvere quam sancte et gloriose migravit ad patriam. In quibus dicendis, sicut et in antedictis, hanc paciscor regulam, ut nihil verborum apponam nisi quod veterum scriptorum adornet sententiam.

Adelard, pp. 64, 65. Osbern, pp. 120, 121. Eadmer, pp. 217, 218.

30. Annus erat Incarnationis Domini nongentesimus Vision of Elfgar on the eve of Ascension Day, 988.
octogesimus octavus, et in Ascensione Domini, quæ tunc ad xvi. kalendas Junias fuit, Dunstano in cœlum struebatur ascensus. Cujus rei gloriam præsaga mente vidit Elfgarus, tunc beati antistitis curialis presbyter, post episcopatui datus, qui tunc apud Helmam, nunc apud Norwic sedem tenet. Is igitur ipsa Dominicæ Ascensionis nocte præclarum imaginatus est somnium, esse se in Salvatoris ecclesia, sedere Dunstanum in throno

Vision of angels.

pontificali forma quam solebat augustiori. Tum undatim per omnes fores angelorum catervas irruere, adeo ut confertæ multitudinis constipatione videretur ostium laxari capacitas. Compositis autem ordinibus ante pontificem, stationis officium exhibentes gratissima illum salutatione impertire; "Salve," aiunt, "Dunstane "noster, quia jam tempus est ut consortio fruaris "nostro. Esto compositus die Sabbati ut nobiscum hinc "abeas, et æternas laudes ante summum pontificem "psallas æternaliter." Hiis dictis angelorum sublata est visio, et presbyter excessit somno, tacitumque quod viderat usque ad missam tulit, quid tam manifesta visio portenderet quodam stupore mentis opperiens.

Adelard, pp. 64, 65. Osbern, pp. 120, 121. Eadmer, pp. 217, 218.

They bid Dunstan be ready on the following Saturday.

He preaches three times on Ascension Day.

31. Interea procedit dominus archiepiscopus ad solemnia sine ullius incommodi sensu, sed imminentis transitus, ut post palam fuit, haud dubie conscius. Ter ea die infudit populo verba salutis, primo post evangelium, quem morem omnes terunt; secundo post benedictionem episcopalem; tertio post perceptam Eucharistiam, semper tanta sermonum gratia, tanta vultus elegantia, ut nihil supra. Procedebat ex ore tanta verborum copia, ex facie claritas quanta prius nunquam; profecto aderat ei de Cujus adventu loquebatur Spiritus, ut claritate faciei nihilo minus quam angelus, a prædicationis ubertate nihil minus videretur quam apostolus. Inhiabat populus verbis ejus, suspirabat vultui, quasi et ipse præsagiret quod eum ulterius visurus non esset. Volebat antistes eis suam gloriam manifestare, sed dicturientem retrahebat passio, superabat affectus. Magno ergo suo gaudio obstrepebat, et aliquantum mœroris nubilum prætendebat filiorum desolatio. Jam vero tertio, ut dixi, sermonem adorsus, erupit in vocem, vocem qua eis incomparabilem effudit dolorem, haberent caritatem et dilectionem fraternam qua sola cum Deo fœderatur mortalis hominis anima. Hanc reliquisse Dominum Salvatorem in signum Sui amoris discipulis; hanc se commendare illis; hoc munus extremum. Hæc

B. p. 51. Adelard, p. 65. Osbern, pp. 121, 122. Eadmer, pp. 219, 220.

His exhortations.

B. p. 51. Adelard, p. 65. Osbern, pp. 121, 122. Eadmer, pp. 219, 220.

suæ dilectionis esse pignora, quæ filiis suis continuo decessurus contraderet. Neque enim se cum illis ulterius commoraturum, sed celeriter ingressurum viam patrum. Hiis dictis surrexit in ecclesia ingens clamor omnium, "Eheu pater, eheu domine," clamantium. Itum est in planctum, itum in singultum, profluebantque lacrymæ doloris interpretes, præcordiorum arbitræ. Quibus iterum sermonem ejus rogantibus suppliciter, verba quidem sufficere respondit. Verumtamen ad multos amplexu mutuo, ad omnes osculi caritate decurrit. Nam et Elfgarus sacerdos visionis suæ jam compos, cum quæ viderat tulisset in medium, haud incertum dedit indicium pontificem sabbato proximo migraturum. Ille igitur, omnibus, ut dixi, quoquomodo consolatis, dedit extremæ benedictionis gratiam, et auctoritate sibi tradita peccatorum absolutionem et remissam.

He announces his departure.

Sorrow of the hearers.

Elfgar reveals his vision.

B. p. 52. Osbern, p. 123. Eadmer, p. 221.

32. Ita pransurus, cum zetam intrasset, omnes participare volentes hilariter excepit, liberaliter pavit; prandio sancte et sobrie ut solebat celebrato, editiorem locum ascendit. Ibi ut, quia claudicante jam vere tempus in æstatem vergebat, calorem effugeret, vel ut meridianum somnum more solito invitaret, assedit subsellio. Erat sedile viminea crate contextum et ita fulciendis lateribus accommodum ut etiam dormitantem a casu defenderet. Ministri qua quisque poterat in circuitu indulsere quieti. Jamque ille et quidam eorum in soporem concesserant, cum ipse primum quodam leni motu percussus, mox cum ipso sedili ad tectum usque subjectus est, inaudito sæculis omnibus miraculo, ut cum gravis carnis pondere vacuum per inane ferretur. Diriguere omnes metu, stratisque excussi per angulos diffugiunt; sed delinimentum fuit pavoris, ea modestia qua subvectus fuerat, demissio pontificis. Demissum ergo atque experrectum, ritu obsequentium circumstant, reliquias formidinis pallidis vultibus præferentes; eos antistes blando filiorum nomine compellans, interrogat quid vidissent

He joins in the festival, and after dinner retires to an upper room, and lies on his couch.

He and the couch are miraculously lifted up and set down.

He forbids them to tell the miracle during his life.

quod ita buxeum colorem et exanimem induissent. Illi rem ordine pandunt, et se miratos in tempore aiunt. Tum ille, "Si hæc," inquit, "vidistis, filii, videte ne dum "supersum divulgetur hoc factum cuiquam; si dixeritis, "Deum et obedientiam meam offendetis." B. p. 52.

He grows worse until the Saturday.

33. Incubuit interim valetudo, et tota illa die cum sequente usque ad Sabbatum vires accepit in corpore, sed animam nescivit gravare; liberum illa volatum moliebatur in cœlum, quantoque ergastulum erat dissolutius tanto illa emicabat plausibilius. Excubabant propter monachi et clerici de pastoris vocatione suspensi et solliciti. Quibus ille indefesse salubria verba inculcans deliniabat in memoria quæcunque videbat

His latest prophecies.

necessaria. Multa tunc et singulis et patriæ imposterum profutura vaticinatum crediderim, quoniam propior æternæ vitæ capacior erat prophetiæ. Quæ tamen illa fuerant, quia in veteribus libris non invenio, dicere non præsumo. Nam ut alias dixi, quicunque de gestis sanctorum plusquam ab antiquo scripta sibi arrogat, profecto mente non constat. Jam ergo pollicitæ quietis Sabbatum accesserat, cum beatissimus præsul horam gloriæ suæ adventare sentiens, fratres omnes adesse

He receives the extreme unction,

imperat. Festinus fuit eorum sed mœstus accursus; exhibitumque inunctionis officium patri amantissimo non indeploratum. Doloris immensitatem verbis amplificare otiosi est hominis; quis enim non possit conjicere quod, si unquam fuerint, ibi non defuerunt lacrymæ, ubi plangebatur casus patriæ, religionis ruina, quæ nitebantur in eo solo homine? Corpus Domini porrectum qua

and the Holy Communion.

decebat veneratione suscepit, eoque usus mente sobria, sensu integro, voce sonora, hunc psalmi versum concinit, Adelard, p. 66.

His last words.

"Memoriam fecit mirabilium Suorum misericors et "miserator Dominus, escam dedit timentibus Se." Hæc verba beato viro fuerunt ultima, hæc extremi anhelitus vestigia, dum inter has Dei laudes ad Eum Quem laudabat pretiosa subvolabat anima. Magnum perfectæ felicitatis indicium, ut egressum omnibus mortalibus Ps. cxi 4, 5.

suspectum tam facili meatu evaderet, dum sensu verbisque non titubantibus supremum efflaret. Igitur Dominici thesauri splendidum margaritum, Sanctique Paracliti cœleste quondam organum, humeris sacerdotum in ecclesiam delatum, ibidemque post officia solemnia in loco ubi ipse vivens dictaverat venerabiliter sepulturæ datum. Et corpus quidem dulci naturæ gremio confovendum humus excepit, spiritus autem, jamdudum cœlesti regno exhibitus, a Domino Christo præmia meritorum petiit et accepit. Transiit autem ad patres suos gloriosus amicus Dei Dunstanus anno ætatis, ut ex chronicis supputare potui, sexagesimo quarto, archiepiscopatus, ut multum, vicesimo septimo; vir senectutis non multæ, sed sanctitatis immensæ, qui famam virtutibus vicerit, qui gloriam meritis suis in ævum omne propagarit, qui patriæ jam diu nutantis ruinam ad suum exitum distulerit.

His death and burial.

Osbern, p. 126. Eadmer, p. 221.

His age and length of episcopate.

34. Nam ut sine fastidio legentium breviter ostendam quantam Dunstani vaticinium in Egelredum intortum habuit efficaciam, statim post obitum ejus, qui decimo anno regis fuit, Dani venerunt in Angliam, quibus omnia littora infestantibus et levitate piratica discurrentibus, decretum ut repellerentur argento qui non potuerunt ferro; ita decem millia librarum persoluta cupiditatem Danorum explevere; exemplum infame et viris indignum, libertatem pecunia redimere, quam ab invicto animo nulla violentia possit excutere. Et tunc quidem paulisper ab excursibus cessatum. Mox ubi otio vires resumpserunt ad superiora redeunt; tantus timor regem incesserat ut nihil de resistendo cogitaret; itaque Northanhumbria tota populata, occidentali provincia pessundata, ad sedecim millia librarum solvenda coactus est. Cantia deprædationi data; urbs metropolis et patriarcharum sedes incendio data, ipse archiepiscopus Elphegus, de quo superius dixi, abductus et vinculis tentus, ad extremum apparente sibi Dunstano, ad gloriam benigne invitatus, lapidatusque et securi

Osbern, p. 127. Eadmer, p. 222.

Fulfilment of his prophecy.

Danish invasion bought off for a time.

Payment of money.

Canterbury burnt.

Martyrdom of S. Elfege.

percussus, anima cœlum glorificavit. Durat ad hoc tempus et recens ejus sanguis et illibata integritas corporis; miraculoque ducitur posse cadaver exanimari et non posse tabifieri. Rex interea strenuus et egregie ad dormiendum factus oscitabat; qui, ut perniciosus in posteros esset, commentatus est qualiter successio sua omnem Angliam amitteret, Emmam filiam Richardi comitis Normanniæ conjugio asciscens, unde succedenti tempore factum ut Normanni Angliam jure suo clamitantes ditioni subjicerent, sicut hodie melius videtur oculo quam exaratur stylo. Interea felix Dunstani spiritus non feriebatur, sua tantum in cœlis gloria contentus, sed in terris miraculis plurimus affuit, miseriis expostulantium plurimus assistebat. Eorum copia vetustate absoleta memoriæ excidit; pauca quæ per patrocinium litterarum supersunt sequentis libelli pagina sibi vendicabit.[2]

Marriage of Ethelred and Emma; leading the way to the Norman Conquest.

Proof of the heterodox doctrine of Osbern.

35. Nunc auxiliante Dei gratia hoc quod in epistola libro primo præmissa promisi conabor expedire. Quidam enim mihi vitio vertunt quod scriptorem vitæ Dunstani arguerim eo quod maternos sinus sacro puerperio intumuisse dixerit. "Potest," inquiunt, "dici "sacrum puerperium, sicut dicit bonum conjugale et "honorabiles nuptiæ." Assentirer si idem esset conjugium quod puerperium. Enimvero, ut Augustinus ait,[1] conjugium non facit tantum commixtio corporum quantum consensus animorum. Nam et Joseph et beatissima Maria dicti sunt conjuges, inter quos nulla fuit virginitatis defloratio, sed placida et Deo grata voluntatum consensio. Puerperium autem, ut nomen ipsum indicat, non tantum est prolis in ventre gestatio, quantum in lucem effusio; omnem autem hominem in iniquitatibus concipi et pari psalmista testatur; "Ecce "enim," inquit, "in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et

Osbern, p. 72.

Argument from S. Augustine.

Ps. li. 5.

[1] S. Aug. Serm. li., Opp. v. 293.

[2] This book is followed in the MS. by a copy of Eadmer's book on the Miracles of Dunstan; see above, p. 223.

" in delictis peperit me mater mea." Sic enim habet antiqua translatio, siquidem quod in peccatis concipitur in peccatis nascitur, et eorundem involucro volvitur, priusquam per regeneratricem Dei gratiam renascatur. Fallor si non omnes catholici tractatores idem asseverant. Quorum unius Fulgentii testimonium ponam ex abundanti. "Firmissime," inquit,[1] "tene et nullatenus " dubites omnem hominem, qui per concubitum viri et " mulieris concipitur, cum originali peccato nasci, im- " pietati subditum mortique subjectum; et ob hoc " natura iræ filium nasci." Quomodo ergo dicitur sacrum quod cum peccato nascitur, quod impietati subditur? Ab hoc sane quod dicunt, posse dici de Dunstano quod dictum est de Johanne Baptista, "Spiritu S. Luke, i. 15. " Sancto replebitur adhuc ex utero matris suæ," respondeo miracula Dei in exemplum non trahenda. Quis enim ad illius sanctitatis aspiret gloriam quo inter natos mulierum non surrexit major, qui dictus est Angelus, si non natura, officio tamen et gratia; qui sicut singulare meruit donum prophesiæ, ita singulari præventus est munere: nam quod ad Iheremiam prophetam dictum est, "Priusquam te formarem in utero Jerem. i. 5. " novi te, et antequam progredereris sanctificavi te," magis ad spem prædestinationis quam ad effectum rei præsentis accipi debere, verba sequentia præconantur, cum subditur, "et prophetam in gentibus dedi te." Neque enim Iheremias vel quilibet alius potuit ante exercere prophesiæ munus, quam esset natus. Quamvis de Domino Christo absolutius intelligatur, Qui gentium desideratus prædicationis gratiam in eas effudit ad quas nunquam Jeremias accessit. Ex eadem forma prædestinationis dictum Rebeccæ, "Duæ gentes in utero tuo Gen. xxv. 23. " sunt, et duo populi ex ventre tuo progredientur." Non enim catervatim et agmine facto duo populi ex

Osbern's words opposed to the true doctrine of original sin.

[1] Liber de Fide ad Petrum, sect. 69, Aug. Opp. vi. App. p. 30.

ventre mulieris prosiluere, sed in singulis parvulis singulæ gentes sunt signatæ.

The writer's defence of his work.

36. Jam vero quod dicunt propter redargutionem aliorum scriptorum me posse inire odium, ad illud comicum dictum mihi occurrit solatio, "Veritas odium parit;" quamvis mihi conscius sum multa merito redarguenda suppressisse silentio, et cauta egisse diligentia, ut non periclitaretur veritas ubi superbiret falsitas; facessat igitur invidia, malignus interpres absistat. Nullius innocentiam sauciavi, sed bona integre, vitia parce, perstrinxi. Decet enim scriptorem integritatis reverentiam non deserere, qui dictorum suorum se novit habere quot lectores tot judices. Quocirca, domini fratres, hoc non abstinui dicere, ut purgarem suspiciones hominum, nec sinistrum de me relinquerem judicium: meliori siquidem ætatis parte consumpta, quanto fini accedo, tanto curare debeo ne mea laceretur opinio.

Finis vitæ Sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi.

VI.

VITA ET MIRACULA DUNSTANI A JOHANNE CAPGRAVIO CONSCRIPTA.[1]

De Sancto Dunstano, episcopo et confessore.

Osbern, p. 71.

1. Regnante rege Ethelstano, anno regni sui primo, adventus vero Anglorum in Britanniam quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo, natus est puer Dei Dunstanus, in Westsaxonica Angliæ plaga, magnis quidem pro sæculi dignitate parentibus, sed ad religionem quæ Christianos decet longe majoribus. Tanta siquidem virtutis ratione viventes animum colebant, tot piis operibus laborantes insudabant, ut, sicut eidem filio suo postmodum divina revelatione innotuit, viam universæ carnis ingressi, spiritibus angelicis associari mererentur. Magnum enim Deus puerum futurum prævidebat, cui tantum muneris donatum est, ut ante mundo signis innotesceret quam hunc in mundi hujus lucem mater fudisset. Cumque in Purificatione beatæ Mariæ populus ad ecclesiam in Glastonia confluueret, contigit patrem pueri Herstanum cum conjuge sua gravida Kinedrida ad ecclesiam advenisse; accensisque candelis sacris Missarum solempniis interfuisse. Et cum recitatum esset quemadmodum puerum Jesum in templum parentes inducerent, majestas Domini repente ibidem apparuit, quæ luminaria cuncta extinguens totam domum tenebrosa caligine obtexit. Pavore igitur singuli tabescunt, rigent comæ, genua colliduntur, sensu stabant hærentes et alternis obtutibus stuporem indicantes. Sed ut omnibus clarum fieret quid hac in re quæ apparuit majestas intenderet, extemplo lux cœlitus emissa resplenduit, et eum quem puerpera manu tenebat cereum accendit. Si ante populus de amisso

Parentage of Dunstan.

Osbern, p. 72.

Miracle on the feast of the Purification before his birth.

[1] The text is from the Bodleian MS. Tanner 15, collated with the Rawlinson MS. A. 294, and the edition printed by Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. 1516. The marginal references are made only to the books from which the text is directly taken.

Miracle before his birth.

lumine miratus est, nunc majori admiratione simul et exultatione detinetur. A lumine itaque illo lumen omnibus non immerito gaudentibus porrectum est. Osbern, p. 72.

Dunstan is born, and carried to Glastonbury.

2. Nato itaque Dunstano, cum linguam ad loquendum temporis processu formare cœpisset, a parentibus suis ad ecclesiam defertur; et illis in oratione pernoctantibus, apparuit vir æthereum habens vultum; locum dixit non multo post tempore sublimandum, puerum ibidem Deo relinquendum, et beatum illum per sæcula prædicandum. Et mensoris funiculum per plana atrii extendens, "Sic," inquit, "ædificabitur Osbern, p. 73.

Vision of the future buildings there.

"locus iste ad præparanda corda illorum Domino, qui hoc "in loco per hunc puerum Domino crediturі sunt." Qua illi revelatione vehementer gavisi, immensas Deo laudes persolvunt, et puerum ad serviendum Domino ibidem derelinquunt. Qui tam in scientia pietatis quam in virtute sanctitatis quotidie proficiens assidue Domino ministrabat. Osbern, p. 74.

Condition of Glastonbury.

3. Ea tempestate Glastonia regalibus stipendiis addicta, monachicæ religionis penitus erat ignara: nondum enim in Anglia communis vita colebatur, non usus deserendi proprias voluntates affectabatur: abbatis nomen vix quisquam audierat. Venerant

The Irish school there.

autem de Hibernia illustres viri quidam, et locum habitationis suæ a civili multitudine sequestratum apud Glastoniam elegerunt. Filios idcirco nobilium liberalibus studiis imbuendos susceperunt, ut quod minus ad usum loci ubertas exhiberet, eorum quos docebant liberalitate redundaret. Osbern, p. 75.

Dunstan's application.

4. Adest ergo nobilissimus puer Dunstanus inter alios unus, immo præ aliis solus. Ubi, paulo diligentius quam imbecilla ætas ferre posset, litterarum studio intentus, acerrimo languore fatigatur. Cumque in limine mors adesse putaretur,

His illness and miraculous recovery.

ecce intempesta nocte cœlestis illum medicina revisit, quam ei per angelicum ministerium Christus exhibuit. Qui confestim de lectulo surgens ad ecclesiam, Deo gratias acturus, moderata velocitate currit. Stupefacti qui ejus curam gerebant, lento pede ejus vestigia sequuntur, finem rei explorantes. Necdum medium itineris confecerat cum malignus

He goes to the church; and puts to flight the devils.

spiritus, sive ejus saluti invidens, seu futuram religionem suspectam habens, latrantium canum multitudine stipatus occurrit; viam eunti intercludere contendit. Exclamat itaque puer Christum: pavore conterritus, virgam arripuit, quam in faciem obsistentis inimici vibrans, ipsum cum omni comitatu, divino suffultus suffragio, in fugam compulit. Venit igitur ad ec- Osbern, p. 76.

Osbern, p. 76. clesiam, et eam obseratam inveniens, scalam ibidem repertam quasi per excessum mentis ascendit; ad alteram inde tecti partem qua nullus erat descensus progrediens, angelicis manibus ad solum deponitur, et in interiora ecclesiæ non patentibus claustris inducitur. Orta autem luce, levi sopore depressus in ecclesia reperitur. Rogatus vero ut tam mirabilis eventus modum exponeret, non esse hoc in sua conscientia respondit. He climbs a ladder and is found asleep in the church.

Osbern, p. 77. 5. Certabat itaque adolescens factus gratia et affabilitate omnes excedere, pudicitiam servare, lasciviam fugere, appetitor honesti, turpitudinis execrator; majorum natu colloquiis adesse, juvenum ludicra declinare: ciborum abstinens, somno temperans, incessu gravis, magnæ fidentiæ ad incipiendum bonum, constantiæ ad perficiendum; principium bene agendi Deum semper habere, finem vero Eidem commendare. Lectionibus sacris intentus erat, quarum exercitio, et vitiorum opportunitates evitans, virtutum augmenta nutriebat. Et quamvis variis scientiis magnifice polleret, musica tamen instrumenta speciali quadam affectione soire vendicabat, sicut David, psalterium sumens, citharam percutiens, modificans organa, cimbala tangens. Nec eo ista commemoramus quod his opus esse ad perfectionem tendenti arbitremur, sed ut multiplices Dei gratias in juvene commendemus. Nam omnibus sæcularibus studiis præferebat scientiam pietatis, sua semper ingenia sanctorum patrum auctoritati contradens. Præterea manu aptus ad omnia, picturam facere, litteras formare, scalpello imprimere, ex auro argentoque, ære et ferro, quicquid liberet operari. His behaviour as a young man.

Osbern, p. 78. His knowledge of music.

Osbern, p. 79. He was a cunning workman.

6. Permissu tandem parentum suorum ad Aldelmum, Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, avunculum suum, profectus, benigne suscipitur ab eo; et regi Athelstano adductum familiariter studuit commendare, dicens, "Hunc," ait, "juvenem mihi quidem plurimum, regiæ vero stirpi nonnullo consanguinitatis jure devinctum, vestræ excellentiæ commendo, ut stet jugiter in conspectu vestro, audiatque verbum ex ore domini mei regis. Experiar in illo gratiam vestram, quam multiplicem in maximis sæpe rebus expertus sum, et deinceps amplius experturum confido." Rex vero oblatum juvenem gratanter excipiens unice dilexit, et necessariis rebus regia vice præesse constituit. Et prosperatum est in manibus Dunstani quicquid operis ipse cœpisset. Et nunc quidem surgens ad orandum Deum, nunc sedens ad dijudicandas causas hominum, ita sapienter ac circumspecte se agebat, ut et Deo per omnia placeret, nec aliquem pie vi- He goes to archbishop Athelm, who presents him to king Athelstan. His promotion at court.

He charms the king with music.

ventium sua culpa offenderet. Cumque videret dominum re- Osbern, gem sæcularibus curis fatigatum, in cithara psallebat sive alio p. 80. musici generis instrumento, quo tam regis quam principum corda exhilararet.

Whilst he is designing a stole,

his harp miraculously plays an anthem.

7. Matrona quædam frequenti ac religioso rogatu exoravit illum, ut ei stolam sacerdotalem artificiosa operatione præpingeret, quam postea ad divinos cultus aurifactoria imitatione figuraret. Qui assumpta in manibus cithara, ad domum tendit religiosæ, citharam in pariete suspendit, opus ad quod venerat diligenter incepit. Cumque manum operi, cor autem atque labia Deo præpararet, cithara illius parieti suspensa in paxillo, absque ullo hominis impulsu, hujus antiphonæ melodiam acutissima simul et disertissima modulatione personuit, "Gaudent in cœlis animæ sanctorum qui Christi vestigia "sunt secuti, et quia pro Ejus amore sanguinem suum fu- "derunt, ideo cum Christo gaudebunt in æternum." Et exsiliens omnis familia et vociferans, hominem nimium esse sapientem, et amplius eum quam expediat scire protestatur. At ille, cœlestem musicum intendens, admoneri se intelligit, ut vias duriores arripiat, ut Christi vestigia propius sequatur, ut sanguinis sui effusionem non metuat, sed Dei regnum et vitam delectet habere æternam.

He is accused of witchcraft,

leaves the court, and is maltreated on his way.

8. Accensus ergo furore diabolus quod tam sanctis princi- Osbern, piis juvenem niti conspiceret, invidiæ stimulis operarios ini- p. 81. quitatis inflammat, qui conficto mendacio opinionem juvenis apud regem lædant, asserentes illum malis artibus imbutum, nec quicquam divino auxilio sed pleraque dæmonum præstigio operari. Advertens autem Dunstanus faciem regis non esse sicut heri et nudius tertius, discedere parat, mallens regem sponte deserere quam a rege invitus derelinqui. Æmulatores enim ejus insidiis iter obsident, socios disturbant, illum equo dejiciunt, suppliciis affligunt, et vinculis ligatum in cisternam quandam depellunt. Intellexit ergo hoc esse principium certaminis, ad quod illum divinus nuper citharœdus præmonuit.

He goes to bishop Elfege, who urges him to become a monk.

9. Profectus inde, cognatum suum Elphegum, Wentanæ ur- Osbern, bis episcopum, adiit, a quo frequenti supplicatione rogatus p. 82. est, ut monachum indueret, "quia," inquit, "necesse est ut "qui ignem gehennæ voluerit effugere ignem concupiscentiæ "studeat exstinguere. Ignis vero concupiscentiæ non multum "exstinguitur, si fomenta illius humanis sensibus non sub- "trahuntur. Sicut enim ligna ad ignem, sic ea quæ sensibus "subjacent ad concupiscentiam. Sed nulla erit fomentorum

Osbern, p. 82. " subtractio, si sæcularium negotiorum non fuerit renunciatio. " Ex quibus elicitur ut si ignem gehennæ volueris effugere, " sæculo studeas renunciare." Quod cum facere differret, in ambiguo positum gravissima febris invasit, et usque ad desperationem vitæ perduxit. Et accito episcopo postulat sibi dilatæ religionis habitum dari. Qui cum magna lætitia celeriter illum monachali ac sacerdotali gratia promovit, attitulans eum ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ in Glastonia, ubi parentum suorum sponsio eum dicavit ab initio.

After a severe illness he becomes a monk and priest at Glastonbury.

Osbern, p. 83.

10. Ibi enim adhærentem ecclesiæ cellam, sive destinam, sive speluncam, sive alio quolibet nomine rectius mominari potest, non enim invenio qua illud appellatione vocetur, cum non tam humani habitaculi quam formam gerebat sepulcri, propriis laboribus fabricavit. Ejusdem vero longitudo cellæ non amplius quinque pedum, latitudo duos et semis habebat pedes. Porro altitudo staturam exprimit hominis, si quis in defossa terra constiterit; aliter enim neque satis ad pectus porrigitur, ut, sicut dixi, magis mortui videatur sepulcrum, quam viventis habitaculum. Unde manifestum est illum neque jacendo somnum cepisse, et stando Deum semper orasse. Ostiolum autem idem est quod paries. Quod enim ingredienti ostium, idem ingresso paries fiebat. Medium ostioli fenestrellam aperit, per quam lumen operanti irradiavit. Hæc erat juveni domus, hic lectus, hoc de toto mundo spectaculum.

He builds him a cell close to the church.

The measurements.

Osbern, p. 84.

11. Verum humani generis inimicus, quem ante non sinebat habitare in palatio, eum nunc nititur depellere tugurio. Sub obscuro namque vespere cellam juvenis petens, immisso capite fenestræ incumbit; cernit illum fabrili opere occupatum; postulat sibi quippiam fabricari. Dunstanus autem neque ejus calliditatem advertens, neque importunitatem ferens, operi quod postulabatur animum intendit. Interim ille mulierum nomina inserere, luxurias commemorare, deinde religionem ostendere, et denuo eadem repetere cœpit. Tunc Dunstanus quis esset intelligens, tenacula quibus ferra tenebat, fortiter ignire, et suppressis labiis Christum invocare conatur. Cumque tenacula candentia videret, celeriter de igne ea rapit, larvalem faciem tenaculis includit, et totis viribus monstrum introrsum trahit. Jam stando vires sumebat Dunstanus, cum is qui tenebatur, avulso pariete, de manibus se tenentis aufugit, tales immani rugitu fremens ululatus, "O quid fecit calvus iste! O quid fecit calvus iste!" Tenui namque sed formosa cæsarie erat, et ea re talia de homine clamitabat. Mane autem facto congregata est ad eum non parva populi multitudo, sciscitans quisnam ille clamor fuisset, qui tanta eos

The devil visits him in his workshop, and speaks evil words.

Osbern, p. 85.

Dunstan seizes him with the red hot tongs.

He explains the cries of the enemy.

vehementia dormientes terruisset. "Dæmonis," ait, "furor Osbern, p. 85.
"ille fuit, qui nusquam me vivere sinit, e cella quoque ejicere
"temptat. Caute vos agite ab illo, quia si vocem irati ferre
"non potuistis, societatem dampnati quo pacto sustinebitis?"

His growth in grace and fame.

Post hæc Dunstanus corpus suum inedia macerare, animam jugi oratione decorare satagebat. Unde cum pudicitia corporis tantam cordis munditiam optinere meruit, ut vix eum latere posset quicquid sinister spiritus molitus fuisset. Fama itaque nominis ejus universam percurrit regionem, quæ ad videndum hominem Dei corda accendit. Omnis ætas, uterque sexus, Dunstanum loquuntur, sapientiam ejus prædicant, virtutem magnificant.

The lady Elfgifu comes to live near him.

12. Mulier quædam nomine Alfgiva, regali progenie orta, magnarum divitiarum, quæ omne semen regium materno semper affectu dilexerat, nutrierat, innixa manibus suorum, ad hominem Dei accessit; sanctissimo illius colloquio perfrui de- Osbern, p. 86.
siderans. Quæ cum ex ore illius verbum audisset, adeo delectata est dulcedine vitæ æternæ, ut ulterius neque domum repetere, neque loco discedere, sed cum beato Dunstano manere, vivere, mori eligeret. Habitationem juxta ecclesiam sibi fabricavit, multæ continentiæ et operibus bonis et eleemosynis operam dedit. Plures sacri ordinis viros in loco statuit, quibus necessaria jugiter ministravit.

Her illness.

13. Cumque gravi corporis infirmitate laboraret, Dunstanus Osbern, p. 87.
ad eam intrans consolatur, et hortatur illam ut nudam ab omni mundana specie se faciat, ne in transeunte quicquam

She makes her will.

suum princeps mundi inveniat. Cui illa, "Jesum Christum
"rerum mearum hæredem facio, te vero hæreditatis tutorem
"constituo, ut quicquid Illum cognoveris velle tui arbitrii sit
"effectui mancipare." Dunstanus vero gazas ejus mobiles continuo pauperibus erogavit, cætera ad ecclesiarum sublevationem reservabat. Et dum vespere ostium ecclesiæ psallendo

Dunstan sees the mystic Dove go to visit her.

præteriret, erectis ad cœlum oculis Spiritum Sanctum in co- Osbern, p. 88.
lumbæ specie videt descendentem; cujus corpus, omni candore nitidius, alarum remigia scintillantis ignis splendorem per aëra spargebant. Quem ille contemplatus, domum matronæ subintrantem vidit. Confestim regressus, aspexit domum divino fulgore splendentem, audit fœminam gratias Deo agentem, miratur colloquium, et dicendi finem patiens auditor expectat.

She describes his visit.

Demum subintrat, stelliferi illius nomen requirit, nuncium interrogat. Illa autem modeste subridens illi ait, "Tu stel-
"liferum antequam huc venires vidisti, et nunc cui sim locuta
"interrogas? Ipse est qui tibi ad ostium ecclesiæ psallenti

Osbern, p. 88.

" apparuit, qui et me de pavore imminentis mortis perterri- She tells of assured hope.
" tam visitationis suæ gratia consolari dignatus est. Annun-
" cio itaque omnibus amicis meis tristandum de mea morte
" non esse, quoniam me suscipiet claritas æternæ vitæ. Tibi
" autem singulari amico gratias refero, quia tuis semper in-
" structa admonitionibus et adjuta orationibus, ecce ad Deum
" vado." Quæ, cum spiritum tradidisset Deo, in ecclesia Dunstan spends her fortune and his own in building monasteries.
beatæ Mariæ honorifice sepulta est. Dunstanus vero tum de
illius, tum etiam de sui ipsius patrimonio sollicitus, nam uter-
que parens obierat, nec præter eum alium hæredem reliqueOsbern, p. 89.
rant; primo quidem viciniores patrimonii terras eidem eccle-
siæ contulit, cæteras fundandis quinque monasteriis reservavit.
Quæ monasteria, processu temporis, per ejus industriam mo-
nachorum numero et divitiis multipliciter aucta sunt.

14. Exinde Dunstanus majoribus sese virtutum profectibus Dunstan prays for a sign.
subdens, deprecatus est Dominum ostendi sibi gloriam jus-
torum, ut qui eam per fidem bene creditam haberet, per mani-
festationem cognitam dulcius amaret. Talia ex corde meditanti
astitit juvenis, decore insignis, quem puerum olim in corpore
ipse puer noverat, et sancta semper familiaritate dilexerat, Vision of a dead friend who tells him his future career.
referens ei quæ sunt æternæ vitæ gaudia, illum in hoc sæculo
plura passurum, dæmonum insidias, malignitates hominum, ad
summos gradus illum ascensurum, multa millia hominum Deo
lucraturum, et post hæc ad cœlestia regna migraturum. Sed
cum dicenti assensum non dedisset, apprehendit eum juvenis,
et in atrium ecclesiæ deducens, ostendit ei locum eatenus
inconvulsum, et ait, " Ut de auditis singulis dubietas omnis As a proof of his truth he tells him of the approaching death and burial of a priest.
" auferatur, ante triduum presbyter quidam hic sepelietur, et
" nondum infirmatur." Exsurgens autem mane ab oratione
Dunstanus, convocatis in unum clericis, ad locum venit, posi-
toque signo ait, " Si vera sunt quæ nihi nocturno tempore
" ostensa sunt, ante tres dies presbyter quidam hic sepelietur,
" et nondum infirmatur." Vix illis ab invicem digressis su-
pervenit presbyter quidam, qui facta cum clericis conventione,
præfatum locum in sepulturam optinuit, dicens, " Cum me Deus
Osbern, p. 90.
" de corpore migrare jusserit, hoc in loco meas precor reli-
" quias sepelite." Recessit presbyter sanus, nocte rediit The sign fulfilled.
ægrotus, obiit in crastino, et in loco beato patri assignato
sepelitur.

15. Defuncto tandem rege Ethelstano, frater ejus Edmundus Athelstan dies. Edmund favours Dunstan.
in regem erectus est, qui statim accito Dunstano, inter
palatinos proceres summum tenere fecit principatum. At
ille justitiam et judicium ubique in terra collapsum exal-
tare cupiens, tam regem quam omnes Anglorum principes

His enemies prejudice the king against him.

justitiæ legibus submittere curavit. Iterum sicut olim a plerisque nobilium, malorum satore stimulante, in prosperos Dunstani successus est offensum, et regi ut a consortio illorum pelleretur falsa criminatione suggestum. Rex autem plus honesto falsis favorem attribuens, Dunstanum et rebus et gratia regia privatum a curia proturbari jubet. Adveniente vero tertia luce, rex venatum pergens per devia quæque fugientem cervum insectari cœpit. Omni tandem fugiendi libertate negata, bestia præcipitium quoddam arduum et excelsum valde petit, ruitque, et in partes minutissimas contrita deperit; et canum sequentium similis interitus evenit. Cumque regem illuc equus adveheret, viso comminus quod præ se fortuna pararat, retraxit habenas, vectorem reflectere nisus. Et ecce, ruptis repente frænis, regem veloci cursu equus asportat. Omnino igitur de se diffidens, cœleste auxilium implorat, sicque confitendo orat, "Deus, Rex omnipotens, Qui, "cum sis super omnia excelsus, humilia respicis et alta sem- "per a longe cognoscis, adesto nunc non regi sed homini "cæteris mortalibus simili, in supremo mortis periculo con- "sistenti; nec reminiscaris injuriarum fideli Tuo Dunstano "per me illatarum, quoniam si me ipsius meritis a præsenti "morte eripueris, quoad vivam devotum me Tui nominis et "illius laudatorem habebis." Necdum plene verba finierat, cum animal, quasi divina manu retentum, in summo voraginis fixum manebat. Tunc rex corde pariter et ore Deo gratias referens, Dunstanum adesse jubet, et quæ per illum Divinitas operata sit, coram omnibus exponit. Et apprehensa dextera ejus, osculatus est eam, dicens, "Agnosco, virorum "sanctissime, quid in te commiserim mali, non quod ego "voluerim, sed quod a pessimis hominibus coactus id fecerim. "Gratias ago clementiæ Dei, quæ non solum debitum mihi "supplicium noluit inferre, verum etiam, a præcipitio mor- "tis eripiens, longioris vitæ spatia in tuo nomine concessit. "Sit ergo deinceps inter nos perfectæ familiaritatis integritas, "sit in disponendis in palatio rebus libera semper tibi facul- "tas; sit in toto Anglorum regno judicandi inter virum et "proximum ejus summa potestas. Et ut animi mei affectum "circa te cognitum habeas, illum tibi locum in quo te geni- "tum, educatum, conversatum accepi, perpetuo jure possiden- "dum trado, ut quodcunque de illo velis statuere tui arbitrii "sit considerare. Quod si ejus ordinis cujus tu habitum "geris ibidem aggregare volueris, quicquid eis in quacunque "re defuerit ego ob gratiam tui regia liberalitate supplebo."

Osbern, p. 90.

Osbern, p. 91.

Edmund whilst out hunting comes to the edge of a precipice.

He confesses his sin against Dunstan and is saved.

Osbern, p. 92.

He receives him again into favour,

and gives him Glastonbury.

He begins to build.

16. Dunstanus igitur ecclesiæ fundamenta jacere, officinas secundum exemplar olim sibi ostensum construere, egregium

Osbern, p. 92. monachorum collegium coadunare curavit. Quibus ipse primus abbas effectus, ad tantam vitæ perfectionem omnes adduxit, ut ad omnes circumquaque ecclesias ex eisdem monachis pontifices electi et abbates assumpti sint. He becomes abbot.

Osbern, p. 93. Quadam enim nocte oranti Dunstano malignus spiritus in immanem lupum se transfigurat, iterumque post paululum vulpem blandientem confingit. Quam ille specierum varietatem subridens, "O te," inquit, "per omnia similem tibi! O "formas tuæ actioni congruas! dum in altero cruentum, in "altero te comprobes fraudulentum. Vade jam, inimice, quo- "niam in Ejus nomine te vincam in lupo et vulpe, Qui te in "leone superavit et dracone." Videns autem vir Dei se magnam a dæmonibus invidiam pati, adhibuit vitæ suæ patronum Andream apostolum, ut esset fidus interpres apud Deum, assiduus in terra comes, atque in omnibus mundi hujus turbinibus indeficiens custos. Hujus ipse assidua protectione quasi muro vallatus, quæ mundi sunt transcendit, et in amore Dei jugi meditatione quievit. Unde suavissimis supernorum spirituum concentibus sæpe interesse promeruit, ut qui angelorum conversationem agebat in terra, illorum societatem agnosceret in cœlo. Cum autem regi Edmundo filius nasceretur nomine Edgarus, audivit beatus Dunstanus angelos in cœlo gratulantes, et cum magna exultatione psallentes, "Sit pax, "sit magna Anglorum ecclesiæ lætitia, quamdiu puer natus "regnum tenuerit, et noster Dunstanus mortalis vitæ metas "transegerit." Temptation by the devil as a wolf and as a fox. Dunstan takes S. Andrew as his patron. He has an angelic warning at Edgar's birth.

Osbern, p. 94. 17. Apud Batensem ecclesiam, dum solitarius oraret, repente ad superna raptus animam cujusdam discipuli sui, apud Glastoniam educati, innumera angelorum frequentia hinc inde stipatam, atque immensi luminis fulgore perfusam, ad cœli palatium provehi conspexit. At Bath he sees the soul of a dead pupil.

18. Contigit ut regem loquendi sibi cupidissimum Dunstanus adiret, diabolum scurræ simillimum coram equitantibus deprehendit saltantem, et quasi de futuro aliquo lucro gloriantem. Cujus præsentiam dum populo indicasset, formamque omnium conspectibus horribilem ex imperio denudasset, requisitus quid ejusdem monstri tam petulans lætitia protenderet, ille mortem regis regnique mutationem proximam esse denunciat. Post hæc vero infra septem dies et rex occiditur et regnum mutatur. He sees the devil before the death of Edmund.

19. Sepulto apud Glastoniam rege Edmundo, successit ei in regnum frater suus Edredus, cultor justitiæ et pietatis, Edred succeeds.

Dunstan rises to great power under Edred.

Deum valde diligens. In cujus conspectu pater Dunstanus adeo pretiosus erat, ut omni eum humano generi præferret, ut principem testamentorum statueret, thesauros ei delegaret, animam, corpus et regnum committeret, nec quisquam in toto regno Anglorum esset qui absque ejus imperio manum vel pedem moveret. Proinde Dunstanus quasi rex et regis imperator effectus, virgam æquitatis et justitiæ per omnes Anglorum fines extendit, ecclesias quas ipse fundaverat, aut ab aliis fundatas egestas oppresserat, amplis possessionibus relevare curavit. Osbern, p. 95.

Edred tries to persuade him to become bishop of Winchester.

20. Defuncto Elphego Wentanæ urbis episcopo, cum rex Edredus Dunstano pastoralem suscipere curam persuadere non posset, reginæ matri suæ Eadivæ verbum posuit suadelæ. Quod cum instanter regina fecisset, ille respondit; "Nolo," ait, "domina, illud a me expeti quod vel con- Osbern, p. 96.
"cessum meos animos perturbet, vel non concessum tuos
"offendat. Neque enim nescio quam difficulter suam quisque
"ante tribunal Christi causam agat, nedum alienæ causæ
"cognitor aut judex exsistat." Cumque illa negantem suis adhuc rationibus tenere voluisset, motus ille paulisper ait,
"Certissimum habeto, domina, in diebus filii tui pontificali
His refusal. "infula me non esse sublimandum." Cumque sopori membra dedisset adsunt ei in somnis apostoli Dei, Petrus et Paulus cum Sancto Andrea, gladios in manibus tenentes. Osbern, p. 97.
Erat autem scriptum aureis litteris in gladio Petri, "In
His vision of the three apostles. "principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et
"Deus erat Verbum." Cæterorum gladiis nomina tenentium scripta erant, Pauli Paulus, Andreæ Andreas. Hos gladios officiosa benignitate sibi obtulerunt. Interea Andream exhilarato vultu aspicit conniventem et evangelicis verbis audit præcinentem, "Tollite jugum meum super vos, et dis-
"cite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis
"requiem animabus vestris." Tunc a beato Petro jussus lævam extendere, modicum crepitantis ferulæ ictum excepit, hoc ab illo audiens, "Hoc tibi sit et pœna abjecti et signum
"ulterius non abjiciendi pontificatus." Evigilans autem vir
Edred interprets the vision. Dei gratias egit Deo, Cujus munere ita se conspicit honoratum, et divinitus visitatum. Cumque regi cuncta narrasset, ille visionem absolvens dixit, "Quoniam per arma apo-
"stolicæ benedictionis potestas exprimitur pontificalis, noveris
"te pro eo quod jugum Domini contempseris increpatum, aut
"divina electione futurum pontificem designatum. Porro
"quod 'in principio erat Verbum' gladio Petri apostoli
"scriptum vidisti, cum Verbum Dei sit unigenitus Filius
"Dei, Qui homo pro hominibus inter homines factus est,

Osbern, p. 97. " profecto scias te sedis ejus principem futurum quæ Christi " nomine Cantuariæ honoratur."

Osbern, p. 98. 21. Interim vero rex Edredus, lethali morbo correptus, decidit in lectum, et celeriter nuncios mittit qui patrem vitæ suæ Dunstanum accersiant, ut sit confessionum susceptor, et fidelis apud Deum intercessor. Contristatus igitur Dunstanus quanta velocitate potuit, amicum regem invisere pergit. Videns autem illum Deus et cordis dolore affligi et corporis laborem pati, non est passus ut ultra illum afflictio tangeret, quin et dolorem linivit et laborem imminuit. Nam cum esset in itinere, et membra jejuniis confecta fatigaret, vox ab æthere lapsa insonuit dicens, "Ecce rex Edredus obdormivit "in Domino." Ad quam vocem equus cui insidebat percussus interiit. Et suis rem aperiens commendavit animam regis defuncti in manu Regis æterni.

Edred, sick unto death, sends for Dunstan.

Dunstan is miraculously warned of the king's death.

Osbern, p. 99. 22. Huic Edredo successit Edwinus, filius Edmundi regis, ætate quidem juvenis et nulla regnandi gratia pollens. Qui neque ipse sapiens neque sapientum consilio acquiescens, sed alter Roboam, despectis majoribus natu, puerorum consilia sectabatur. Optimum reputabat quemque rebus spoliare, locupletes proscribere, exhæredare ecclesias, detrahere religioni, in civitatibus exactiones exercere, libidine ardens, sine intermissione æstuabat ad coitum. Ob hoc Dunstanus graviter offensus, frequenter eum acriter in locis opportunis increpare cœpit; ille increpantem ridere, multa illi mala minari non timuit. Postquam autem industriam suam nihil prævalere videret, omnino decrevit ejus colloquio abstinendum, sicque ad monasterium suum regressus est.

Edwy succeeds.

His misgovernment.

Dunstan retires to Glastonbury.

Osbern, p. 100. 23. Erat autem in monasterio turris exstructa, quam necdum ulla in supremo cacumine tectura claudebat. Cumque populus trabem totius operis sustentatricem summis muris applicare contenderet, repente ruptis funibus eadem trabes deorsum ruere cœpit. Clamor ingens fit totius populi, Dunstanum iteratis vocibus perstrepentis. At Dunstanus elevatam dexteram machinæ opposuit, e regione signo crucis trabem depingit. Necdum sancta manus sanctos contraxerat digitos, cum ea quæ vergere cœperat trabes non vinculis astricta, non machinis levata, nec ullo humani ingenii apparatu sustentata, ad locum de quo ruere cœperat revehitur.

Translatus hostis antiquus in speciem ursi hiante rictu orantem aggreditur Dunstanum, injectisque ungulis pastoralem

Miracle of the falling beam.

Dunstan breaks his stick on the devil's back.

quam manu tenebat virgam complectitur, atque ad se trahere conatur. At Dunstanus divino spiritu fortiter roboratus retractum ad se baculum erigit in sublime, fugientem beluam dirissime cædit, nec prius monstrum cædendo desistit, quam flagellum in tergo illius tribus in partibus comminutum apparuit. Osbern, p. 100.

At Edwy's coronation feast Dunstan is sent to call back the king from the company of women.

24. Victus enim in se diabolus, in aliis victorem suum vincere quærit. Nam rege præfato, eodem quo consecratus fuerat die, in turpes concubitus publice devoluto, nemine tamen eum redarguere auso, pari omnium voto Dunstanus compellitur, qui regem adeat, divina humanaque ratione regium stuprum compescat, mulierem adulteram suspendii comminatione percellat. Quo facto, regem a mœchali toro violenter abstraxit, positaque in capite ejus corona coram archiepiscopo Odone adduxit. Itaque mulieris animum diabolus instigat, regis iram mulier exaltat: ambo exsilium Dunstano intentant. Omnes monachorum ecclesiæ, urgente régis edicto, suis rebus spoliabantur, et descriptis omnibus cum ipse proscriptus fuisset, inter lacrymas monachorum et gemitus pauperum audita es in atrio templi vox plaudentis diaboli quasi vox juvenculæ acriter atque minute cachinnantis. Quem Dunstanus severa fronte suspiciens, "Nihil," ait, "super exsilio meo gratuleris, quoniam plus est quod me redeunte doleas, quam quicquid me exsulante lætari valeas." Quo dicto malignus ille confestim abscessit. Osbern, p. 101.

He is obliged to leave Glastonbury.

(Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aur. p. 324.)

He goes to Flanders.

Dunstanus vero in Flandriam navigans in monasterio Gandavensi arctissimam vitam duxit. Nec tamen cessat mulieris vesania quin omnibus qui Dunstanum hospitio foverant perscrutatis, proscriptis, dampnatis, ipsiusque oculis eruendis, iniquitatis ministros rex transmitteret. Verum divina clementia miserante illum ante Gallia suscepit, quam servi Jezabelis fluctus maris attigissent. Exsulat itaque Dunstanus, nulla exsilii dampna deplorans, dum suis meritis ita sibi omnes devinciret, ut patriam esse exsilium putaret. Illum quoque apostoli Andreæ consolatio fovit, qui nullius rei quam ipse expeteret eum indigere permisit. Osbern, p. 102.

Virulence of the women.

The north people depose Edwy and elect Edgar.

25. Insurgunt interim contra regem omnes ab Humbre fluvio usque Thamisim, et ipsum cum adultera fugientem persequuntur, et qua digna fuerat morte comprehensam adulteram mulctant, et regem latebras quærentem usque Cantiam fugere compellunt. Deinde accito fratre ejus Edgaro, super provincias inter aquas prædictas regem

Osbern, p. 103. statuunt. Edwinus vero flagitia non deserens in Cantiæ regno aliquamdiu tyrannizat.

Edgar recalls Dunstan.

26. Edgarus ad regimen regni assumptus concilium convocat, iniqua fratris decreta annihilat, a fratre ablata restituit, Dunstanum ab exsilio in magna gloria revocat, nec ante a precibus quiescere voluit quam pastoralem curam Wigorniensis ecclesiæ Dunstanus susciperet. Qui Cantuariam sacrandus adveniens ab Odone archiepiscopo cum honore maximo susceptus est, et consecrationis ministerium, non quasi super antitistem sed super archiepiscopum Cantuariensem hilariter complevit. Ob hoc a clero reprehensus sic respondit: "Si divinis humana non cederent, "jure mihi hominum auctoritas prætendi posset; nunc vero, "quoniam auctor omnium Deus est, non possum illud non "facere, quod faciendum Spiritus Dei dignatus est præcipere. "Erit namque beatus iste proximus post mortem meam hujus "sedis archiepiscopus, et adversus mundi principem fortissimus "præliator."

He becomes bishop of Worcester.

Osbern, p. 104.

His consecration.

On Edwy's death Dunstan sees his soul carried off by devils.

27. Interea mortuo impiissimo rege Edwino, atque in sortem malignorum spirituum translato, Dunstanus in ecclesia cui præerat cum orationibus vacaret, ecce tartarea cohors sub ejus aspectu exsultando quasi chorum ducere, et veluti de capta præda lætas victorias agere cœpit. Inquirit Dunstanus causam lætitiæ: audit regem obiisse, animam illius gehennalibus statim incendiis tradendam, sed prius hoc sibi ex divino imperio nunciandum fore. Motus idcirco pietate Dunstanus in terram prosternitur; copiosus ex oculis lacrymarum imber producitur; pulsat Deum precibus, nec orando quiescit quousque spiritum regis liberatum agnoscit. Peracta autem brevi mora, redit tristis legio infernalis, magnoque clamore in has voces erumpit: "O te pessimum hominem, "O fidei alienum, O nostris beneficiis semper ingratum. "Nos detulimus obsequium, tu nobis retulisti supplicium; "ad ulciscendas injurias tuas de regione tenebrarum veni- "mus, et ecce adversis imprecationibus tuis confusi redimus." Cumque ille depromendæ veritatis præceptum dæmonibus indiceret, agnoscit animam regis angelica virtute illis sublatam, ad statutum terminum sub signaculo servatam; nihil juris in illam dæmones habere, sed in sortem pœnitentium animarum eandem cedere. Tunc ille exsultans in Domino furores illorum tali ratione compescuit. "Quid," inquit, "injusti actum "est vobis? Si peccavit homo iste, in Christum et in me

He obtains its release.

Osbern, p. 105.

His argument with the devils.

Dunstan confutes the devils.

" peccavit: sed quoniam meas propter Christum dimisi in- Osbern
" jurias, dimisit et Suas Christus, cum Ejus ego clementiam p. 105.
" deprecatus sum. Quod ergo Christus et ego dignati sumus
" clementer indulgere, vos qua temeritate audetis improbe
" reprehendere?" Qua sententia spiritus maligni quasi sagitta
percussi, velut muscæ a vento raptæ dissiliunt.

He is chosen bishop of London.

28. Defuncto Londoniensi episcopo, rogatu regis et principum Dunstanus successione donatur; a civibus urbis, importunis vocibus, nomen illius acclamatur. Neque illum juvit excusatio canonum auctoritate prætensa, qui duas ecclesias uni episcopo fieri posse non permittunt. Sicque utrique Osbern, ecclesiæ, Londoniensi scilicet et Wigorniensi præsidens, p. 106. utramque regens, utriusque proprius episcopus fuit. Sicque gladium Pauli habuit, quem sibi destinatum olim ipse detulit, et ad dividendos ecclesiæ inimicos habendum tradidit.

Odo dies; Elfsin succeeds.

29. Mortuo quoque archiepiscopo Odone, cum rex Dun- Osbern, stanum adjuraret ut archiepiscopatum sumeret, nec ille p. 107. adjuranti ulla ratione assensum præberet, Elsinus Wintoniensis episcopus, paratis advocatis,[1] quorum manus impleverat, surrepto regis edicto Cantuariam intrusus est.

Will. Malmesb. G. P. § 17.

Elfsin's ambition.

Hic enim[2] et ante Odonem archiepiscopatum ambierat, Will. Malsed custos ecclesiæ Suæ Christus ambitionem illius impedie- mesb. G. P. bat.[3] Primo itaque apud Cantuariam exceptionis suæ die § 17. non abstinuit quin conceptas mente furias evomeret, et (Joh. Tynem. tumbam beati Odonis pedibus pulsans, ait, "Pessime senex, Hist. " animam effudisti, sero satis te meliori locum fecisti! Ita- Aurea, " que quod diu concupivi, te invito teneo, unde tibi malas p. 332.) " grates ago." Cum autem cubili se dedisset, vidit beati Odonis effigiem improperare convitium, minari exitum. Ille vero, qui volatico phantasmate se putabat eludi, ad recipiendum pallium Romam pergit; per Alpes transiit, ubi nivali frigore congelatus exenteratorum equorum spirantibus adhuc extis pedes, quibus tumbam Odonis pulsaverat, involvit;[4]

He insults Odo.

He is frozen to death on the Alps.

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[1] *paratis advocatis . . . intrusus est*] From William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, lib. i. ed. Hamilton, p. 25.

[2] *Hic enim*] The following paragraph is partly from Osbern, but principally from William of Malmesbury, who seems to have taken the story with more or less modification from Eadmer's Life of Odo, Angl. Sac. ii. 85.

[3] *Hic . . . impediebat*] Osbern, above, p. 107.

[4] *Primo . . . involvit*] from William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, i. § 17. From this point the

Osbern, p. 107. et sic misere interiit, ut qui ab amore cœlestium friguisset in corde, per frigoris asperitatem periret in corpore, et qui alienos honores ambire præsumpsisset, ipse in aliena regione mortuus honorem pariter et vitam amitteret. Iterum preces Dunstano de archiepiscopatu funduntur, nec quicquam in animo illius consensus operantur. Quapropter Berthelinus Dorsetensium episcopus ad archiepiscopatum assumptus, et Osbern, p. 108. post paucos dies ad tantum onus minus idoneus inventus, non sine verecundia rediit ad ecclesiam suam. Dunstanus igitur, regis et episcoporum importunitate superatus, ad archiepiscopatum electus est.

He dies.

Birhthelm succeeds, and is removed.

Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 324. Osbern, p. 109. Romam profectus, a papa Johanne pallium suscepit, et Angliam rediit.

Primo enim apud Cantuariam adventus sui die, cum saeris altaribus assisteret, et populo Dei vivificum panem distribuendo porrigeret, repente contecta nube domo, columba de cœlo descendens, quousque sacrificium fuisset consummatum, super illum mansit. Peracto autem sacrificio, requievit super tumbam beati Odonis, quæ in modum pyramidis ad australem partem altaris constructa fuit. Ex qua die sanctum Odonem ita Dunstanus reveritus est, ut nunquam pertransiret nisi genua flecteret, bonumque illum vocaret, ita dicens, "Requiescat Odo bonus."

Dunstan succeeds.

Appearance of the dove on his first visit to Canterbury.

(Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 325.) Osbern, p. 109. Eadmer, p. 204. Dedicabat aliquando Dunstanus ecclesiam cujusdam nobilis, ubi dum aqua deficeret ad ministerium, et ille nobilis turbaretur, præmissa ad Deum prece, baculo terram percussit, et arida rupes aquam produxit, quæ usque hodie manans, ac salutiferum poculum præbens, Dunstani nomen celebre facit.[1]

He brings water out of a rock.

Osbern, p. 109. 30. Cum enim a forensibus rebus requies data fuisset, tunc secretius cum Deo manere cœpit, sacris vigiliis insistendo, divinas scripturas legendo, aut earum codices emendando. Summumque ei studium fuit ut nunquam a divinis operibus vacaret; sed nunc verum judicium inter virum et virum discernere, nunc impacatas hominum mentes placido sermone Osbern, p. 110. tranquillare; horum inepta dissolvere conjugia, illorum hære-

His daily employments.

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traces of a third authority besides Osbern and Eadmer, which is also represented in the *Historia Aurea* of John of Tynemouth, become apparent. A few occasional words before noted are borrowed from this source, but now whole clauses appear. The MS. of the Historia Aurea referred to is the MS. Bodl. 240.

[1] *Dedicabat . . . facit*] A piece of patchwork from Osbern and Eadmer, but taken directly from the Historia Aurea.

ticam refutare opinionem; hic neglecta revocare, illic nova construere, viduis, orphanis ac peregrinis ex justis ecclesiæ redditibus subvenire. Proinde rex consilio ejus ut vitæ suæ credens, et omne quod ab eo diceretur, quasi ab Omnipotentis ore prolatum fuisset, suscipiens, quæcunque statuenda erant statuit, quæcunque damnanda damnavit. Omnes ecclesiarum ministros, qui aut venandi studio intenti, aut quæstuosis negotiis dediti, seu fornicationis insolentia deturpati, ætatem agere solebant, aut districta animadversione decrevit cohercendos, aut de ecclesiis expellendos. Unde factum est ut quarundam clarissimarum ecclesiarum ministri, dum voluptatem honestati præferrent, regali sanctione de eisdem ecclesiis expulsi, melioribus se et alterius ordinis viris sua loca relinquerent.

Osbern, p. 110.

Dunstan's ecclesiastical reforms.

Sin of Edgar with a veiled virgin.

31. Hostis enim antiquus totius ecclesiæ gaudia cupiens disturbare, accendit animum regis in amorem Deo sacratæ virginis, ut quoniam a tramite justitiæ Dunstanum dejicere non posset, eum quem præcipue diligebat dejiceret. Perpetrato itaque in virginem velatam peccato, atque ad publicam populi audientiam perlato, Dunstanus tam pro culpa quam pro regis infamia gravissimo dolore affectus, mox illum veluti alterum David redarguendum alter ille Nathan intrepidus adiit. Cui assurgens rex, cum manum extenderet, ut eum ad regium thronum deduceret, ille renuens manum dare, oculos cum indignatione in illum torsit, et ait; "Tu pontificis "manum audes tangere, qui virginem Deitatis munere ar- "rhatam non timuisti præripere? Sponsam Conditoris tui "adulterasti, et amicum Sponsi aliquo tuo obsequio existimas "posse placari? Nolo amicus esse cui Christus fuerit ini- "micus?" Territus ergo verborum tonitruo rex pedibus Dunstani prosternitur; scelus flebiliter fatetur, veniam humiliter precatur. Quod ut vidit pontifex, expavit, perfusumque regem lacrymis, lacrymis et ipse madens, de terra levavit. Denique cum magnitudinem peccati exposuisset, et paratum illum ad omnem satisfactionem reddidisset, septennem ei pœnitentiam indixit, ut in toto hoc spatio coronam regni non gestaret, jejunium in hebdomada biduanum transigeret; thesauros suos pauperibus large dispergeret: super hæc sacrandis Deo virginibus monasterium Septoniæ fundaret, quatenus qui unam per peccatum Deo virginem abstulisset, plures Ei per plura sæculi volumina aggregaret; clericos etiam malæ actionis de ecclesiis propelleret, monachorum agmina introduceret, justas Deoque acceptas leges sanciret, et per omnes fines regni populis custodiendas mandaret. Nihil enim erat quod minus

Osbern, p. 111.

Dunstan reproves him.

(Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 324.)

Edgar's repentance.

Osbern, p. 112.

His penances.

Osbern, p. 112.

aut segnius rex impleret quam a rectore vitæ suæ præceptum fuisset. Elapso tandem septennalis pœnitentiæ termino, congregatis omnibus Angliæ principibus, episcopis et abbatibus, imposuit regi coronam coram omni multitudine populi Anglorum, cunctis lætantibus, et Deum in Sancto Dunstano laudantibus. Puerum vero ex peccatrice quondam progenitum, sacro fonte regeneratum, levavit, Edwardum illum vocavit, et in filium sibi adoptavit.

After seven years he is crowned.

(Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 326.)

Willelmus[1] in libro secundo Pontificum, et etiam Historiæ nonnullæ asserunt Edgarum ex prima uxore genuisse Edwardum, ex secunda Ethelredum, et tandem de Wilfritha genuisse Editham virginem sanctam. Hanc enim Wilfritham non vere sanctimonialem, sicut opinio vulgaris delirat, sed timore regis Edgari, eam illicite concupiscentis, proprio arbitrio esse velatam constat. Unde legitur[2] quod

William of Malmesbury's account of Edgar's wives.

Eadmer, p. 209.

cum apud Wintoniam rex veniret, quandam puellam in communi habitu speciosissimam videns et concupiscens pro illa misit. Quæ timens pudori suo raptum velum a quadam sanctimoniali capiti suæ imposuit, et sic ad regem ivit. Quam videns ille, ait, "Quam subito sanctimonialis effecta es!" Et ablato velo renitenti vim intulit; et secundum quod prædicitur septennem pœnitentiam egit. Illa quoque partu explicito, voluptati renuncians, religiose vixit, sanctaque celebratur apud Wilthoniam, ut asseritur.

Another account of the veiled virgin.

Higden, Polycr. lib. vi. Liber de Hyda, p. 179. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 326.)

Illis enim diebus multis in locis abjectis clericis, insolenter viventibus, monachi instituuntur. Nam clerici laborem chori fugientes, et bona ecclesiæ pro libito suo illicite consumentes, vicarios parum ad victum habentes loco sui constituerunt. Sed cum sæpius admoniti non corrigerentur, rex præbendas clericorum vicariis præfatis contulit. Sed et illi in personatum promoti vicarios sibi facientes, prioribus pejores facti sunt. Rex igitur turbatus, annuente papa, monachos introduxit.[3]

Monastic abuses and reforms.

Eadmer, pp. 200, 201. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 324.)

32. Eo tempore[4] quidam comes duxerat cognatam suam, et correptus a Dunstano parere noluit. Excommunicatur ille; adiit regem conquerens de Dunstano. Rex mandavit archiepiscopo ut eum absolveret, qui noluit, sed eum gravius ex-

Dunstan annuls an unlawful marriage.

[1] William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, lib. ii. § 159, Gesta Pontificum, ii. § 87.

[2] The following version of the story is from Eadmer, above, p. 209.

[3] This paragraph is from Higden's Polycronicon, lib. vi. (ed. Gale, p. 264); through the Historia Aurea.

[4] The following story is taken from Eadmer, above, p. 200, apparently through John of Tynemouth.

communicavit. Ille Romam cum multis muneribus misit, et apostolicus mandavit Dunstano ut eum absolveret. "Absit "hoc," inquit Dunstanus, "ut causa alicujus mortalis homi- "nis contemnam legem Dei mei." Quod videns comes pœnituit, et uxorem suam repudiavit, nudisque pedibus, laneis indutus, virgamque in manu gerens, cecidit ad pedes Dunstani, et tunc primo absolutus est.

He resists the pope's command.

Eadmer, p. 201. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 324.)

33. Quodam tempore capti sunt tres fabricatores falsæ monetæ, qui mox adjudicati sunt ad manuum abscisionem, et Dunstanum non latuit. Die autem Pentecostes celebraturus Missam, percunctatus est utrum lex impleta esset; responsum est propter reverentiam diei dilatam esse pœnam usque in diem alterum. "Nequaquam," inquit, "ad altare ego hodie "ascendam, donec debitam sustinuerint pœnam; nam nego- "tium ad me respicit." Ipsi enim viri in potestate ejus erant. Dixit, et pro eis qui manus perdituri erant, multum plorans, ostendit de qua affectione hoc dixit. Quibus punitis ascendit ad altare lota facie, dicens, "Nunc confido quod sacrificium de "manu mea suscipiet Omnipotens." In qua Missa dum diceret, "Ecclesiam Tuam quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et re- "gere digneris," nivea columba super eum multis videntibus descendit, et alis expansis super caput ejus sic mansit in silentio usque dum sacrificium compleretur. Quo impleto divertit super tumbam Odonis, quondam archiepiscopi, alis suis eam complexans, et rostro deosculans. Unde Dunstanus, quoties postea sepulcrum illius pertransivit, ut præmittitur, genua flexit et eum postea Odonem so goode, id est, Odonem bonum appellavit.

Three coiners condemned to mutilation.

Dunstan will not say mass until their punishment has been inflicted.

Appearance of the holy dove.

Eadmer, pp. 202, 203. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 325.)

Dum autem digrederetur ab altari, ministris pro signo quod acciderat in diversa euntibus, non fuit qui casulam illius susciperet. Quæ pependit in aere, nec terram tetigit, ne servum Dei a sua intentione turbaret.

His chasuble miraculously held up.

Eadmer, p. 204. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 325.)

Cum autem Dunstanus quandam dedicaret ecclesiam, et illam vidisset versus orientem non esse conversam, humero suo parum suppressit eam, et mox fertur eam ad orientem se convertisse. Villa autem in qua hoc factum legitur Magavelda vocabatur.

He turns Mayfield church to the east.

34. Post mortem vero Edgari regis, status regni turbationem pertulit; nam plures magnates, ejectis monachis de magnis monasteriis, quos rex Edgarus et Dunstanus instituerant, clericos cum uxoribus reduxerunt. Coacto super hoc apud Wintoniam consilio, imago Crucifixi, in capite refectorii

Changes on Edgar's death.

Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 325.

Eadmer, p. 218. Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 325. Osbern, p. 113.

modo locata, humanas exprimens voces dixit, "Absit hoc ut fiat, absit hoc ut fiat! judicastis bene, mutaretis non bene."[1] Ad quam vocem omnes, incredibiliter perterriti, clamore pariter et Dei laudatione aream complent. Hanc enim imaginem ego Johannes Wintoniæ vidi in capite refectorii monachorum Sancti Swithuni in altum erectam, et in pariete supra caput imaginis sic scriptum erat,

Miracle at the council of Winchester.

The writer has seen the memorial of it.

"Humano more crux præsens edidit ore,
"Cœlitus affata quæ prospicis hic subarata;
"Absit hoc ut fiat,"

et cætera superius memorata. His enim adversariis videntibus cessatum est a contentione, quousque per successionem filiorum prior discordia renovaretur. Quibus in villa nomine Calne Dunstanus sic respondit: "Quoniam, sentes-
"cente me, antiquis querelis deservire contenditis, fateor, vinci
"nolo, ecclesiæ Suæ causam Christo judici committo." Dixit, et quod dixit irati Dei censura firmavit. Mox etenim concussa domus; cœnaculum sub pedibus est solutum: hostes solo præcipitati, ac ruentium trabium pondere sunt oppressi. Ubi vero cum suis sanctus accubabat, ibi nulla ruinæ suffusio erat.

Osbern, p. 114.

Miraculous escape of Dunstan at Calne.

(Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 325.)

35. Edgaro rege mortuo, et Edwardo ad regnum relicto, dum quidam principes acquiescere nollent, Dunstanus arrepto crucis vexillo in medio constitit; Edwardum illis ostendit, elegit, sacravit; patrisque ac magistri affectum quoad vixit ei impendit. Sed illo post triennium novercali fraude occiso, successit Ethelredus frater suus. Attamen in die consecrationis suæ, post impositam coronam, fertur Dunstanus hoc illi prædixisse: "Quoniam aspirasti ad regnum per mortem fra-
"tris tui, in cujus sanguine conspiraverunt Angli,[2] cum
"ignominiosa matre tua, non deficiet gladius de domo tua,
"sæviens in te omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, interficiens de
"semine tuo, quousque regnum tuum transferatur in regnum
"alienum, cujus ritum et linguam gens cui præsides non
"novit. Nec expiabitur nisi longa vindicta peccatum tuum,
"et peccatum matris tuæ, et peccatum virorum qui interfuere
"consilio illius nequam."

Dunstan secures the succession of Edward.

Osbern, p. 115.

His prophecy about Ethelred at his coronation.

[1] *judicastis . . bene*] From Eadmer.

[2] *in cujus . . . Angli*] from Higden, Polycr., vi. p. 269; also Hist. Aurea.

Prophecy of Dunstan.

Hic etiam Ethelredus dum pusiolus a Dunstano baptizaretur, minxit in sacro fonte; unde et beatus Dunstanus prædixit exterminium Anglorum tempore ejus futurum. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 334.)

Dunstan foretells the death of the bishops of Winchester and Rochester.

36. Contigit enim Ethelwaldum Wintoniensem episcopum cum Roffensi episcopo Cantuariam venire. Quibus cum magno gaudio susceptis, cum tandem ad sua reverti vellent, confestim Dunstanus erupit in fletum; fletum adeo magnum ut vix loqui posset. Inquisitus cur fleret, ait: "Ea re," inquit, "fleo, quoniam vos in proximo morituros "scio." "Noli," inquiunt, "pater sancte, tam dira nobis "prophetia occurrere." Et ille, "Quod dixi necesse est fieri. "Moriemini enim huic sæculo, sed vivetis cum Deo. Nec "in hac vita diutius manere debetis, sed æternaliter cum "Illo victuri pergetis ad Deum." Et infra paucos dies, sicut prædixerat, ambo episcopi mortui sunt. Osbern, pp. 115, 116.

He is warned by S. Andrew to consecrate Elfege.

37. Defuncto ut præmittitur episcopo Ethelwaldo, et de eligendo pontifice habita dissensione, oravit Dunstanus ad Dominum ut dignaretur ostendere quis regendæ ecclesiæ deberet idoneus pastor succedere. Et ecce affuit Andreas apostolus dicens; "Quid, carissime, contrista-"ris? Surge et Elphego abbati manum impone, eumque "desolatæ ecclesiæ sacerdotem constitue. Nec te aliquorum "prohibeat potentia, quia non ab homine sed a Deo processit "hæc sententia."[1] (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 319.) Osbern, V. Elfegi, A.S. ii. 126.

Ethelred besieging Rochester is bribed by Dunstan.

38. Dum enim rex Ethelredus propter quasdam dissensiones urbem obsideret Roffensem, patrimonium beati Andreæ apostoli devastando invasit. Mandavit ei Dunstanus a stultitia quiescere, Andream sicut ad præstandum facilem, sic ad ulciscendum virilem in promptu esse, ut potentiam illius ipse experiatur, si hæreditatem illius vexare non destiterit. Contemptus a rege Dunstanus iterum eadem suggerit, insuper argenti pondo centum transmittit. Quo accepto ab obsidione recessit. Miratur Dunstanus hominis cupiditatem; hoc illi confestim scripsit: "Quia prætulisti pecuniam Deo, argentum "apostolo, meæ voluntati tuam cupiditatem, velociter venient "super te mala quæ locutus est Dominus, mala qualia non "fuerunt ex quo gens Anglorum regnare cœpit usque ad "tempus illud. Ac tamen vivente me ista non erunt, quoniam "et hoc locutus est Dominus." Osbern, p. 117.

Dunstan's contempt for him.

[1] *Quid . . . sententia*] From Osbern's life of S. Elfege, Ang. Sac. ii. 126.

(Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 325.) Eadmer, p. 205. Osbern, p. 117. Eadmer, p. 206.

39. Quadam nocte dum dormiret Dunstanus, per visum raptus est[1] in cœlum, et intererat beatis agminibus illis. Oblectabatur modulationibus angelorum suam genitricem quasi nuptiali thalamo æterno Rege copulantium, et suave Kyrie eleyson et hymnis et laudibus modulantibus organicis resonantium. Quibus[2] dum ipse magnifice delectatus intenderet, accessit ad eum quidam juvenis candidissimo tectus amictu, dicens, "Quare omnibus aliis gaudentibus et cantantibus tu solus taces in nuptiis matris tuæ?" Qui respondit se nescire quid in laudem tanti regis cantare posset. Cui ille, "Vis," inquit, "instrui quid cantare debeas?"[3] Respondit, "Cupio." Et ille, "Canta, O Rex, dominator gen- "tium, salva genus Christianorum adhuc in terra peregrinan- "tium, ut et ipsi post inimicitias ad gratiam revertantur, "et angelicæ ruinæ per illos damna reparentur."

In a dream he sees his mother married to a king.

The hymn he learned.

Osbern, p. 118.

Eadmer, p. 206. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 325.)

Ego enim sæpius legi Dunstanum in eadem visione quod subsequitur cantare edoctum, "O Rex, gentium do- "minator omnium, propter sedem majestatis Tuæ da nobis "indulgentiam, rex Christe, peccatorum. Alleluya." Quod sæpius ille cantans et repetens miro modo delectabatur. Expergefactus statim illam antiphonam jussit scribi.

Another version of it.

Eadmer, p. 207. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 333.)

40. Quodam tempore rex Edgarus adhuc vivens, dum venatum pergeret, Dunstanum donec rediret Missam differre rogavit. Appropinquante hora tertia, vir Dei sacris induitur vestibus, regem exspectat, stans cubitis innixus altari, lacrymis deditus et orationi. Et ecce! subito sopore leniter pressus, raptus in cœlum et junctus angelis audit eosdem Trinitati modulatis vocibus canere, "Kyrie eleyson, Christe "eleyson, Kyrie eleyson." Et rediens ad se interrogat si rex advenisset. Respondetur, "Non." Iterum ergo orat, et iterum in cœlum raptus audit ibi altisona voce dici, "Ite, "Missa est." Cumque responderetur, "Deo gratias;" accurrerunt clerici regem adesse dicentes. Quibus ille respondit quod jam Missam audierat, nec aliam eo die auditurus vel celebraturus erat. Interrogatus quare, visionem aperit, et sumpto ex hoc sermone prohibuit regi ne ulterius in die Dominico venatum iret. "Kyrie eleyson," quod in cœlo audierat suos clericos docuit. Cujus modulos harmoniæ

Dunstan, whilst waiting for Edgar, falls asleep at the altar and learns a new song.

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[1] *Quadam . . est*] From Eadmer, p. 205, above.

[2] *Quibus, etc.*] Eadmer, above, p. 206.

[3] See B., p. 41, above.

The *Kyrie rex splendens.*

adhuc continet tropus ille apud Anglos famosus, "Kyrie "rex splendens."[1] Higden, Polycr. vi. p. 270.

Vision of virgins at S. Augustine's singing the hymn of Sedulius.

41. Vidit enim Dunstanus vice quadam corporeis oculis in ecclesia Sancti Augustini in capella beatæ Mariæ, ubi modo in crypta sub feretro beati Augustini imago ejusdem virginis locatur, matrem Domini Salvatoris virginali corona decoratam, mellifluasque ejus voces audire meruit, quibus socias virgines ad collaudandum Regem sæculorum hortabatur, concinens illud carmen sapientis ac senatoris Sedulii, Osbern, p. 118.

"Cantemus Domino, sociæ, cantemus honorem;
"Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio."

Cumque ab aliis virginibus hoc fuisset acceptum, aliæ qui sequuntur versus pronunciabant,

"Primus ad ima ruit magna de luce superbus;
"Sic homo cum tumuit primus ad ima ruit.
"Unius ob meritum cuncti periere minores,
"Cuncti salvantur unius ob meritum.
"Sola fuit mulier patuit qua janua letho,
"Et qua vita redit sola fuit mulier."

Address to Dunstan.

Atque in hunc modum totius carminis bini ac bini versus percurrebantur, illis semper repetitis qui primi a matre Domini dicebantur, "Cantemus Domino, etc." Hæc, pontificum sanctissime, acutissima vi corporalium oculorum in spiritualem potentiam translatorum videre potuisti. Hæc cœlestium arcanorum perscrutator audire meruisti. Præstet Omnipotens Deus per Dunstani merita gloriosa, ut quem semper nobiscum corporaliter viventem habere non licuit, liceat saltem ex consideratione pretiosæ vitæ suæ suam vitam sempiternam agnoscere, agnoscendo diligere, et diligendo sempiternæ vitæ gloriam a Deo per te patrem piissimum obtinere. Non enim sufficiebat Dunstano in secreto cubiculi sui sacras excubias celebrare, castis orationibus inservire, nisi etiam nocturnis frigoribus ecclesiam Sancti Augustini frequentaret, et inde ad vicinum Virginis Mariæ templum prædictam gloriam visurus procederet. Osbern, p. 119.

42. Anno autem Domini duodecim minus a millesimo, adventus Anglorum in Britanniam quingentesimo sexagesimo Osbern, p. 120.

[1] On this see the Preface to the present volume.

Osbern, p. 120.

tertio, archiepiscopatus sui tricesimo tertio, ætatis suæ septuagesimo; sanctus Christi confessor Dunstanus, virtutibus plenus et operibus bonis, migravit ad Dominum. Date of Dunstan's death.

Eadmer, p. 217. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 335.)

Cum enim instaret dies Ascensionis Dominicæ, peractis vigiliis, remansit Dunstanus in oratione in ecclesia solus, et ecce innumera candidatorum multitudo, coronas aureas in capitibus gestantium, inæstimabili fulgore micantium, per ecclesiæ januam irrumpens ante ipsum conglobata astitit, una voce salutans et dicens, "Salve Dunstane noster, salve! "Mandat tibi Quem pie desideras Filius Dei, quatenus, si "paratus es, venias et diem hanc, ad cujus gaudium spiras, "nobiscum celebres." Ad quod ille imperterritus manens, sciscitatus est qui essent. "Cherubin," inquiunt, "et Sera- His vision of Cherubim.

Eadmer, p. 218.

"phin sumus, et responde quid velis." Tunc ille, "Hodie "dies solemnissimus est, et incumbit mihi pane Verbi Dei plebem reficere, et ostendere illi quomodo ad hoc gaudium possit pervenire. Propter quod et multi convenerunt, nec "debeo illos decipere, et ideo hodie venire non possum." Qui dixerunt, "Eja paratus esto, in die sabbati præsto sis "hinc nobiscum Romam venire, et coram summo pontifice "Sanctus! Sanctus! Sanctus! æternaliter canere." Annuit ille, et illi recedunt. They warn him of the day of his departure.

Osbern, p. 121.

Osbern, p. 122.

43. Lecto igitur eo die ad Missam evangelio, locutus est ad plebem qualiter nunquam antea fuerat locutus; ostendens qua ratione Filius Dei carnem induerit, cur humani generis salvationem non nisi moriendo compleverit, quemadmodum resurgens a mortuis mortis principem superaverit, et famulantibus angelis cœlum ingressus sit. Deinde Sanguinem Christi incomparabiliter omnibus creaturis docuit esse præstantiorem, tantamque fiduciam in effusione Sanguinis illius mundum habere posse, ut si unus aliquis totius mundi peccata haberet, neque de multitudine neque de magnitudine criminum illi esset desperandum, si Mediatorem Dei et hominum haberet advocatum. Et reversus ad altare celebravit mysteria. On Ascension day he preaches, celebrates mass.

Eadmer, p. 219. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 335.)

Ubi autem ventum est ad benedictionem super populum, iterum ab altari prædicaturus regreditur, ita ut non hominem sed angelum loqui putares. Iterum ad altare revertitur, et data benedictione iterum ad populum redit, stupentibus cunctis; et mox ut ad loquendum os aperuit, tanta claritate vultus ejus resplenduit, ut nemo in eum intendere posset. Obitum suum illis instare prædixit, promittens se illis nunquam defuncturum. Et tunc ad mensam Domini reversus est. and warns the people of his death.

Osbern, p. 123.

Eadmer, p. 220.

He chooses his grave.

44. Eadem die cum a mensa sumpto cibo surrexisset, ecclesiam petiit, et designavit locum in quo sepeliri voluit. Mox languor eum invasit: sexta feria lecto decubuit, omnesque adventantes ad sequenda Christi vestigia incitavit. Sabbato enim cum horam suam exspectaret, subito cum lecto in quo jacebat usque ad superiora levatus est, et trabibus obsistentibus ad terram leniter demissus. Iterumque usque ad trabes cum lecto suo raptus est ut prius, et iterum leniter demissus: hoc usque tertio factum est. Videntes hoc qui astabant territi fugientes, et parietibus innixi de longe sursum aspicientes, exitum rei videre cupiebant. Convocat omnes Dunstanus qui fugam inierant, taliter eos demulcens: "Vidistis," ait, "filii, vidistis, carissimi, quo me "Deus vocat, quo ineffabilis Dei misericordia invitat. Semita "itineris mei præ oculis ostensa est vobis, ut nullus vestrum "de præmio diffidat, qui vitæ meæ diligens sectator exstite-"rit. Sursum est quod amplector, sursum quo gradior. Es-"tote ergo vitæ imitatores, si itineris mei cupitis esse sec-"tatores. Nolite boni videri, sed esse. Hoc enim maximum "inter homines malum est, quod omnes cupiunt boni videri "et esse nolunt. Nulli volunt mali videri, et nolunt non esse "mali. Pacem semper sectamini. Prædico etiam vobis An-"glorum gentem dira ac diuturna mala ab exteris gentibus "esse passuram; sed in fine dierum miserationem Dei super "illam stillaturam." Et extensis ad cœlum manibus, inter verba orationis, videt illos, qui se ad cœleste convivium invitaverant, beatos angelos assistentes et cœleste illi obsequium præparantes. Quorum veneranda præsentia felix anima illius de habitaculo corporis egressa, ad contemplandam æterni Regis claritatem cum illis profecta est, xiiii. kalendas Junii, et in ecclesia Salvatoris Cantuariæ cum magno honore sepelitur.

Eadmer, pp. 220, 221. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 335.)

On the Saturday he is miraculously lifted up to the ceiling.

His address to his friends.

He dies and is buried.

Osbern, p. 123.

Osbern, p. 124.

Osbern, p. 125.

Osbern, p. 126.

Sad changes following his death.

45. Post enim ejus obitum ita omnia in contrarium versa sunt, ut Dunstani mortem omnia deflere, nec ejus absentiam se ferre posse viderentur. A summa quippe pace fit commutatio ad intolerabile bellum; ab immensa lætitia ad omnium rerum indigentiam. Denique aer ipse immutatus est, cœlum non exaudivit tellurem, nec tellus ea quæ seminabantur in ea. Hostilis incursio fœdam ubique faciem dereliquit, dum eorum irruptione urbes diruerentur, ecclesiæ spoliarentur, et sacerdotes Domini de terra delerentur.

Osbern, p. 127.

Miracles.

46. Vir quidam et mulier longa cæcitate percussi

juxta sepulcrum Sancti Dunstani vigiliis et orationibus insistentes perfectæ sanitati restitui meruerunt.

Eadmer, p. 224. (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 385.)

A noble priest is cured of palsy, but proving ungrateful, relapses and dies.

Presbyter quidam inter suos nobilis paralysis morbo percussus, ad sepulcrum Sancti Dunstani delatus, sensit quandam manum per totum corpus suum ducentem, et membra sua resolidantem. Sanatus enim grande convivium amicis suis parat, et dum convivæ pro ejus salute gratias Deo et beato Dunstano referrent, ille tumens ait, "Et si Dun- " stanus non esset, sanatus fuissem." Quo dicto statim pristina infirmitate correptus et miserabiliter clamans, post paulum spiritum emisit.

Osbern, p. 133.

Eadmer, p. 225. Osbern, p. 133.

Cure of a dumb and lame boy.

Juvenis quidam a nativitate mutus et claudus, mox ut tumbam Sancti Dunstani tetigit, erectis pedibus stetit, et soluta lingua excelsa voce clamare cœpit, " Gloria in excelsis " Deo, Alleluya." Et sic omnibus diebus vitæ suæ non solum expedite verum etiam diserte omnia loquebatur.

Osbern, p. 134.

Cure of a girl born blind.

Puella quædam a nativitate cæca ad tumbam Sancti Dunstani a matre sua adducta, apertis oculis omnia clare videbat, et præ gaudio exsiliens dixit, "Mater mi, quæ sunt " hæc pulchra quæ video?" Cui illa, "Videsne," inquit, " cara mi?" Quæ dixit, "Pulcher homo quidam jussit me " hæc pulchra videre."

Osbern, p. 135. Eadmer, p. 226.

Cure of Clement who had been possessed.

Quidam vero Teutonicus, nomine Clemens, quem sacerdos pro culpa voluptatis et contumaciæ in interitum carnis Sathanæ tradiderat, septennio a dæmone possessus de loco ad locum instabili ferebatur motu. Hic ad tumbam Sancti Dunstani perlatus, cum ad nocturnas vigilias responsorium, "Videte " miraculum," inciperetur, saltum in sublime dedit, et dæmonium cum sanguine evomuit.

Osbern, p. 136.

An old lame man goes to Dunstan's tomb for cure, in vain:

Cuidam seni et claudo præcepit Dunstanus in somnis sanitatis gratia tumbam suam visitare. Quod cum fecisset, et nihil salutis consecutus fuisset, desperatus ad sua redire cœpit. Cui is qui dudum dormienti apparuerat, vultu severus, veste decorus, occurrit, sciscitans unde veniret, vel quo pergendo tenderet. "Recuperandæ," inquit, "salutis " gratia jussus ad sanctum Dei Dunstanum perrexi, sed nihil " proficiens ad domum meam redire decrevi." "Et ego " sum," inquit, "Dunstanus, omnium servorum Dei conservus, " necessariis quibusdam causis occupatus, non poteram his " diebus requiem corporis mei visitare, nec præsentiam meam " filiis ibidem manentibus exhibere. Nam ecclesiam Dei qui- " dam adversarius exhæredare temptavit; sed me tutore

On his return he meets the saint, who bids him go again.

The man returns, and is healed.

" nihil efficere potuit. Nunc autem confecto negotio ad locum Osbern,
" requietionis meæ vado. Vide ergo ut illa die te ibi inve- p. 136.
" niam, quatenus per te gratiam meam meis civibus osten-
" dam." Rediens ergo, et sanus effectus, palam cunctis quæ viderat et audierat enarravit.

Dunstan is seen to quit the church; and it is burnt.

46. Quodam enim tempore in nocturna visione visus est Osbern,
Dunstanus a fratribus de ecclesia exire. Quem cum exeun- p. 142.
tem retinere vellent, "Non possum," inquit, "ibi manere
" propter spurcitias malorum morum et reorum in ecclesia
" sepultorum."[1] Nec multo post ecclesia Salvatoris igni com-
busta est, parietes ceciderunt, nec quicquam ex omnibus mo-
nasterii officinis incombustum remansit, præter dormitorium
et refectorium et modicam claustri partem.

Lanfranc removes the bodies of the saints.

47. Lanfrancus autem archiepiscopus ecclesiam Sancti Eadmer,
Salvatoris, quam præfatum incendium inutilem fecerat, simul p. 232.
et vetustas funditus destrueret, et augustiorem construere
cupiens, celebrato triduano jejunio, jussit corpora sanctorum,
quæ in orientali parte ipsius ecclesiæ humata erant, in occi-
dentalem partem, ubi beatæ Mariæ memoria celebris habeba- Osbern,
tur, transferri. Interea duo milites archiepiscopi coram feretro p. 142.
beati Dunstani terræ procumbunt, misericordiam et indulgen- Eadmer,
tiam per merita ejus sibi ab abbate Sancti Augustini, de morte p. 232.
nepotis ejus, quem nuper occiderant, dari postulantes. Dene-
gat abbas; denegant et fratres defuncti qui astabant. Jungunt
alii preces suas precibus militum, sed in vanum. Nec enim
illos aut reverentia sancti, aut supplicans multitudo flectere
potuit ad miserendum. Pius autem Dunstanus, non sic au-
ditu difficilis, surdam ab infantia mulierem ipsa hora se requi-
rentem exaudivit, et ei coram omnibus auditum perfectum
reddidit. Abbas autem in sua pertinacia rigidus, nocte se- Eadmer,
quenti cum suis nepotibus coram se quemdam reverendi habi- p. 233.
tus sacerdotem irato vultu stare conspexit, et quibusdam
teterrimis hominibus, in medio cameræ in qua jacebant, miræ
magnitudinis cacabum supposito igne succendentibus, præcipere
audivit, quatenus illos simul ligatos in candentem cacabum
sine ulla miseratione comburendos præcipitarent. Percunc-
tantibus autem quare tam crudeli pœnæ subjici deberent
respondetur, "Propterea quod vos furoris igne succensi mor-
" tem vestri germani noluistis perdonare propter amorem ac

Story of the unforgiving abbot and his nephews.

Their vision at night.

[1] *sepultorum*] Here Capgrave follows the reading of two MSS. of Osbern, which omit the story of Harold's child, above, p. 142.

Eadmer, p. 233.

" reverentiam Sancti Dunstani." Hiis dictis rapiuntur ad ignem, et illi nimia anxietate constricti miserandas voces emittebant, et se quamcitius possent ad requiem sancti venturos, eumque super illa injuria digna satisfactione honoraturos devovent, si solummodo eos ab imminenti miseria sua gratia liberare dignaretur. Adhæc tetri ministri, nutu sacerdotis exterriti, cum suis ignibus disparuerunt. Mane autem abbas idem, Scotlandus nomine, ad sepulcrum Sancti Dunstani cum suis veniens nepotibus, monachos ecclesiæ congregatos sibi precibus succurrere flebilis orat. Indulgetur reis militibus mors defuncti, qui homines pii patris Dunstani effecti ad sua lætantes redierunt.

Their terror and repentance.

Eadmer, p. 234.

48. Monachus quidam juvenis ecclesiæ Salvatoris in Missa Lamfranci archiepiscopi Evangelium legebat; et cum dicta oratione Dominica patenam ex more pontifici offerret, vidit coram se quosdam teterrimos et horribiles malignorum spirituum vultus. Ad quorum aspectum nimio pavore perterritus Lamfrancum inter manus sacra tenentem utrisque brachiis strictim amplectitur, horrido clamore vociferans ac dicens, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat." Post Missam, adunatis in capitulo fratribus, et juvene illo adducto, Lamfrancus, habito prius sermone, omnes pro fratre rogare monuit. Loris autem astrictus juvenis ad tumbam

A monk is seized by evil spirits during mass.

Eadmer, p. 235.

Sancti Dunstani omnino reluctans pertrahitur, in Christum ac Sanctum Dunstanum blasphemias jactans, miserabili cruciatu torquebatur. Et cum quidam ad eum accederent, gravia peccata nondum confessa detegebat, et illos sibi in pœnis perpetuis socios fore futuros gaudens et hilaris pronunciavit. Confessi autem et absoluti cum se ei præsentarent, illos ex transverso intuens, nec eos sicut prius recognoscens, unde

He betrays the sins of his companions, and threatens them with exposure.

Eadmer, p. 236.

venerint, quo lavacro loti tam subitam purgationem meruerint, quidve contigerit quod suam societatem sic cito alterati amiserint, spumans et ejulans mirabatur. Dicebat[1] quoque de quibusdam fratribus nefanda. Tunc nominaverunt quendam, asserentes quoniam de illo non haberet quid diceret. At ille affirmare cœpit quod ad præsentiam suam nunquam auderet accedere. Tunc frater ille Lamfranco puram fecit confessionem, et ingressus ante dæmoniacum stetit. At ille in eum torvo respiciens oculo ait cachinnans, "Pro malo homine

Vita Lanfranci, (ed. D'Achery, p. 14). (Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 362.)

[1] *Dicebat*] The following addition to the story is from the Life of Lanfranc by Milo Crispin, also filtered through the Historia Aurea.

Blessings of penitence.

" quomodo es nunc rebullitus et candidatus? quis te sic " rebullivit et dealbavit?" Et nihil plus dicere voluit. Unde datur intelligi quia virtus confessionis et absolutionis aufert diabolo aut memoriam peccati de quo pura facta est confessio, aut certe potestatem hominem accusandi. Hoc enim misericorditer Christus fecit, monachos ad correctiorem vitam erudiens, qui cessante disciplina in sæculari conversatione ultra quam debebant jacere non timebant. V. Lanfr. p. 15. Joh. Tynem. Hist. Aurea, p. 362. Eadmer, p. 236.

The evil spirit runs about within the man.

Cumque inter Sanctos Dunstanum et Elphegum poneretur, dæmon qui eum possidebat in ventre ejus hac et illac discurrendo vagari cœpit, ut putares illum modo per os, modo per inferiores corporis partes fugam parare; et si quis manum super tumorem quem faciebat superponeret, statim in alium locum exsiliebat. Quidam vero Gallica lingua quod sicut parvus catus saliret dixit. Juvenis vero, qui linguam illam non novit, subridens, eadem lingua respondebat dicens, "Non ut catulus, sed ut catellus." Nec multo post meritis Sancti Dunstani dæmone fugato liberatur, et sensus ei redditur.

He is at last healed.

Story of the translation of the bones of Dunstan to Glastonbury in 1012.

49. [1] De translatione autem corporis Sancti Dunstani de Cantuaria ad Glastoniam, sicut in monasterio Glastoniensi scriptum inveni, hic inserens, opiniones varias circa hoc discutiendas penitus reliqui. Anno Domini MXII., regnante rege Edmundo cognomento Yrensyde, Dani Angliam intrantes orientales partes Angliæ et totius Cantiæ fines in suam redigebant potestatem, et incolæ multi, a patria eliminati, multa crudelissima sunt morte perempti. Sic usque Lundonias non gradui nec ætati vel sexui parcentes homicidiis, rapinis, incendiis, divina æque et humana exterminabant; et expulso a sede propria Elphego archiepiscopo, prædia devastantur, possessiones diripiuntur; monachos Cantuariæ trucidant, ecclesiam et omnia incendio consumunt. Contigit hisdem temporibus præfatum regem Edmundum Glastoniam advenire: et ibidem aliquantulam trahens moram abbati et fratribus tantæ captivitatis ex ordine retulit historiam, et Cantuariensem ecclesiam incensam, et habitatoribus et religione penitus viduatam. Quibus auditis, abbas cum tota con- Will. Malmesb. Ant. Glaston. p. 301. W. Malmesb. Ant. Glaston. p. 302.

[1] The following narration is from the book de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ, written by William of Malmesbury; printed in Gale's Scriptores, pp. 301, sq.

Will. Malmesb. Ant. Glaston. p. 302.

gregatione valde contristatus, inter cætera eximii patris sui Dunstani virtutes præcelsas recitabant, qui dum viveret amplis possessionibus libertatibusque magnificis, et regularibus institutis, Glastoniam mirifice insignivit. Precibus enim uberrimis opem consiliumque regis implorant quatenus reliquias gloriosi viri ad loca transferre possent religiosa, ubi quondam religionis lacte nutritus ad tantas virtutes excreverat, ut non solum gregem Glastoniæ, sed totius Angliæ provincias sua doctrina illustrare posset. Quibus auditis, rex eorum desideriis pio occurrens affectu, quod petierant celeri effectui mancipari decrevit. Brithredus igitur abbas, quatuor confratribus suis hujus legationis officium injunxit, ut assumptis sociorum auxiliis, Cantuariam properantes, ossa Sancti Dunstani Glastoniæ transferrent. Idem enim monachi beato Dunstano in carne degenti, capellæ suæ complentes officium, adhærebant, qui etiam corpus ejus, anima ad cœlos translata, sepulturæ tradiderunt. Postea quoque cum successore suo Elphego archiepiscopo usque ad ejus martyrium commanebant. Dicebantur autem fratres illi Sebrichtus, Ethelbrichtus, Bursius, Adelwordus. Cantuariam igitur advenientes fratres locum sicut a rege didicerant omni habitatore nudatum inveniunt. Aperientes ergo sepulcrum, ossa Sancti Dunstani tanto temporis processu carne resoluta reperiunt. Annulum vero digito sancti cum terræ traderetur impositum, quem juvenili ætate fecisse dicitur, recognoscunt. Glastoniam igitur reliquias Sancti Dunstani secum deferentes cum gaudio redierunt. Facta est autem hæc translatio anno Domini supradicto; post interfectionem Sancti Elphegi martyris anno secundo, et anno post dormitionem Sancti Dunstani vicesimo quarto. Per cujus intercessiones et merita Deus ibidem non cessat operari magnalia, mortuis vitam, infirmis sanitatem crebrius restituendo; brutis etiam plurimis in periculis subveniendo.[1]

Ibid. p. 304.

The abbot and convent obtain leave from the king to search for the body of Dunstan.

It is found and translated.

[1] On the question whether this story ought with justice to be ascribed to William of Malmesbury, see some remarks in the preface to the present volume.

VII.

RELIQUIÆ DUNSTANIANÆ.

LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH DUNSTAN, HIS AGE AND HIS BIOGRAPHERS.

I. Epistola ad Wulfhelmum archiepiscopum.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius, A. 15, fo. 166.)

Good wishes to archbishop Wulfhelm.

Pastor apostolicus, Wulfhelmus, nomine Christi
In terris clarus, cunctis laudabilis, usque in
Regna Redemptoris regalis regmine recto
Possideat, regnet, teneat, servet, regat atque.
Ut quando præsul sublimis sæcla per ignem
Advenerit purgare, locu[tu]s eritque, "Venite,
"Percipite æthereum Patris regnum, benedicti,
"Principio mundi quod vobis nempe paratum est:"—
Sic invitetur postrema luce dierum,
"Euge veni, quoniam bone serve in pauca fidelis
"Tempore transacto mansisti, gaudia regni
"Suscipe cœlestis Domini venerabilis, Amen."

[1] Wulfhelm became archbishop in 923 or 924, and died in 942. He is no doubt the prelate mentioned in the life of Dunstan written by Adelard, above, p. 55, under the name of Athelm. As Athelm died in 924 at the latest, and that year is the earliest date for Dunstan's birth, it is obvious that the saint could not have been a pupil of the earlier archbishop. The verses given above, which are preserved among the letters addressed to Dunstan, may possibly have been an early composition of the saint.

II. Promissio regis.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Cleopatra B. 13, fo. 56.)

This gewrit is gewriten stæf be stæfe be tham gewrite the Dunstan arcebiscop sealde urum hlaforde æt Cingestune tha on dæg tha hine man halgode to cinge, and forbead him ælc wedd to syllanne butan thysan wedde the he up on Cristes weofod lede, swa se biscop him dihte: "On[2] thære halgan Thrynnesse naman, " Ic threo thing behate Cristenum folce, and me under- " theoddum: An ærest thæt Godes Cyrice and eall " Cristen folc minra gewealda sothe sibbe healde; other " is thæt Ic reaflac and ealle unrihte thing eallum " hadum forbeode; thridde, thæt Ic behate and bebeode " on eallum domum riht and miltheortnisse, thæt us " eallum arfæst and mildheort God thurh thæt his " ecean miltse forgife, se lifath and rixath." Finit.

The pledge exacted by Dunstan at the coronation of the king.

The king's charge to his people.

Translation.

This writing is written, letter by letter, after the writing that archbishop Dunstan delivered to our lord at Kingston on the day that they hallowed him king, and he forbade him to give any pledge except this pledge which he laid up on Christ's altar, as the bishop directed him: "In the name of the Holy " Trinity I promise three things to the Christian people and " my subjects: first, that God's church and all Christian " people of my dominions hold true peace; the second is that I " forbid robbery and all unrighteous things to all orders; the " third, that I promise and enjoin in all dooms justice and " mercy, that the gracious and merciful God of his everlasting " mercy may forgive us all, who liveth and reigneth." Finit.

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[1] Also in Vitellius A. 7, printed by Hickes in the first edition of his Institutiones Grammaticæ, præf., and in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, ii. 194. See also Wanley's Catalogue, in Hickes, iii. 202, 241.

[2] The form is given in Latin in the Pontifical of Egbert, and in the order for the coronation of Ethelred, and was used also at the coronation of Henry I. See Taylor, Glory of Regality, pp. 245, 330, 395, 405.

The duties of a Christian king.

Se Cristena cyng the thas thing gehealdeth, he gearnath him sylfum woroldlicne weorthmynt, and him ece God ægther gemiltsath ge on andwerdum life, ge ac on tham ecean the æfre ne ateorath. Gif he thonne thæt awægth thæt Gode wæs behaten, thonne sceal hit syththan wyrsian swythe sona on his theode, and eall hit on ende gehwyrfth on thæt wyrste, butan he on his lif fæce ær hit gebete. Eala leof hlaford beorh huru thinga georne the sylfum ge thenc thæt gelome thæt thu scealt tha heorde forth æt Godes dome ywan and lædan, the thu eart to hyrde gescyft on thysum life, and thonne gecennan hu thu geheolde thæt Crist ær gebohte sylf mid his blode.

Gehalgodes cynges riht is, thæt he nænig ne man ne fordeme, and thæt he wuduwan and steopcild, and æltheodige werige and amundige, and stala forbeode, and unriht hæmedu gebete, and siblegeru to twæme, and grundlunga forbeode, wiccan and galdra adilige, mægmyrthran and manswaran of earde adrife, thearfan mid ælmyssan fede, and ealde and wise and syfre him to ge

TRANSLATION.

The Christian king who keeps these engagements, earns for himself worldly honour, and the eternal God also is merciful to him, both in the present life and in the eternal life that never ends. But if he violate that which was promised to God, then shall it forthwith right soon grow worse among his people, and in the end it all turns to the worst, unless he in his life first amend it. Ah! dear lord, take diligent heed to thyself by all means; often call to mind this, thou wilt have at God's judgment to produce and lead forth the flock of which thou hast been made the shepherd in this life, and then give account how thou heldest that which Christ afore purchased with his own blood.

The duty of a hallowed king is that he judge no man unrighteously, and that he defend and protect widows and orphans and strangers, that he forbid thefts, and correct unrighteous intercourse, and annul and altogether forbid incestuous alliances; extirpate witches and enchanters, drive out of the land kin-slayers and perjurers, feed the needy with alms, and

theahterum hæbbe, and rihtwise mæn him to wicne- His responsibilities.
rum sette, for than swa hwæt swa hig to unrihte ge-
doth thurh his aful, he his sceal ealles gescead agyl-
dan on domes dæg.

TRANSLATION.

have old and wise and sober men for counsellors, and set righteous men for stewards, for whatsoever they do unrighteously by his fault, he must render account of it all in the judgment day.

III. CANTUS QUI VOCATUR KYRIE REX SPLENDENS.

[1] *In festo S. Michaelis in mense Septembris dicitur Kyrie Rex splendens*[2] *cum suis versibus; in festo S. Dunstani et St. Michaelis in Monte Tumba dicitur Kyrie Rex absque versibus.*

1. Kyrie Rex splendens cœli arce salve jugiter, et *Kyrie Rex splendens.*
clemens plebi Tuæ semper eleyson.

2. Hymnidicæ quem turmæ cherubin laude perenniter proclamant incessanter, nobis eleyson.

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[1] The rubric of which this is a part begins thus, "Omnibus dupli-
" cibus festis per annum, sive sit
" de temporali sive de festo sanc-
" torum, dicitur unum istorum
" *Kyrie eleyson*, cum suis versibus
" pro dispositione cantoris, ita ta-
" men quod in festis majoribus
" duplicibus dicitur *Deus Creator*,
" et in cæteris duplicibus per or-
" dinem dicitur, *Kyrie rex genitor*,
" *Kyrie fons*, *Kyrie omnipotens*,
" *Kyrie Rex splendens*, *Lux et Ori-*
" *go*, *Cunctipotens*, *Conditor Kyrie*,
" *Orbis factor*." Missale sec. usum Eccl. Sarisb.

[2] The story told by Eadmer, p. 207, represents Dunstan as learning in his sleep a heavenly melody of the *Kyrie eleyson*. This melody, as we learn from Capgrave (p. 346 above), was identified in his days with the cantus *Kyrie Rex splendens*, which, as appears from the rubric given above, was in some special way connected with the festival of S. Dunstan. In the Winchester Tropary of the tenth century, now MS. Bodl. 775, which contains most of the Kyries mentioned in the last note in a ruder and earlier form than that in which they appear in the Salisbury Missal, this particular Kyrie is not found. It may therefore have been originally drawn up by Dunstan; but it is impossible to say with anything like certainty that the words given in the text represent the original form.

Kyrie Rex splendens.

3. Insigniter catervæ præcelsæ et quibus seraphin respondent Te laudantes, nostri eleyson.

4. Christe Rex altithrone, ordines angelorum novem Quem laudant incessanter pulchre, dignare servis Tuis semper eleyson.

5. Christe Quem toto orbe unica ecclesia hymnizat, sol et luna, astra, tellus mare Cui et famulantur, semper eleyson.

6. Ipsi idem inclitæ patriæ perpetuæ hæredes sancti omnes digno carmine proclamant quem ovanter, nobis eleyson.

7. Virginis piæ Mariæ O alma proles, Rex regum, benedicte Redemptor, cruore mercatis proprio mortis ex potestate semper eleyson.

8. Insignissime, ingenite, O genite, origine jam expers et fine, virtute[1] excellens omnia, catervæ huic Tuæ clemens eleyson.

9. Limpidissimæ gloriæ Sol, justitiæ Arbiter, omnes gentes districte dum judices, turmæ obnixe precamur tunc astanti clemens eleyson.

The Kyrie was said immediately after the collect or officium, and was not a part of the ordinary of the Mass, or peculiar to the English uses. Cardinal Bona (Opera, p. 508) was not aware that the custom was earlier than the thirteenth century; but this is distinctly proved by the evidence of the Bodleian MS. cited already, the date of which is sufficiently clear from the penmanship, and is shown by the prayer in the litany, "Ut "Æthelredum regem et exercitum "Anglorum conservare digneris." Fo. 18.

[1] *fine, virtute*] The Gradual (ed. Paris, 1532) reads "fide mortua."

IV. [1] EPISTOLA ARNULFI AD DUNSTANUM ARCHIEPISCOPUM.[2]

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 159, b.)

A.D. 961. Arnulf count of Flanders desires a continuance of Dunstan's friendship.

Summo archipontificatus amplificato honore Dunstano, Arnulfus marchisus salutatoria mitto affamina, quinetiam devotissima mando obsequia. Grates habeo quod nulla vobis piguit ratione memor esse mei; unde quasi quoddam jubilum lætitiæ sic a me excipitur familiaritas vestri; nec tenacius volo subsistat aliqua res sub sole quam nostræ amicitiæ permaneant deinceps in omni tempore. Qua de causa in me sic de omnibus adquisitis et adquirendis potestis confidere quod non sit vobis opus dubitare de ulla qualicunque rem quam super terram possideo, quæ sit expetenda ab aliquo qualicumque amico. Nam si scirem quod res vobis ali-

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[1] The MS. from which this and most of the following letters are taken has been terribly damaged by both fire and water; hence the numerous lacunæ which will be found in the text and some little uncertainty as to the endings of the lines. Sufficient, however, remains generally to show the meaning of the writers.

[2] There is not much in this letter that indicates to which of the two Arnulfs it is addressed. Arnulf I., who had protected Dunstan during his banishment, and who, as we learn from Adelard (above, p. 59), had restored the monastery of Blandinium, ruled Flanders from the year 918 to 965. Arnulf his grandson, who succeeded him, ruled from 965 to 988. The tone of the letter suggests that the elder Arnulf was the writer, and the younger, who was a child at his succession, could scarcely have remembered the exile of Dunstan. On the other hand, the fact that the count's ambassadors required an introduction through Dunstan to the king, seems to indicate that the letter was written at the beginning of a new reign, that of Edward or Ethelred. However, on the whole the former theory is most probable. If this be accepted, the letter may be dated in 961, in which year Adalulf, who was made abbot of S. Bertin on April 4, visited England with presents from the count to the king. This fact is mentioned by the monk Folkwin in the Cartulary of S. Bertin, which he dedicates to Adalulf. The latter ceased to be abbot on his return in 962. See the Cartulary among the Documents Inedits sur l'Histoire de France, pp. 152, 158: "Quo in tempore comes isdem eun- "dem dominum Adalolfum cum "exeniis ad regem trans mare di- "rexit Anglorum."

A.D. 961. He desires to be informed what he can do for, or give the archbishop.

quæ ex nostris placerent, inpræsentiarum vobis libentius mitterem. Et quia ita pro certo et non aliter se res habet, peto per præsentem gerulum litterarum quæcunque vobis de meis placuerint rebus enucleati exponere, quatenus vel sic valeatis agnoscere quantum vobis cupiam esse in omnibus ubique amicus. Itaque quod petimini si gratanter vultis agere, agnoscam tunc quod communem verius velitis nostram amplificare dilectionem. Sin alias, de vobis plus dubius ero quam aut

He desires his prayers.

expedit aut meæ voluntatis exstiterit. Deus autem Omnipotens faciat votum meum prosperari, ut pro me et conjuge mea[1] copiatis[2] supplicare Ipsum. Cæterum

He begs him to promote friendship between himself and the king.

obnixius oro ut amicitias inter me et inter dominum vestram regem tales nunc faciatis, quales habuerunt et antecessores nostri ad invicem fœderatas. Et ut propinquitatis mutuæ memor sit, volo ut ei suggeratis nec obliviscatur sed magis intelligat et sciat, quod non ut extraneum, verum etiam sic me debet amplecti sicut fratrem et sicut proximum propinquum.[3] Misurus sum itaque legatos meos ad ipsum cum competentibus sibi honoribus, sed per consilium vestrum hoc agere volo.

He is about to send ambassadors, who are to act by Dunstan's advice.

Vobis itaque, si visum fuerit utile mihi, tunc mandate mihi quomodo vobis de his placeat, et quo tempore hoc esse possit, scilicet ut in promptu rex habeatur. Volo enimvero vos auctorem hujus esse operis, quia hos quos misurus sum recto tramite ad vos destinabo nuncios. Nam humilius rogo ut cuncta quæ acturi sunt per manus et consilium vestrum, favente Deo, prospere dirigantur. Addo etiam his meis petitionibus rem quamdam

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[1] The wife of the elder Arnulf was Adeliza, daughter of count Herbert II. of Vermandois. The wife of the second was Susanna or Rosala, daughter of Berenger king of Italy. The former lady was alive as late as January 7, 962. Cart. S. Bertin, p. 150.

[2] *copiatis*] from κοπιάω, to labour, as in S. Matt. xii. 28.

[3] The elder Arnulf was the son of Baldwin II. the Bald, by Elfthritha, the daughter of Alfred, who was great-aunt to Edgar: the relationship is more likely to have been brought into prominence by the elder than by the younger Arnulf.

nimis mihi devotam; hoc est ut nostris viris monachos cum conpetenti vestro illorumque honore ad nos usque mittatis; sic etiam ut testimonii causa vestri habeant secum vestrum missum aut brevem, donec nostram videant faciem. A.D. 961. He begs him to conduct them on their way.

V. Epistola ad Arnulfum [1] comitem.

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 155, b.)

Cunctarum virtutum religione composito excellentissimoque ducatus apice adornato, et largiflua philosophiæ scientia redimito, atque utriusque vitæ, quam quidam sophistarum, immo, ut ita dicam, sapientium mirifice per n . et e . Græcum [2] tropice expressit ornamentis insignito, marcioni non sececundum [3] providentiam Dei et duci, ego Sancti N., confessoris adque pontificis cœnobii archimandrita, et gratia Dei antistes, devotum ac inenarrabile obsequium . sicut salutem conlaterani tuæ in Domino . . . . . opto cum omni clero meo; dum vestræ munificentiæ rumor, per totius Albionis plagas passim pervolitans percrebrescit, eximius inde orthodoxorum catalogus, non theatrales ut comicus vulgo applausos, sed theoricas, uti catholicas atque theologus tripudians, laudes pro vestra subnixius The writer a high ecclesiastic, offers his good wishes. He has heard of the good works of Arnulf.

[1] This letter again appears to be addressed more probably to the elder Arnulf. It is almost impossible to identify the writer; but he must have been an English ecclesiastic of high position, the head of a monastery, and perhaps a bishop. The letter N. probably represents merely the word *nomen*. None, however, of the English cathedrals has any such dedication, except Winchester, which might possibly be regarded as the church of St. Swithun confessor and bishop; and the fact of the letters ix., xiv., and xxi., existing in the same collection may point to bishop Ethelwold or Elfege as the writer.

[2] This is unintelligible. The copyist probably met with a word he could not read, and put *Græcum* to show it.

[3] We may conjecture that this stands for nonno secundum, &c. but the second word is unintelligible. Arnulf acted as chief officer, or abbot of S. Bertin. Nonnus is said to be equivalent to *Domnus*. See below, p. 380.

He enlarges on Arnulf's fame,

solet impendere sopitate:[1] jure nimirum cum in vobis nihil aliud esse cognoscitur, quam assiduitas veritatis, statera rectitudinis, conspicua erga omnes bonitas, universa morum præclara honestas, æcclesiarum quoque præfulgida lampas, qua non modo affines parrochiæ, quod plurimorum est, fulciendo corroborantur, verum

and benefactions to churches.

etiam longe direptæ ac remotæ quod paucorum est, insuper etiam cœnobia et delubra, maceriis penitus cadentibus culminibusque carie confractis solotenus jam diruta, recuperanda instaurantur. Hoc rumore et hac fama deferente et reportante talia vestra facta ad nos usque,

He sends a messenger with letters,

direximus vobis nostri patris fratrem agnatum videlicet usuali appellamine vocatum N. agnomine, per manus N. Scireburnensis episcopi, quem scimus plenum caritatis et veritatis, ut in se innotescat tibi quod habes quendam nostri cœnobii librum, scilicet evangeliorum,

to recover a book which has been stolen from the church and bought by the count.

quem vendiderunt tibi duo nostrates clerici inveterati dierum malorum,[2] furantes ab ecclesia illum nobis nescientibus, dum essent quasi creduli nobis, quod factum ipsi postea confessi sunt, facto miraculo jam in illis. Hoc sane volumen, venditum ab illis quærentibus quandam mulierculam captam a Danis vestris, emptum etiam a te in villa tua quæ dicitur vulgo[3] tribus mancusis nummorum. Unde nos obnixe precamur te, ut remittas nobis librum nostrum, quem juste adquisivit, ut perperam amisit, æcclesia, pro Policrati amore pantorumque agiorum[4] in Christo quiescentium benedictionibus ; valeat semper incolomes.

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[1] So MS. for *sospitate*.

[2] *inveterati dierum malorum*] "waxen old in wickedness," Dan. xiii. (Susanna), 52.

[3] The name seems to be omitted, or lost in the word *vulgo*, but there is no blank in the MS.

[4] *Policrati amore pantorumque agiorum*] "for the love of God and "all the saints :" a good instance of the way in which the borrowed Greek words were treated.

VI. EPISTOLA AD EADGARUM REGEM.[1]

A.D. 959–975.

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 159.)

The abbot and convent of S. Ouen, Rouen, offer their best wishes to the king; they pray for him as for their own count.

Regi inclito sceptrum regiminis bajolans dimicando, dominus et abba Sancti Petri atque Audoeni,[2] una cum monarchia[3] sibi subjectæ congregationis, fidelia in Christo optant sibiere[4] munia. Ea namque devotione qua compuncti corde necnon ore nec mora psallimus nocte ac die pro illustri comite nostro Richardo[5] omnipotentis Dei adminicula, eademque reciproca interventione, scitote pro vobis orantes, quatenus diu longeve vigeatis, valeatisque in futuro residens ut curales[6] in curia. Est enim ventus ingens retonans auribus nostris, et exemplo bonæ actionis fraglans, ut odor bonus ubique per cuncta cosmi curricula, quæ scilicet in sancta Dei æcclesia agitur a vobis in viduis, in orphanis, in omnibus necessitatem patientibus; ex quibus laudatus ab omnibus in Christo degentibus caveatis[7] illud Psalmistæ, "Dispersit, dedit pauperibus," et cætera, quia omnis laus in fine canitur. Hæc ergo scientes flexis genibus oramus ut a nobis perveniat aliquid auxilii vestri, quo, ob amorem vestræ animæ in redimendis peccatis videlicet vestris, restauretur monasterium Sancti Petri atque Audoeni, qui etiam pro vobis erat interpellans Dei clementiam, in cujus consortio nostrorum copulari vos cupimus ex hinc et deinceps,

They have heard the report of his good works and desire his help in the restoration of their church.

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[1] EPISTOLA AUDOENI, MS. This is one of the letters transcribed by Ussher from the Cotton MS., as additaments to Spelman's Concilia: MS. Rawlinson, Misc. 1074.

[2] Perhaps Hildebert abbot of S. Ouen, who appears to have been making great efforts for the restoration of his monastery about this time. See Martene and Durand, Thesaurus, iii., 1676. There is some uncertainty as to the date at which he became abbot; William, afterwards abbot of Dijon from 990 onwards, being named as his predecessor, whereas Hildebert himself is said to have ruled S. Ouen's for 46 years. Gallia Chr. xi. 140.

[3] *monarchia*] used in its theological sense of *unity*.

[4] *sibiere*] subire (?) or sumere (?) or sincere (?).

[5] Richard I. duke of the Normans, 943–996.

[6] *curales*] possibly for *choraules*, a flute-player, musician, or carol-singer; or for *curialis*.

[7] *caveatis*] so the MS. f or *canatis*.

A.D. 939-975. Petition for assistance.

si libet. Testis sit nobis Deus quia non pro id quod dominus noster illud prævaleat peragi, verum ne per omnia nobis necessitate indigentia potest compleri auxilia. Qua de re magno clangore exposcimus, ut non dedignemini nostras despicere preces, quin ad nos perveniat auxiliumque consilium vestrum, quibus valeamus operari libita circuli nostri, ut decet sine intermissione pro vobis orantes si feceritis ea.

VII. Epistola Johannis papæ xiii. ad Eadgarum regem.[1]

A.D. 965-972. The pope to the king and people.

Johannes episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Edgaro regi excellentissimo, atque omnibus episcopis, ducibus, comitibus, abbatibus, et cuncto fideli populo Anglicæ gentis, Christianam salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

The pope has heard of Edgar's zeal.

Quoniam semper sunt concedenda quæ rationalibus quæruntur desideriis, oportet ut vestræ piæ petitionis studium in privilegiis minime offendatur præstandis. Scimus enim, gloriose fili, imperii vestri dignitatem zelo divinæ legis ita undique munitam, ut indesinenter pro venerabilium locorum percogitet stabilitate; quatenus proveniente pro labore schola Dominici multiplici-

[1] The following letter was first printed by archbishop Parker in the Antiquitates, whence it was taken by Alford, Annales iii. 349; by Coquelines, Bullarium, i. 262; and by Mansi, xviii. 483. If it be genuine, and it is received as such by Jaffé, its date will fall between the years 965 and 972; the chronology of the life of Edgar and Ethelwold furnishes no closer limits. I have not succeeded in discovering the MS. from which it was taken by Parker, and I should not vouch for its genuineness; but if it be a forgery, it must be an early one, as the monks of Winchester after the Conquest tried to maintain that their church had been originally monastic, whilst this letter would show that it was filled with secular clerks in the time of Ethelwold, as indeed is clear from his biography. A late forger would, however, have spoken of the church under the title of S. Swithun. The use of the word *canonici* for secular clerks, occurring in a papal letter, is not significant; but there is no evidence that the cathedral clergy bore this name in England until the eve of the Conquest. It is worth while observing how nearly the language of the letter resembles that of the *Regularis Concordia*, in the Mon. Angl. vol. i. p. xxviii.

ter servitii, et largitori omnium Deo abunde fructus referantur milleni. Quare, rex inclyte ac fili carissime, quod vestra excellentia per fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Dunstanum ab hac apostolica sede, cui licet immeriti præsidemus, exposcit, omnibus modis concedimus, auctoritate apostolica sancientes, ut de monasterio in Wintonia civitate in honorem Sanctæ Trinitatis et beatissimorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli conjuncto, quod vetus, differentia novi illius quod juxta est cœnobii, cognominatur, canonici, domino episcopo et omnibus catholicæ fidei cultoribus ex patentibus culparum suarum turpitudinibus odibiles, et in eisdem secundum impœnitens cor eorum inverecunde perdurantes, cum suo præposito, utpote vasa diaboli, ejiciantur; et sicut vestra sublimitas desiderat, dilectissimus frater et coepiscopus noster Ethelwaldus, regularibus disciplinis apprime imbutus, monachorum secundum præcepta regulæ viventium gregem enutriat, eisque inibi perpetuum mansionem statuat ille, qui eorum vitam ita sanctitatis moribus exornet, ut pastore ad laboris sui præmium vocato, non aliunde quam ex illa congregatione alter in locum regiminis succedat. Quod si impedientibus, quod absit, peccatis, ad hoc pontificale officium in eadem congregatione idoneum inveniri minime posse contigerit, auctoritate apostolorum principis Petri, cui Dominus ac Salvator noster ligandi solvendique potestatem contradidit, præcipimus ut nemo ex clericorum ordine ad hujus regimen ecclesiæ promoveatur; sed potius ex alia qualibet congregatione qui dignus inventus fuerit monachus assumatur, et huic ecclesiæ præficiatur. Si quis enim interea, quod non credimus, hæc apostolicæ sedis privilegii decreta irrita facere, et ea quæ nobis pie indulta sunt intaminare præsumpserit, auctoritate ejusdem cœlestis clavigeri Petri, omniumque successorum ejus, sciat se anathematis vinculo innodatum, et in illo magni judicii die perpetualiter damnandum. In Christo valeas, domine fili.

A.D. 965-972. He allows the canons to be removed from the Old Minster at Winchester.

Ethelwold is to introduce and maintain a body of monks, who are to elect their own head.

No clerk is to govern that church.

A.D. 959-975.

VIII. EPISTOLA AD EADGARUM REGEM.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 167.)

The congregation of S. Genevieve, at Paris, salute the king.

Anglorum in regno regalis antistiti suggestu luculenter præminenti, Eadgaro, uranei terrenique dogmatis fastu inedicibiliter omnino pollenti, principum apostolorum Petri ac Pauli insignisque virginis Genovefæ concio,[2] quicquid honoris gyrus continet orbis, ac quicquid tripudii ambitus cœli.

They pray for him constantly at the shrine of their saint.

Vestræ altitudini regiæ notum fieri molimur, quod in unanimitate consonoque rabulatu devincti, quantum divinæ pietatis quimus contemplari oromate[3] interno theoremata, cœlicæ majestatis auditum orandi continuatione percellimus, ante mausoleum præcelsæ virginis Genovefæ, ut rex regum inoleat ineffabiliter vestri numinis culmen inter vivendum, et dehinc, post fata busti, perpetis vitæ natalem, secumque regnandi prærogativam, enpirios[4] inter lapides siderei diadematis conferat vobis. Egregia siquidem cupidine connexi velle regnandi cum Illo, trans freta nobis direxistis argenti munia, ut hujusmodi largitate exultans pneuma per tantæ virtutis bratthea[5] perveniat ad æternæ amœnitatis peribula. Vestras profecto vere felicissimas adserimus gazas, quæ sic in egentium manus ecclesiarumque agmina erogantur, ut æthereo fœnore cœlestis doxæ

They thank him for a gift of money.

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[1] This letter also was transcribed by Ussher: see above, p. 363. It is mentioned by Leland, Coll. ii. 404, who, however, gives the title as "Epistola Fecontionis decani "S. Genovefæ ad Eadgarum Re-"gem," having read the words "Genovefæ concio" confusedly.

[2] The monastery of S. Genevieve at Paris. The first dean of S. Genevieve named in the Gallia Christiana, vii. 705, is named Felix, and is placed in the tenth century. He may have been the writer of the letter.

[3] *oromate*] for *ὁράματε*; a form not uncommon from the time of Aldhelm.

[4] *enpirios*] empyrios.

[5] *bratthea*] *βραχέα*, brevia, as opposed to *æternæ amœnitatis peribula*. The last word occurs in the first life of Dunstan in the meaning of walls (above, p. 8), in which sense peribolus is used in the Vulgate, Ezek. xlii. 7, 10.

A.D. 959-975. Good wishes.

mercentur vobis præmia inæstimabili ac ineffabili ornatu decussata. Vere præclara nus[1] vestra et sanctæ intentionis opinione subnixa, quæ sic cœlitis aregidiæ[2] dogmate irrigatæ, ut in ea cunctipotens habitet, omni pravitate castigata postulatibus maritata, cuncta bonitate augustissima! Syrmatis hujus munuscula, mystici caumatis retinentes crusmata,[3] his aforismis[4] accipite quomodo nostri apex loci exordia sumpsit, et famulans ibi Domino katerva obsequi sategit. Chlodovæus denique rex Francorum, totius trophæi compos, qui primus rex apud nos, admonitu prætaxatæ virginis, baptismi gratiam nactus periergiam[5] arripere decrevit, et archisteum[6] miræ pulchritudinis in honore principum apostolorum confecit; et adeo mens ejus devota huic loco extitit, ut quibusque modis penitus ab eo sublimatus "altera Roma" sortitus adesset vocabulum. Hoc siquidem, cooperante fide Christi, repletus victor evolavit ad sidera, clavigero cœli reserante illi paradisi ostia. Ibi exinde prælibata virgo humata adfuit, tantis præfulgens prodigiis ut lingua centenis distincta boatibus exprimendis nullatenus sufficiat, nisi quia per plurimum ejus verbo cœcis dies, claudis gressus, exanimatis vita, et a quacunque peste detentis sospitas sine mora restituta fuit. Centenus namque canonicorum ordo ibi floruit, sed pro Danorum[7] imminutione media pars depreta[8]

Account of their foundation.

Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks, built their monastery.

It was called a second Rome.

Miracles of S. Genevieve.

A hundred canons there.

[1] *nus*] *νοῦς*.

[2] *aregidiæ*] The passage is unintelligible and probably corrupt. The word *regidium* is explained by Papias as *divinitas*.

[3] *syrmatis* and *crusmata* are musical terms, the former signifying a long drawn sound, and the latter the single notes produced by striking the string of the lyre: the *cauma* must refer to the mystic fire of inspiration, but there is a cross metaphor.

[4] *aforismis*] aphorismis.

[5] *periergiam*] from *περίεργος*; apparently in the sense of *exceeding care*.

[6] *archisteum*] archisterium = asceterium, *ἀσκητήριον*; a monastery.

[7] The church was burned by the Danes in 856, according to Mabillon, Ann. O. S. B. iii. 55; who, however, would have learned from this letter, had he ever seen it, that canons, and not monks, were then in possession.

[8] *depreta*] The word is illegible in the original MS.: possibly it should be *depressa*, or *deprædata*.

A.D. 939-975. It was ruined by the Danes, and needs restoration.

consistit, etiam enormi temporis interstitio mulciberis gutture ipse locus omnino persistit concrematus, in cujus reædificatione potentum adminicula caremus. Fortes et seduli in oratione pro vobis perseverantes vestrum denotatum habemus nomen nostra inter agiographa, ut vestrum memoriale in vita obituque sit semper nobiscum, et gratia regnandi cum Christo optentu sanctorum, quibus deservimus, vobis eveniat; bmfn.[1]

O decus imperii certissima spes quoque regni,
Aule Dei mentem obducat tibi et entole[2] conviet,[3]
Alluat æthereusque calor hanc de pietate,
Pauperi ut aporiam[4] tollas et gaudia præstes;
Donis ditaturque tuis canonicus ordo;
Gaudia sanctorum ut capias cum stemmate doxæ,[5]
Muneribusque tuis nosmet si visere sanctis
Ambigeris, totum Domini gestabit in aulam,
Angelicus templumque tibi hic splendens struet ordo.
Quæ bona sunt jugiter facias, et quæ mala nunquam,
Crimine depulsus consistas in bonitate,
Junctus cœlicolis socius lætaris in astris;
Hanc rem quo capias animo rex surgere nobis,
Talis in theca fac quam sentire queamus.

Periodos.

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[1] *bmfn*] Cypher for *Amen*. See Hampson, Med. Æv. Kalend. i. 434.

[2] *aule . . entole*] Aule is probably the ἀυλὴ of S. John x. 1, the sheepfold; entole is ἐντολὴ, the command.

[3] *conviet*] The word may be read comnet or comoet: the forms are equally unintelligible. Conviet from conviare, to accompany, gives some sense.

[4] ἀπορία, helpless poverty.

[5] στέμματε δόξης, the crown of glory.

IX. Epistola Lantfrithi ad Wintonienses.[1]

(MSS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 144; Vespasian A. 14, fo. 156.)

A.D. cir. 980. Lantfrith salutes the brethren of the Old Minster.

Dilectissimis fratribus Wintoniæ commorantibus in Sancti Petri cœnobio quod nuncupatur vetustissimum jugis concordia, salus ac perhennis gloria, gaudium inenarrabile, splendor sine fine, pax sempiterna, karitas continua hic et cœlo multiplicetur a Domino.

He undertakes with great misgivings to relate the miracles of S. Swithun.

Licet, karissimi atque affabiles adelphi, per universam ferme Europam sint divulgata penitus miracula, quæ præpotens Auctor miraculorum dignatus est largiri gentibus Anglorum per Sancti Swithuni meritum, tamen ne tanta Dei beneficia queant posteritatem latere succedentem, nequissimus cunctorum pravis actibus hominum, utpote nulla divinæ prærogativa scientiæ, nulla fultus bonitatis auctoritate, verum vestris obtemperans jussionibus, vestris confisus orationibus, tremens ad tantam pelagi magnitudinem accessi, et quasi stillam de undis oceani, ita de plurimis sancti miraculis perpauca decerpsi. Quapropter efflagito Conditorem rerum, quatenus non meum respiciat meritum sed effectus jubentum; vos etiam pro meis precor orare deliquiis, ne me seducat spiritus falsitatis. Nimirum animus terrenis inretitus curis nihil veritatis excogitare poterit, nisi prius fallacis caligines erroris spiritus scientiæ et pietatis expulerit. Et quoniam perparum scimus de signis mirabilibus, prodigiis ac virtutibus, quæ sanctus iste in sua gessit orationibus vita, nimirum ut inquid Priscianus[2] auctor grammaticæ artis peritissimus, studiis litterarum transeuntibus in neglegentiam propter scriptorum inopiam, veniamus ad ea quæ post ejus obitum

He knows little of those which the saint wrought when alive.

[1] This is the dedicatory epistle prefixed to Lantfrith's work on the Miracles of S. Swithun, which exists in MS. in the British Museum, MS. Reg. xv. c. 7. The letter has been printed by Wharton in the Anglia Sacra, i. 322. It was transcribed by Dr. Jaffé from the Vespasian MS., see p. 380 below.

[2] Priscian, Institut. p. 1, ed. Hertz.

The religious duty of making these miracles known.

indubitanter sunt peracta ad viri Dei tumulum. Idcircoque accessimus maxime ad evolvenda hujus sancti miracula, quoniam ut beneficia Dei dignissimum est laudare et justissimum ea nescientibus prædicare, sic iniquissimum est illa silendo negare, et nequissimum eadem ignorantibus non enarrare. Humanus animus istius est naturæ ut, quotiescumque legendo didicerit, vel audiendo, sacros actus antiquorum vel mores patrum, relinquat cordis duritiam deseratque mentis contumaciam, sectatricem vitiorum, et inclinetur ad misericordiam, secteturque humilitatem magistram virtutum.

X. Epistola ad Dunstanum archiepiscopum.

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 154 b.)

A.D. 959-988. The writer sends his best wishes to Dunstan.

Gloriosissimo et sanctissimo fratri Dunstano archiepiscopo, visitationem omnimodam, salutem mellifluam et benedictionem apostolicam.[1] De vestra valde gaudeo prosperitate et de munere caritatis vestræ multum gavisus sum, tot agens gratias quod dentes in dono numeravi.

Multiplices grates tibi sint, laudesque salutes,
Tot tibi sint grates sunt guttæ quot pluviarum,
Quot folia et sabula, sidera quotque poli.
Tot tibi sint laudes per mundum quot creaturæ,
Quot gleuæ[2] et pulvis, saxaque, ligna simul.
Quot fieri possunt ponti de gurgite stillæ,
Tot tibi proveniant munera clara Dei.
Cunctaque complector; tibi tot sint gaudia semper
Quot nullum capere cor queat os[ve] loqui.

---

[1] From the salutation the writer appears to have been a prelate of high rank, though scarcely the pope himself. The present for which he returns thanks must have been, unless the word *dentes* is corrupt, the head of some saint; or perhaps, as is suggested to me by a learned friend, a comb of English workmanship.

[2] *gleuæ*] glebæ (?).

A.D. 959–988. The praises of Dunstan.

Te delecte . . pe me quia lætificasti
Doctorum ductor sapiens tu vir sapientum!
Tu tuba cœlestis, tu nabli[1] cordaque cantrix,
Tu in montem passer migrans, tu castaque turtur,
Tu astutus colober, cervus qui transilit Alpes,
Tu coccos bis tinctus[2] Christum et amando propinquus,
Tu fons irriguus fœcundans arida mentis,
Promere digne nequeunt te famine mille;
Carne es sic pulcher sic pulcher acumine sensum
Alter te nullus pulchrior esse queat;
Es sapiens, verax, sollers, mitissimus, . . .
Præsagus, celebris, dapsilis atque po[litus],
Facundus, castus, clemens, cautusque, benignus,
Jocundus, famosus, clarus, fortis, amandus,
Angelicus, dulcis, verecundus, æquus ubique;
Tu coluber prudens, simplex sine felle columba;
Te genus et sensus dat cunctis esse sodalem,
Te mihi propitium præstet amica fides.

Counsels and blessings.

Quapropter, O karissime frater, inter occupationes sæculi non obliviscas tui, sed, dum corpus epulis pascitur, anima eleemosynis reficiatur, et dum fatigata ex itinere membra quiete refocilantur, mens in Deo orationibus roboretur. Nam pietas in pauperes gesta æterna remuneratur beatitudine. Hæc, frater mi, faciens floreas in omni virtute decore, et te quocunque vadis divina comitetur protectio. Cujus . . ubique deducat, prosperet, ac redeuntem cum omni prosperitate citius reducat; vigeas, valeas, dulcissime Dunstane.

---

[1] The name of a musical instrument occurring several times in the Vulgate, and translated in the Authorised Version by the word *psaltery*, 1 Chron. xv. 16, 20, 28.

[2] *coccos bis tinctus*] the scarlet of the Authorised Version, Exodus xxvii. 16.

XI. Epistola ad Dunstanum archiepiscopum.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 158.)

A.D. 959-988. The writer thanks God for raising up Dunstan to be a guide to the English in a time of trouble.

Præstantissimo D. Dorobernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopo pacem et triumphalem justitiæ coronam. Benedictus sit Deus Qui vos inter tot ævi labentis pericula genti Anglorum, veluti quondam Babiloniæ Danielem Israhelitico populo, tam idoneum præstitit advocatum; præcipue ex quo vulgus, multitudinis arbitrio deditus, divinum cultum abhominando spernit penitus, et rempublicam, omnino lege soluta majorum, Petro apostolo dicente, "Subditi estote omni humanæ creaturæ propter "Deum, sive regi," et cætera. Sed quia nulli comes agrum serere nisus quo frui debeatur in messe, agonio tristi horno calumpniaris, adeo ut vix in limine te stare permittit improborum insolentia, ideo Deo gratias referens, ineptias eorum flocci pendens, satis, nimis gratu-

He comforts him with Holy Scripture.

laris in æona, apostolo dicente, "Non sunt condignæ "passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam," et cætera exemplaria agiæ scripturæ, per quæ, omni vanitate calcata, et spe vocationis nostræ per . . . uducente, transeamus ad cœlestia amœna, qualia nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit. Amen.

Praises of Dunstan.

Auge potens speculans speculator gentis Anglorum
Assecla gregei[2] Dunstane curagulæ.
T . . . . . lepos, lex quotidiana
V . . . . verax rethoris Ausoniæ.
O . . . . is habens tripplicis discrimina linguæ,
Pervolitans rumor implet ovile tuum.

---

[1] This letter would appear, from the scanty internal evidence, to have been written to Dunstan during some political struggle in which he had been defeated; probably that which occurred after the death of Edward and the election of Ethelred the Unready.

[2] *gregei*] The word is nearly illegible; possibly it should be "egregie" or "Gregorii"; *curagule* is a low Latin form from *cura*, and is used by several of the Anglo-Saxon kings in the sense of the guardian of the people.

A.D. 959–988. Comparison with S. Paul and Jeremiah;

Cingula utrinque tuæ redolent abdomine Pauli,
Qui fuit ipse Dei gratia sola quod est.[1]
Scilicet exemplar prophetarum luce coruscans,
Perversos stolidos corripiensque doces.
Instar Hieremiæ infundens luctabile carmen,
Psalmodias replicans sæpe Deum alloqueris.
Inde super nardum fragrat tuus odor in aula,
Quæ meminit moderans simbola apostolica.
Emulat adomenon, psallomenon, aulomenonque
Armonias omnes, psallere laude tua.

with Apollo and Minerva.

Arcitenens tandem superabis fræna Bachantum
Tissiphone cincta temporis id comitum.
Dextra Minerva protexit edem insæviente Philippo,
Sic operæ pretium est, subvenias citius.
Oratione tua seu forte inlaqueantur iniqui,
Qui actuum usurpasse jura aliena avide.
Discriminando Deus videat molimina sparsa
Cœlotenus servans teque tuosque. Satis.

XII. Epistola ad Dunstanum archiepiscopum.

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 160, b.)

Farewell to Dunstan.

Dunstan amande vale, præsul dignissime, salve,
Dulcis amor patriæ Dunstan amande vale.
Dunstan amande vale, florens in tempora salve,
Tu decus ecclesiæ Dunstan amande vale.
Dunstan amande vale, carpendo gaudia vitæ,
Tu mihi pars animæ Dunstan amande vale.
Francia quot vites gignit, quot Fresia flores,
Gaudia perpetuæ prosperitatis alas.
R . . . . . pisces
Tot tibi felices sint, pater alme, dies.
Quot cœlo stellæ, pelago numerantur arenæ,
Tot tibi sint vitæ gaudia perpetuæ.

---

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 10.

A.D. 959-988. Exhortation to charity.

Non jam pastus erit digne dulcedine cœnæ
Qui domino mensæ non infert fragmina [plenæ]
Quisquis et extremum spreverit sine tegmine [virum]
Illic stridorem patietur frigore durum.
Lucis amore caret tenebris demersus iniquis,
Non curans alios, solis qui parcit amicis.
Auctorem vitæ non cœli in culmine cernit
Pauperis et minimi vocem qui in lumine spernit.
Mansuram Dominus requiem non æquiparavit
Poscenti sedem qui sic præstare negavit.
Solvere qui non vult hic vinctum pondere [pœnæ]
Non jam pastus erit digne dulcedine cœnæ.

XIII. Epistola ad Dunstanum archipræsulem.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 165.)

The writer knowing the merits of Dunstan scarcely ventures to accost

Reverentissimo Dei magno cultori D. archipræsuli, exilii catenulis admodum retitus servus . . . . . intimæ subjectionem precumque ad i . . . . . tionem corporis, cum certitudine quæ Christus instans ait. Cernens te in ecclesia Dei plurimarum virtutum fulsum doctrinis, paternitatem tuam gratulabundus subirem, si linguæ nodositatem jubilatione non desperarem infirmari, antequam articulus voluntatis stilo cederet servitutem dictanti. Sed si omnes corporis mei artus in unum gratulationis globum unirentur, prius lassarentur ossicula quam laudationis verbula. Qui recolarum[2] universarum consolationisque expers

[1] The tone of this letter may be compared with that of B. to Ethelgar, No. xxi. below. Possibly they are the work of the same writer; and some similarity may be traced between this letter and the prologue to the life of Dunstan, above, pp. 3–5. The writer would seem to have been a foreigner who had put himself under the patronage and *mund-byrd* of Dunstan, and had been received by him within the circle of his friends and counsellors.

[2] *recolarum*] *recularum* or *resculorum*; recola, a diminutive of res, used by Apuleius. It seems to be the same word as *rescella*, the more common form, used by Dunstan's biographer above, p. 262.

cum exstitissem, mundiburdium tuum velut tutissimi litoris herbidantes planities adii, gremiique tui sinu velud filius propemodum adoptionis beneficio susceptus; ac veluti quinquagenum vernulam quem tibi nota famulaminis dictavit agnitio, muneribus ditasti, et de stercore erexisti, nobiliumque tuorum societati æquiparasti. Talia me ad rependendum edoctum assentio, illius tamen adminiculum nuper . . . quimus, qui digne flagitantibus non denegavit, tibi . . . cum exultatione metere faciat quod . . . . . pro veneratione nominis sui largius seminasti, ut cum beatorum numero solares merearis intrare amœnitates, ac Deum facie ad faciem videndo cum ipse . . . . . regnando. Vale.

A.D. 959-988.

He calls to mind the kindnesses he has received from him.

He prays God to reward him.

Jam mea cura premit, quo me quod nescio vertam,
Anxia mens mihimet curarum fluctuat æstu.
Ad te confugio D. dignissime præsul,
Domne pater miserere, tui miserescito servi.
Sola salus in te; per te confido juvari,
Regis ut almiflui merear pietate potiri,
Quo donet reditum patriæ præstetque reversum,
Meque simul domino qui vult legata remandet.
Instat hiems metuenda maris minitando periclum,
Decrescunt soles, augentur tempora noctis.
Auxiliare mihi potis es, succurre dolenti.
Sola mihi superest pietas tua certa juvandi
Unica spes, et tuta fides, ne desine cœptum.
Me mare transmenso clemens hucusque juvabas,
Ære gravem, donis hilarem, fulcimine lætum,
Regis adusque fores hujus tua per loca ducens.
Me, venerande pater, per te nunc opto reductum;
Porrige, domne, manum jam jam sub gurgite merso.
Si mihi sis dextra quid agat non curo sinister,
Nam mihi te solum delegi ex omnibus unum
Ex . . . . . esse mei fer
Sum tuus id quod sum, dum spiritus hos regit artus,
Quomecunque vocat [mundi] vel temporis ordo,

Dunstan is his only protector, and mediator with the king for his return to his own country.

Dunstan had introduced him to the king.

He declares himself altogether his.

A.D. 959-988. Salve sancte pater, salve carissime, salve!
Accipe domne tuus quæ dat . . . . . .
Velle magis sapio quod tu quam dona requiris:
Sint monimenta mei tamen hæc, ea spernere [nolis].

XIV. Epistola ad Dunstanum.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 168.)

A.D. 974-988. A letter of gratitude to Dunstan.

Pontificali infulæ dignitatis apostolicæ sublimato dicentissimo cunctarumque virtutum claritudine . . . . præclui D. archipræsuli, L . . . infimus dulorum,[2] juge et indefessum utriusque vitæ tripudium in Christo redemtore omnium. Grates vobis ineffabiles, munificentissime pater, pura de mente refert de bonis quæ ei contulistis paterno more, quam plurimis valde egenti, in finibus vestris; quapropter quam diu vixerit, non solum vobis, verum etiam servulis vestræ devotioni subditis, ut decet, fidelis erit; et si quod poterit uspiam agere, quod acceptum sit benignitati vestræ, libenter studebit adimplere. Idcirco tamen ad vos minime repedavit ceu promisit, quoniam putat . . . necessarium cuipiam ex vestris fore quod si rescierit . . . . osiose jubente ocius aderit vita comite; nullo tamen alio vocante ad Anglorum fines poterit accedere. Dein vestram flagitat benivolentiam ut commentum Flori quod habet domnus abbas :: scbr ::s[3] et alios libel-

The writer will return if bidden, not else.

He wants to have his book returned to him.

[1] Written apparently from Fleury, either by some friend of Dunstan's, writing for himself in the third person, or by L. on behalf of Abbo, who may have returned to Fleury. Abbo was abbot of Fleury from 988 to 1004.

[2] *dulorum*] i.e. servorum; δοῦλος = servus.

[3] ::*scbr*::*s*] These marks are either intended for a sort of cypher, as in the word "periodus" below, or signify that the transcriber could not read his MS. Malmesbury and Glastonbury are the two monasteries to which reference is most likely to have been made; but Ramsey, Thorney, and Ely were the houses most closely connected with Fleury. Possibly the word is Westberiensis; the monastery at Ramsey was colonised from Westbury. The Commentum Flori was probably the Commentary on S. Paul's epistles by Florus, the deacon of Lyons, circ. A.D. 837.

los qui habentur pknt : : nke,[1] quique conda sui fuerunt A.D.974-988. He is at Fleury without books.
. . pio Christi nomine illi reddere faciatis, quoniam qui
. . hoc cœnobium Floriaccense quo nunc degit, utpote
igne consumptum[2] his caret codicellis. Sit vobis salus
karissime perennis. P : rkod : : s.[3]

XV.[4] Versus.

Verses on the sacraments.

Viscera ne sanctum triplo curvamine panem
Interiora . . . . . sanctificand . .
Mysticus . . . us stricta servatur in alvo
Quem celo celebrant novenarius ordo polorum.
Nec fas in terras cuiquam est gustare profano,
Qui nisi jam pridem sanctis mergatur in undis
Ac gestus almo trepidos rogitamine solvat,
Qui vel jam modicam panis vult sumere partem.

Against calumny.

Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam
Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sui.

Praise of temperance.

Felix qui modico contentus vivere pastu
Abstinet, et veterum servat vestigia patrum;
Quique Dei tacito volvens sub pectore dicta
Terreni fragilem moderatur corporis usum.

Charity is better.

Frustra corporeis aliquis se temperat escis,
Si cupiat verbis aliorum carpere vitam.

---

[1] *pknt*::*nke*] This cypher can only mean *Wintoniæ*. It is clear from the last word of the letter that k represents i, and the four dots must refer to the fourth vowel.

[2] The fire at Fleury, to which reference is here made, is probably that of the year 974, when the monastic buildings were burnt on Aug. 10, owing to the carelessness of the workmen. Baluze, Misc. i. 122; Mabillon, Annales O. S. B. iii. 632.

[3] *p*:*rkod*::*s*] On the principle stated above, this word, which is no doubt *periodos*, gives the key to the cypher so far as it goes.

[4] *XV.*] I am unable to say whether these two fragments are in any way connected with the preceding letter, which they follow in the MS. without any intervening rubric.

XVI. Epistola Abbonis ad Dunstanum.[1]

A.D. 985–988. Abbo writes to Dunstan.

[2] Domino sanctæ metropolitanæ Dorobernensium[3] ecclesiæ archiepiscopo Dunstano, vere moribus et ætate maturo, Abbo Floriacensis monachus levita etsi indignus, a Christo Domino irriguum superius et irriguum inferius.[4]

He has been pressed to write the life of S. Edmund,

Postquam a te venerabilis pater digressus sum cum multa alacritate cordis et ad monasterium quod nosti festinus redii, cœperunt me obnixe hii, cum quibus fraterna caritate detentus hospitando hactenus degui, pulsare manu sancti desiderii, ut mirabilium patratoris[5] Eadmundi regis et martyris passionem litteris digererem; asserentes id posteris profuturum, tibi gratum ac meæ parvitati apud Anglorum ecclesias non inutile monimentum. Audierant enim quod eam pluribus ignotam, a nemine scriptam, tua sanctitas ex antiquitatis memoria collectam historialiter, me præsente, retulisset, domino Roffensis episcopo ecclesiæ et abbati monasterii quod dicitur Mealmesbyri,[6] ac aliis circum assistentibus,

which he had heard related by Dunstan.

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[1] This is the letter in which Abbo dedicates to Dunstan his life of S. Edmund, the king of the East Angles, who was killed in 870. The MSS. in which it is found are enumerated in Sir T. Hardy's Catalogue of Materials, i. 526. The collations are from MS. Fairfax 12, MS. Rawlinson C. 440, and MS. Digby 109. It was written out by Ussher as an additament to Spelman's *Concilia*, in MS. Rawlinson Misc. 1074.

[2] "Sum swythe ilæred munuc "com suthan ofer sæ from saincte "Benedictes stowe, on Æthelrædes "dagum kynges to Dunstane arche-"biscop threom gearæ ærtham the "he forthferde, and sum munuc "hatte Abbo tha wurdon heo on "spece oththet Dunstan ræhte be "Sc̃o Eadmundo." MS. Bodl. 343, fo. 62.

[3] *Dorobernensium*] Dorobernensis, MS. Rawlinson C. 440.

[4] See Judges i. 15. The same words are applied by William of Malmesbury, above, p. 315, to Dunstan's gift of tears. This use of it may have been suggested by his knowledge of this letter, which he quotes in the Gesta Pontiff. lib. v. § 254.

[5] *patratoris*] patroni, MS. Fairfax 12.

[6] This abbot of Malmesbury is identified by William with Elfric, afterwards bishop of Crediton; but apparently with little probability. See Gesta Pontiff. § 254.

sicut tuus mos est, fratribus quos pabulo[1] divini verbi Latina et patria lingua pascere non desinis. Quibus fatebaris, oculos suffusus lacrymis, quod eam junior didicisses a quodam sene decrepito, qui eam simpliciter et plena fide referebat gloriosissimo regi Anglorum Ethelstano, jurejurando asserens quod eadem die fuisset armiger beati viri, qua pro Christo martyr occubuit. Cujus assertioni, quia in tantum fidem accommodasti, ut promptuario memoriæ verba ex integro reconderes, quæ postmodum junioribus mellito ore eructares, cœperunt fratres instantius meæ pusillitati incumbere, ut eorum ferventi desiderio satisfacerem, ac pro virium facultate tantorum operum seriem perire non sinerem. Quorum petitioni, cum pro sui reverentia nollem contradicere, posthabitis aliquantulum sæcularium litterarum studiis, quasi ad interiorem animæ philosophiam me contuli, dum ejus qui vere philosophatus est in throno regni virtutes scribere proposui, maxime tamen eas quæ post ejus obitum sæculis inauditæ factæ sunt, quibus nemo crederet nisi eas tuæ assertionis irrefragibilis auctoritas roborasset. Siquidem tu cui nix capitis credi compellit,[2] quando referebas de ea quæ nunc est incorruptione regis, quidam diligentius requisivit, utrum hæc ita esse possent. Cujus quæstionis ambiguum volens purgare, tu vastæ[3] peritiæ sacrarium pro exemplo adjecisti quod multo magis audientium attonita corda concussit, quia sanctus Domini Cuthbertus, incomparabilis confessor et episcopus, non solum adhuc exspectat diem primæ resurrectionis incorrupto corpore,[4] sed etiam perfusus quodam blando tepore. Quod ego admirans pro argumento habui quo tandem ad sancti regis gesta elucubranda certior accessi, fidens de ejus et tuis incompa-

A.D. 985–988. Dunstan had heard it from the king's armourbearer.

He proposes to write chiefly on Edmund's miracles.

Dunstan's assertion that Edmund's remains were still incorrupt.

[1] *pabulo*] papulo, MS. Digby 109.

[2] This is possibly one of the passages referred to by William of Malmesbury, above, p. 299.

[3] *vastæ*] magnæ, Rawl. C. 440.

[4] The remains of S. Cuthbert had not yet found their resting-place at Durham, whither they were removed from Chester-le-Street in 995.

A.D. 985–988. He begs Dunstan to act as a critic.

rabilibus meritis. Cui primitias mei laboris consecrans suppliciter obsecro, ut vel una die vertas mihi tuum otium in honestum negotium, resecando hinc superflua, supplendo hiantia, quoniam ex ore tuo, præter seriem ultimi miraculi, omnia veracem secutus verax digessi, exhortans omnes ad amorem tanti martyris. Vale pater in Christo.

XVII. Epistola Widonis ad Dunstanum.[1]

(MSS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 156; Vespasian A. 14, fo. 169.)

A.D. 981–986. Wido of Blandinium salutes Dunstan.

Meritorum virtute pontificali donato dignitate principaliter domino serenissimo archypræsuli D., frater Wido peccator[2] Blandiniensis cœnobii destinatus rector cum unanimi fratrum collegio optabile cælici principatus contubernium.

He has been assured of Dunstan's kindness; or would not write so soon after Leofsin's embassy.

Minore quidem ambigentes fiducia, dulcissime pastor, vestræ paternitatis expeteremus magnificentiam, ni plurimum nota et sæpius comperta affabilitatis vestræ nos animaret benignitas. Post recentem itaque nuperrimæ legationis commendationem per fratrem nostræ societatis nonnum[3] Leofsinum vobis directum, licet judicandi minus verentes, maxime tamen confidentes hoc litterarum indiculo vestræ celsitudinis pulsamus aures, a qua

He asks for help; the crops have failed.

clementissimum benignæ subventionis præstolamur suffragium. Ut vere namque fateri compellimur, peccaminum nostrorum exigente mole, nostris in regionibus, ut sæpius, hornotina deperierunt saltuum pascua. A ves-

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[1] The following letter is found fortunately in the two MSS. mentioned above, from the second of which it was transcribed, with five other letters, by the late Dr. Jaffé, whose copies were kindly sent to me, through Dr. Pauli, by Drs. Dümmler and Wattenbach, the literary executors of that lamented scholar.

[2] Wido was abbot of Blandinium from 981 to 986. Ann. Bland. ap. Pertz, v. 25; Mabillon, Annales O. S. B. iv. 8, 36.

[3] *nonnum*] a senior or dignified monk, or officer of a monastery: "juniores autem priores suos non-"nos vocent, quod intelligitur pa-"terna reverentia;" Reg. S. Bened. c. 62.

træ igitur dapsilitatis largitate sustentationem adipisci speramus et humiliter ponimus, ut in hoc et in quibuslibet benedictionum impensis, prout vestræ multiplici libuerit sufficientiæ nos dignemini clementer solaciari. Si igitur præsentium latores apud vestræ celsitudinis præsentiam præfatum nonnum Liefsinum invenerint, eis in commune vestræ miserationis injungere dignemini destinationem. Si vero ille jam præcessit, hos ipsos sufficere non diffidimus. Vale.

A.D. 981-986. The bearers are to act in common with Leofsin if he be still with Dunstan.

XVIII. Epistola[1] commendatoria.

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 157.)

Omnigenis Catholicæ fidei cultoribus in caritate radicatis et fundatis gratiam et pacem tandem a Domino consolatore omnium qui digne lugent, omniumque remuneratore eorum qui recte desudant in cultu vineæ. Quoniam apostolo teste non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis; et Dominus, Beati qui lugent nunc, inquid, quia ipsi consolabuntur. Hic monachus, olim militarem induens clamidem, conversus jam elegit abjectus esse in domo Domini quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum

After pious reflexions,

a pilgrim, who has been a warrior, is recommended to the good offices of the faithful.

. . . . . .

brevi curriculo suspe . . . . fatigatus miserque paucis lugere contemptus ut . . . securus quiescat, consolatusque beatitudinem sine fine percipiat. Nos autem hæc scripsimus illi in caritate Dei, ut hæc pagina dignantibus eam tractare loquatur pro ipsò idiota et elingui. Accipite ergo hunc optime psalmidicum, in Britannia circa marina clare editum, adhuc quiete temporis et pacis ultro exilium trans freta subisse in vestram

[1] A few lines of this letter are given by Leland in the Collectanea, ii. 404, from the MS. used in the text. It would seem to be a letter of introduction or recommendation given to a pilgrim to secure the good offices of the faithful on his route.

The bearer has been an anchorite.

fideli Anglo Saxonum Britanniam, ubi consulto Christianissimi regis Æthelstani anachoreta factus religiose ac laudabiliter apud Cen[1] non paucis diebus conversus est. Cujus consilio ac licentia in hanc quoque peregrinationem pro amore Christi venit, non quod Deum, Qui ubique est, iter agendo localiter quærat, sed dum plus laborat plus mercedis accipiat. Ubi enim durior pugna ibi gloriosior corona. Hinc est quod perfecti etiam viri, de suis actibus non confidentes, ad sanctorum martyrum protectionem currunt . . . . . corpora fletibus adsilum promereri fruendum . . . . ubi deliquerant eis intercedentibus credunt . . . . . juxta quod ibi de infirmioribus dicit non habentes velamen amplexantur lapides, id est apostolos, cæterosque sanctos. Sed hoc . . heu ne scientes agraventur prolixitate. Vos vero . . scientibus erga hunc vestrum exercete . . . . . fraternitatis participes sanctitatis illius isque de mamona iniquitatis recepturi æterna tabernacula. Quod mihi vobiscum fieri precor.

Justification of pilgrimages.

Job xxiv. 8.

[1] *Cen*] There are two places named Kenn, one in Somersetshire and one in Devonshire, to which this passage may be referred; but the mention of the anchorite makes it not impossible that Cerne in Dorsetshire is the place meant. According to William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontiff. ii. § 185, Edwold, the brother of S. Edmund of East Anglia, lived as a hermit at Cerne, and his hermitage became the germ of a great monastery founded by the ealdorman Æthelwerd, to which a grant made by his son Æthelmar is in Kemble Cod. Dipl. iii. 224. The anchorite in the text, however, was a Breton, and not an Englishman, and the early name of Cerne is Cernel. It is better, therefore, to regard the story as one of the not infrequent cases of Breton hermits settling on the Devonshire or Cornish coast, where the name of Cen may have been superseded by the name of the saint himself.

XIX. Epistola Falradi ad Æthelgarum archiepiscopum.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 151 ; Vesp. A. 14, fo. 156.)

A.D. 988-990. Abbot Falrad to Ethelgar.

Antistanti naviter sanctitatis summa archipræsuli honore Æ.[2] abba Falradus[3] inmeritus istius ævi futurumque æternæ in Christo beatitudinis bravium, promptumque fidelis servitutis obsequium.

The writer had been a friend of Dunstan.

Præcessoris vestri non oblitterandæ memoriæ Dunstani memorialis nexilis amicitiæ vinculo nodoque ita usi sumus, ut inter amicissimos nobis non secundus haberetur amicus. Cujus summos gradus dignitatis adquisivit vobis summa claritudo ingenii in omni studio præfulgens luce sanctitatis, non tantum accipiens ab excelsis gradibus honorum pretii quantum addens decoris tui. Cujus loco, pro competentibus merito vobis virtutum insignis, vos substitutum gaudemus, et ut alter ille nobis quodammodo fieri dignemini, sicuti præsentia vestri promisit onomatis, quamquam nullius pretiosæ servitutis mercemur precari cordetenus per mille meandros gliscimus. Nunc igitur si statu utriusque hominis vigetis incolumis, vobiscum agitur, quod medullis imis

He rejoices that Ethelgar has succeeded, and hopes to find another Dunstan in him.

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[1] The following is another of the letters transcribed by Dr. Jaffé from the Vespasian MS. It is also noticed by Leland, Coll. ii. 404.

[2] Æthelgar, Dunstan's immediate successor, had been abbot of the New Minster at Winchester from 964 to 980. He was consecrated bishop of Selsey May 2, 980, and became archbishop of Canterbury in the summer of 988. He went to Rome for his pall in 988 or 989, and died Feb. 13, 990, after a pontificate of fifteen months. His death is commonly dated Dec. 8, 989, owing to a mistake of Wharton in the Anglia Sacra; but the day is given, no doubt correctly, in the West Saxon Calendar, printed by Hampson, i. 436.

[3] Falradus, or Fulradus, abbot of the great monastery of S. Vedast at Arras. He is described by Balderic, in his Chronicle, as an unfaithful monk, who betrayed the interests of his order and attended to secular business only. He was deposed in 1004, and died soon after. He must have been abbot, however, at the time when the first life of Dunstan was written, the MS. of which is now at Arras. See Mabillon, Annales, iii. 177, 200.

A.D. 988-990. gratulamur, proinde vestræ sublimitatis excellentiam
He offers good wishes and prayers. præscire volumus nos una cum omnibus, nullis licet suffragantibus meritis, mihi commissis, sacri scilicet ordinis viris, pro benignissimo regiminis vestri statu preces divinitati die noctuque effundere non desistere, quæ universam suam conditam movet seseque essentialiter immobilem servat, veluti exiit caritas intepescens vestræ in nos fraternitatis. Cæterum majestati vestræ
He asks for a present. curavimus delegere, de beneficiorum exeniis nobis promissis non pigeat per litteras aut per internuntium remandare, ac tali freti fiducia, ut eclipticos loquar, et nos sine mora. Valere vos faciat Trinitas Sancta semper memores vestri memoris.

XX. Epistola Odberti ad Æthelgarum archiepiscopum.[1]

(MSS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 161; Vesp. A. 14, fo. 155.)

A.D. 988-990. Divini cultus amatori archipræsuli inclito A. stola
Odbert Abbot of S. Bertin to Ethelgar. jocunditatis præcipue vernanti, frater O.[2] quem Scithiensis cœnobii abbatem fatentur, cum commissa fratrum caterva, quæ Domino vernula, precumque affamina cum salutis successu.

He returns thanks for Ethelgar's kind promises. Quam inhianter vestræ desideremus salutis successum ævique longævitatem, non verbis aut apicibus quimus affari, cum quidem omnis nostræ spei fiducia in vestri consistat juvaminis anchora. Siquidem, vestra vigente incolomitate, non adeo nos secularia detrimenta concutient. Gratulamur etiam non modice vestræ benignissimæ sponsionis relevati magnificentia quia nos immeritos vestra voluit pietas intra numerum aggregare

[1] Another of the letters transcribed by Dr. Jaffé from the Vespasian MS.

[2] Odbert, abbot of the monastery of S. Bertin, or Sithiu, near S. Omer, died in the year 1012. The year of his elevation is given in the Gallia Christiana, iii. 492, as 1000; but it is clear from this and another letter that follows that this date is ten years too late.

devote vobis famulantium, vosque nobis fore perseverantem patronum eotenus ut unanimiter vestris insistente commodis unum inter nos et vestram paternitatem fieret nolle, unum velle. Tantum ergo adepto beneficio nihil constat nobis esse jocundius. Ac pro tanta gratia sciat vestra excellentia nos perhennes futuros, in quantum sat erit posse, apud Dei præsentiam intercessores. Ælemosinæ vero vestræ, quod mihi inposuistis negotium, ita, Deo cooperante, me confido mox peregisse per clericum nostrum communem, vestrum etiam omnimodis servulum fidelissimum, Richarium, et per Sigeberhtum, quo vobis merces digna maneat, meque innoxium a fraudis dolo observare studui. Hæc vero nostra fragilitas vestram pronis votis potissimum exorat clementiam, quatenus nobis propriis servulis vestris imperare dignetur quædam sibi placita beneficia, quia promtissimo parebimus devotionis obsequio. Valeat sublimitas celsitudinis vestræ plurimum in Domino.

A.D. 988-990. He asks the archbishop's friendship and promises his prayers.

He will soon have expended the archbishop's alms.

He offers his services.

XXI. Epistola B. ad Æthelgarum archiepiscopum.[1]

(MSS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 162; Vesp. A. 14, fo. 155.)

Domino venerando episcopo intendenti patri[2] summo, nobili videlicet spiculo,[3] nequitiarum utpote spiritalium ob eliminanda molimina cuncta, B.[4] omnium fæx Chris-

A.D. 988-990. B. salutes Æthelgar.

[1] This letter, which is in many respects the most important of the present series, is another of the six transcribed by Dr. Jaffé from the Vespasian MS.

[2] *patri*] P. MSS.

[3] *nobili videlicet spiculo*] The name of Æthelgar (æthel, noble; gar, a dart) is concealed in these words, by a custom not uncommon with Alcuin and some other later writers.

[4] *B.*] It seems almost certain that this "B. omnium fæx Christicolarum" and B. "omnium extimus sacerdotum, vilisque Saxonum indigena," the author of the first life of Dunstan, were the same person. In the notes following I have called attention to the points of agreement between the two compositions, and to other points in which peculiarities of phraseology suggest that some of the other letters of this series may have come from the same hand.

A.D. 988-990. Profession of humility.

ticolarum, et, licet nullo vel certe parvo laudamine dignus, humili tamen intentione, quicquid in superis summum, quicquidve in terris amœnum.

He feels unable to discuss the archbishop's merits but says what he can.

Talis excellentiæ dignitatem, tantæque evectionis virum, justum videretur ac æquum moderni faminis venustate pulchræque capacitatis adire dictamine, ni torpentis stilum ingenioli multimoda fatuitatis ignavia duro obtunderet repulsu. Sed quamvis inscitia morum haud diuturnum intermittat ministrare oblivionis fomentum, quoniamque assidua artis lectoreæ[1] non adsit instantia, quæ dogmatizando conferat lepidinis adesse peritiam, cunctis tamen conceditur facilis faciendi facultas. Nam singulis impertitur egisse juxta virium posse.

It is one thing to be content with poor food, another to be robbed of a rich feast.

Novimus enim inopes quosque ob eorum inediam cibis uti paupertinis, quibus rerum diversarum diliciæ desunt. Qui nimirum si semel invitati basilitio vel aliquorum procerum interessent convivio, etiam paulatim rigidis morsibus avidorum palatuum potirentur dapibus talium escarum insolitis, jam jamque dulcorante saporis nectarei fauce forte quidam inportunus dagmate[2] adsurgeret et diriperet enerviter miseris vivendi victum optabilem. Quid illos autumandum est inopes, si ita res se haberet post melliti gustaminis demptionem egisse? esurire inquam eo avidius et sitire quo talis tantique dulcoris delicias inopinato ammitterent.

The writer had been privileged to receive intellectual nourishment from a good bishop.

Parem igitur lugubris infortunii mœstitiam, quam patulo relatum de prædictis inopibus perstrinxi, in mei miseri comperi congessisse miseriam. Non ea admodum ratione ut essem divæ reginæ, sanctæ scilicet sapientiæ, idoneus conviva, introductus tamen a devoto Deoque digno, sacrarum videlicet eruditionum æditуo,[3] et permissus lambere sum vescentium abjectas uti catellus esuriens miculas. Quem quippe beatæ memoriæ ædi-

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[1] *lectoreæ*] Cf. the form favoreo, p. 5.

[2] *dagmate*] Cf. dagmata, below, p. 390.

[3] *æditуo*] The same word is used of Dunstan, "decentis æditui," above, p. 3.

tuum, sanctæ siquidem sedis Leodii præsulem,[1] dempsit, pro dolor, dulcissimum amarissima leti conditio. Qui peritiæ panem non solum mihi, ast mecum plurimis ministravit. Ex ea etenim die huc usque ignoratur quid injurii, quid mali, quid angoris, quidve fastidii meum perpessum sit cardian, mœrens, dolens, esuriens, sitiensque sedulo, post prægustatas saluberrimæ doctrinæ miculas; ut etiam ex mei tantilli adtestatione veridica agiæ sophiæ firmius comprobetur assertio. Ait namque per stoma Salomonis, viri siquidem sagacissimi, "Qui "edunt me adhuc esuriunt, et qui bibunt me adhuc "sitient."

A.D. 988-990. This was the bishop of Liege; since whose death he has been hungering for mental food.

Ecclus. xxiv. 29.

Ergo, domine mi dilecte, solotenus vestris advolutus pedibus, cernuaque cervice, vestram imprecor benivolam pietatem, nullis licet meis exigentibus meritis, de vestris tamen fisus beneficiis, quatenus esurietis et sitis prænotatæ pius potator vel fautor, sacro inbuimine adesse dignemini. Ego vero, ut necessitatis vis cogit, prompta voluntate concurrere pareo, quocumque vestra deliberaverit jussio, etiamsi sit cis vel citra imi æquoris, et si qua sanæ doctrinæ flore odorifluo dulci anima adgregavero libens in vestrum paternitatis alvearium, veluti apis obediens, præpeti volatu revehere et condere curabo. Hoc tamen difficultatis onus nolo me exiguum audaci rogatu petisse putetis vobismet imponere, sed quodammodo vestris quibus pridem panem doctrinæ ipse constanter adtribuistis. Nam ferarii forcipibus ea lege utuntur, ne eorum digiti ignetenus concremantur.

This need he begs Ethelgar to help him to satisfy.

He places himself at his service, and begs to be useful.

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[1] *Leodii præsulem*] The bishop of Liege who preceded Notker, the bishop at this date, and who must be here referred to, was Everaclus or Ebrachar, a Saxon by birth, and provost of Bonn before his elevation to the episcopate. He was bishop from 959 to 971. Although this lamentation for him was written nearly twenty years after his death, as the date of the letter can be fixed within a year, there can be no doubt as to the person meant. Ebrachar was a great promoter of education and founder of schools; and the fact that he was a Saxon, whilst the writer of the life of Dunstan was a Saxon also, serves as another point for the identification of the latter.

A D. 988-990. He is going to Winchester to read Aldhelm *de Virginitate.*

Pergam igitur, si placet dulcedini vestræ, Wintoniam, uno tantum contentus comite, ut Ealdelmi ibidem percurram de parthenali laude libellum et cætera, domine mi, quæ usui necessaria fore videntur. Hæc est enim nostri nuntii summa. Hic in præsenti titulatione, quoniam vitia obviantur innumera, aut æquo animo patiantur, aut justo precor insinuamine corrigantur.[1]

Valeatis in Domino, hoc ut opto.

XXII. Epistola Odberti[2] abbatis ad Sigericum[3] archiepiscopum.

(MSS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 145; Vesp. A. 15, fo. 157.)

A.D. 990. Odbert abbot of S. Bertin to archbishop Sigeric.

Norma sacræ religionis ab ipsis cunis inbuto præsuli S. frater Odbertus abbas cum coadunatis fratribus cœnobii Sancti Berhtini Scithiensis, cuncta prospero successu pollentia in Rege regum.

Archbishop Æthelgar had visited S. Bertin on the way to Rome and on his return.

Scire et meminisse cupimus paternitatem vestram, quomodo prædecessoris vestri Adelgari pontificis promeruimus gratiam ac paternitatis ipsius filiationem, et utriusque partis in invicem fraternitatem; ita ut præ cunctis Franciæ monasteriis Sancti Bertini præcipue dilectione sibi associverit cœnobium. Namque Romam pergens, a nobis honorifice susceptus, Romaque rediens, ut tantum decebat patrem magnificentius receptus, privilegium quoddam singulare nobis suæ contulit dilec-

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[1] This curious request, that the recipient of the letter will correct the grammar of it, is parallel with the similar, but more reasonable, petition to archbishop Elfric, that he will revise the life of Dunstan: "quicquid in hac editione contra orthographiæ normam compositoris vitio usurpatum repereris, imperiali potentia abradere;" above, [p. 4, 5.

[2] See above, p. 384.

[3] Archbishop Sigeric succeeded to the see of Canterbury on the death of Ethelgar in 990, and went to Rome for his pall the same year or early in 991. He had been bishop of Ramsbury from 985, and, before that, abbot of S. Augustine's. This letter must have been written before his journey to Rome.

tionis: quatenus ipse nobis pater pariterque frater, nosque ei filii et fratres in uno efficeremur Domino. Multa vero beneficia suæ nobis largitus est elemosinæ; plurima quoque spopondit vita comite se collatura; sed heu! pro dolor, tali nos inmeritos fore patrono, secundum propheticum dictum palam patuit, quod dicit

Jerem. v. 25. "Peccata nostra prohibuerunt bonum a nobis." Apud domnum quippe Dunstanum locum optinuimus familiarem; aput domnum vero Adelgarum ampliorem, ita ut monasterium Sancti Petri apostoli, ab ipso Bertino in primordio sui adventus constructum, a fundamentis statuerit restaurandum.

A.D. 990. He had given alms and promises.

Dunstan had been a friend, Ethelgar a greater.

Totis ergo præcordiorum votis suppliciter cernui vestram petendo, pulsando, quærendo præanticipamus pietatem: quatenus vestræ paternitatis mereamur adipisci dulcedinem, velut præsens frater Grimwaldus[1] vobis intimabit, parati vobis nostræ fraternitatis exhibere communionem, si vestræ id sederit clementiæ. Quem idcirco præmittimus, ut vestrum ad nos præscientes adventum in omnibus promtiores vestris inveniamur obsequiis adesse: obnixe rogantes ne nos transire velit vestra paternitas, nisi pernoctetur nobiscum.[2] Si quid autem ex his quæ nostratis repperiuntur, vobis placuerit, tantum per eum nobis mandate; quia hilariter vestro præsto erit obsequio. Quia post dilecti patris nostri Adelgari decessum, Dei gratia, ut vere confidimus, contulit patronum. Valeat vestra paternitas in Domino.

Grimwald the bearer will explain the abbot's wishes.

He begs Sigeric to visit him.

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[1] Grimwaldus is one of the monks of S. Bertin mentioned by Folkwin in the list at the close of his work; Cart. S. Bert. p. 155.

[2] It will be seen by the Itinerary of Sigeric which follows that the archbishop did not accept this invitation, which might have involved him in heavy expenses.

XXIII. Epistola cujusdam ad N.

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 169.)

The writer has crossed the sea and got into trouble about a horse.

Pulcherrimo perpulchro divinæque theoriæ facultate decorosæ haud mediocriter suffuso, domino N.,[1] bellus[2] sed causa, si dici liceat, infortunii admodum miserlus, quicquid uspiam famulitu. A te digressus, alta postquam velivolavi maria, trossolus[3] deerat ad subsidium . . . . . genus honera vehentium. Forte cujusdam clerici mutuavi caballum dignum triginta solidorum sub æstimatione pretii. Igitur laribus eodem advectus stratorium, antequam possem et ergo præripere dagmata,[4] occulsus interiit; cujus fœnoris angore constringor, qua libram soluturus sum integram; tantum mediam susciperam a clerico Remis. Pro hujus cautionis redibitione conquiro a te, senior beatissime, solamen. Pentecostes enim die illud debeo persolvere. Per præsentem gerulum, ni velitis succurrere, necesse est me ipsum venire. Flebilis musa te valere optat per sæcula.

He must pay or be sold.

Vivere nos faciat Quem quisque fidelis adorat.

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[1] N. probably stands for *nomen*. The letter seems to be written to some one in England; but if it is not, N. might stand for Notker, bishop of Liege, the successor of Ebrachar; and we might have another specimen of the work of the writer of the letter given above, p. 385.

[2] Is it possible that under this almost illegible and unintelligible word is hidden the name of the author of the first life of Dunstan? The peculiar use of the words dagma and senior seems to suggest it. See above, pp. 23, 386. The tone is pitiful, and the suggestion that if help is not forthcoming the writer must be sold to pay his debts, is very significant.

[3] *trossolus*] a wallet, a trousseau.

[4] *dagmata*] See above, p. 386.

XXIV. ADVENTUS ARCHIEPISCOPI NOSTRI SIGERICI AD ROMAM.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius B. 5, fo. 23 v°.)

A.D. 990. The churches of Rome visited by Sigeric.

Adventus archiepiscopi nostri Sigerici ad Romam:— primitus ad limitem beati Petri apostoli: deinde ad Sanctam Mariam scolam Anglorum: ad Sanctum Lau-

[1] In conjunction with this curious Itinerary of Sigeric is a list of the popes of the tenth century, beginning with John of Ravenna, which is perhaps worth preserving :—

"In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

"Johannes Rabennati sedit annos xiiii. m. iii. dies vii. [914, May 15–929, "Jaffé].

"Item, Leo tituli Sanctæ Susannæ sedit m. viii. dies x. [929].

"Item, Stephanus tituli Sanctæ Anastasiæ sedit annos iii. dies x. [929–"931].

"Item, Johannes tituli Sanctæ Mariæ trans Tyberi sedit annos vii. "dies xii. [931–936].

"Item, Leo tituli Sancti Sixti sedit annos iv. dies v. [936–939].

"Item, Stephanus tituli Sancti Silvestri et S. Martini sedit annos iii. "et menses ii. dies iv. [939–942].

"Item, Martinus tituli Sancti Ciriaci sedit annos iiii. m. i. dies v. "[942–946].

"Item, sanctissimus Agapitus sedit annos ix. m. viii. d. xi. [946–955].

"Item, Johannes tituli Sanctæ Mariæ qui vocatur in Dominico, sedit "annos ix. m. i. d. v. [955–963].

"Item, Leo sedit annos unum et dimidium et dies xi. [963–965].

"Item, Johannes sanctissimus sedit annos vii. d. xii. [965–972].

"Item, Benedictus diaconiæ Sancti Theodori sedit annos i. et dimi-"dium dies xii. [972–974].

"Item, Bonifatius sedit dies sexaginta et expulsus est foras [974].

"Item, Benedictus sedit annos vii. et dimidium, dies xiiii. [974–983].

"Item, Petrus Papiæ sedit annos i. m. viiii. dies vii. [John XIV., "983—Aug. 20, 984].

"Item, reversus est Boniphatius Roma et sedit menses ix. dies iii. "[984–July 985].

"Item, Johannes tituli Sancti Vitali sedit annos iv. m. unum et dimi-"dium [consecrated between Aug. 6 and Oct. 19, 985; died Apr. 996]."

As John XV. survived the visit of Sigeric at least five years, the number of years, months, and days assigned to him must be referred to the date of Sigeric's visit, which would thus fall in February 990; but as his predecessor died in that month, we must suppose that the word *dimidium* refers to annus, and not to mensis; and this would bring the date of the visit to July 990, which is very probable. It may be observed that the numbers in the above list rarely agree with those of the tables used by Jaffé. The MS. is contemporary with Sigeric's pontificate.

A.D. 990. The churches of Rome visited by Sigeric, on the first day.

rentium in craticula: ad Sanctum Valentinum in ponte Molui: ad Sanctam Agnes: ad Sanctum Laurentium foris murum: ad Sanctum Sebastianum: ad Sanctum Anastasium: ad Sanctum Paulum: ad Sanctum Bonefatium: ad Sanctam Savinam: ad Sanctam Mariam scolam Græcam: ad Sanctam Ceciliam: ad Sanctum Crisogonum: ad Sanctam Mariam Transtyberi: ad Sanctum Pancratium. Deinde reversi sunt in domum.

On the second day he visited the pope, and the other churches.

Mane ad Sanctam Mariam rotundam: ad sanctos apostolos: ad Sanctus Johannes in Laterane. Inde refecimus cum domini apostolico Johanno: deinde ad Jerusalem: ad Sanctam Mariam majorem: ad Sanctum Petrum ad Vincula: ad Sanctum Laurentium ubi corpus ejus assatus fuit.

The stages of his journey home.

Istæ sunt submansiones de Roma usque ad mare.[1]

1. Urbs Roma.
2. Johannis VIIII.
3. Bacane.
4. Suteria.
5. Furcasi.
6. Sc̃e Valentine.
7. Sc̃e Flaviane.
8. Sc̃a Cristina.
9. Aqua pendente.
10. Sc̃e Petir-in-pail.
11. Abricula.
12. Sc̃e Quiric.
13. Turreiner.

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[1] In the following list some confusion may have occurred owing to the fact that the scribe has used the Roman and the Anglo-Saxon forms of the letter s indiscriminately; so that in some places where I have read s the letter r should be substituted, and vice versâ.

3. Bacano.
4. Sutri.
5. Forum Cassii.
6. Probably Viterbo.
7. Montefiascone.
8. Bolsena.
9. Acqua-pendente.
10. On the river Paglia.
11. (?)
12. S. Quirico.
13. Torrenieri.

A.D. 990. Archbishop Sigeric's Itinerary.

14. Arbia.
15. Seocine.
16. Burgenove.
17. Ælse.
18. Sče Martin in Fosse.
19. Sče Gemiane.
20. Sče Maria glan.
21. Sče Petre currant.
22. Sče Dionysii.
23. Arneblanca.
24. Aqua nigra.
25. Forcri.
26. Luca.
27. Campmajor.
28. Luna.
29. Sče Stephane.
30. Aguilla.
31. Puntremel.
32. Sče Benedicte.
33. Sče Moderanne.
34. Philemangenur.
35. Metane.
36. Sče Domnine.
37. Floricum.

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14. The river Arbia.
15. Sienna.
16. Borgo Nuovo.
17. The river Elsa.
18. S. Martino, Fosci.
19. S. Gimigniano.
20. S. Maria, Chianni, near Gambassi.
21. S. Pietro, Corazzano.
22. S. Genesio, Sanminiato.
23. The passage of the Arno near Fucecchio.
24. (?).
25. Porcari.
26. Lucca.
27. Camajore.
28. Luna.
29. Borgo S. Stefano, near Sarzana.
30. Aulla.
31. Pontremoli.
32. S. Benedetto, in Val di Magra.
33. The monastery of S. Moderannus at Bercetto.
34. (?).
35. Costa Mezana, on the R. Verda.
36. Borgo S. Donnino.
37. Firenzuola (?).

A.D. 990. Archbishop Sigeric's itinerary, through Piedmont,

38. Placentia.
39. S. Andrea.
40. Sče Cristine.
41. Pamphica.
42. Tremel.
43. Vercel.
44. Sča Agath.
45. Everi.
46. Publei.
47. Agusta.
48. Sče Remei.
49. Petrescastel.
50. Ursiores.
51. Sče Maurici.
52. Burbulei.
53. Vivæc.

and Burgundy.

54. Losanna.
55. Urba.
56. Antifern.
57. Punterlin.
58. Nos.
59. Bysiceon.
60. Cuscei.
61. Sefui.

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38. Piacenza.
39. Casa di S. Andrea, on the river Lambro.
40. Santa Cristina.
41. Pavia (?).
42. Trumello, on the river Terdopio.
43. Vercelli.
44. S. Agata, Santhia, half-way between Vercelli and Yvrea.
45. Yvrea.
46. Poley, near Aosta.
47. Aosta.
48. S. Remi, under the Great S. Bernard.
49. S. Peter's castle in the Valais.
50. Orsieres.
51. S. Maurice.
52. Vervey (?).
53. Vevay.
54. Lausanne.
55. Orbe.
56. Probably Yverdun.
57. Pontarlier.
58. Nods, between Pontarlier and Ornans.
59. Besançon.
60. Cussey.
61. Seveux, or Savoyeux: these villages stand one on each side of the Saone.

A.D. 990. Archbishop Sigeric's itinerary through Champagne.

62. Grenant.
63. Oisma.
64. Blaecuile.
65. Bar.
66. Breone.
67. Domaniant.
68. Funtaine.
69. Catheluns.
70. Rems.
71. Corbunei.

Laonnois, and Artois.

72. Mundlothuin.
73. Martinwaeth.
74. Duin.
75. Atherats.
76. Bruwæi.
77. Teranburh.
78. Gisne.
80. Sumeran.

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62. Grenant, a small parish between Gray and Langres, on the Saulon, the first halting place in Champagne.

63. Humes.

64. Blessonville.

65. Bar-sur-Aube.

66. Brienne.

67. Donnemant, four leagues S.E. of Vitry le Français.

68. Fontaine.

69. Châlons on the Marne.

70. Rheims.

71. Corbeni, Corbiniacum, whither the bones of S. Marculf were translated in 898; in the Laonnois.

72. Laon, Mons Lauduni.

73. S. Martin. The route from Laon to Arras is not clear. Martinwaeth may be S. Martin on the river Amignon, in which case Duin will be Douen close to Peronne. If the former be Mont S. Martin near le Câtelet, then Duin may be Thun l'Evêque near Cambrai. There is a place called Martinpuich, near Bâpaumes.

74. Duin (?).

75. Arras.

76. Brouai, on the river Lave.

77. Terouanne.

78. Guisnes.

80. Sombre, near Witsand. I have followed the computation of the MS., which omits No. 79.

XXV. Epistola Johannis papæ[1] ad Elfricum ducem.

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 169.)

A.D. 985-996. The pope begs the ealdorman Elfric to be a good neighbour to Glastonbury.

Johannes episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Ælfrico inclito duci, amantissimo filio nostro spirituali, salutem continuam et apostolicam benedictionem. Relatione quorundam fidelium comperimus te plurima agere mala in æcclesia sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ quæ nuncupatur Glestingaburugh,[2] et prædia et villas[3] ab ejus jure tua avida cupiditate diripuisse, et propter quod eodem loco propinqua inhæres habitatione illi semper nocivus esse. Oportunum enim exstiterat ut tuo suffragio sancta Dei ecclesia, cum propinquus habitando effectus es, perplurimum accresceret, et copia tui adjutorii proprietatibus ditaretur: sed, quod nefas est, tuo decrescit impedimento, tuaque humiliatur oppressione. Et quia, licet indigni, non dubitamus nos in beato Petro apostolo omnium ecclesiarum curam omniumque fidelium suscepisse sollicitudinem, ideoque tuam monemus dilectionem, ut pro timore apostolorum Petri et Pauli, nostraque veneratione, ab ipsius loci cesses direptione, nihil ab ejus proprietatibus,[4] villis et possessioni-

[1] This letter is referred by Dr. Jaffé, following William of Malmesbury, to pope John XIII. and the year 971. As, however, Dunstan was then at the zenith of his power, and Edgar was not likely to have allowed the rights of Glastonbury to be interfered with, and as, moreover, there is no West Saxon ealdorman of the name of Elfric at the time,—it seems better to refer it to John XV. and the ealdorman Elfric whose tenure of office began in or about 982, and who fell at the battle of Assandun. The interpolations of the copy used by William of Malmesbury (G. R. lib. ii. p. 246, ed. Hardy) are given in the notes, and show how the originally simple letter of the pope was adapted by the monks to the maintenance of their claim on particular estates. It is printed in the Monasticon, i. 63, from the Cotton MS. Vitellius D. 7, which profeses to take it "ex libro "epistolarum Alcuini qui fuit Caroli "institutor," that is the MS. Tiberius A. 15.

[2] *Glestingaburugh*] quæ totius Britanniæ prima, et ab antiquis primoribus ad proprietatem et tutelam Romani pontificis pertinere dinoscitur, ins. W. Malmesb.

[3] *villas*] sed et ecclesias de Brente, de Piltune, quas Ina rege dante operam cum aliis ecclesiis quas juste et canonice possidet, scilicet Soweie, Stret, Merlinc, Budecal, Sapewice, ins. W. Malm.

[4] *proprietatibus*] ecclesiis, capellis, ins. W. Malmesb.

bus invadens. Quod si hæc non feceris, scias te vice apostolorum principis nostra auctoritate excommunicatum, et a cœtu fidelium remotum, perpetuoque anathemati submissum, et æterno igni cum Juda traditore perenniter mancipatum. A.D. 985-995. He threatens him with excommunication.

XXVI. Epistola Johannis papæ XV^mi.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 171 b.)

Johannes quintusdecimus, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ papa, omnibus fidelibus.[2] Noverint omnes sanctæ matris ecclesiæ fideles et nostri utriusque ordinis per climata sæculi dilatati, qualiter nobis relatum est a compluribus de inimicitia Æthelredi Saxonum Occidentalium regis necnon et Ricardi marchionis, unde nimium tristis effectus, utpote de filiis nostris spiritualibus, tandem inito salubri consilio accersivi quendam apocrisarium nostrum Leonem,[3] videlicet episcopum sanctæ Treverensis ecclesiæ, et misi eum illuc cum litteris nostris exhortatoriis, ut resipiscerent ab hac superstitione. Qui transiens vastas intercapedines terrarum, tandem marinos transmeavit fines, et in die Nativitatis Domini pervenit ante conspectum regis præfati; moxque ex parte nostra salutato obtulit litteras, quas illi misera- A.D. 991. The pope has heard of a quarrel between king Ethelred and duke Richard, and sent bishop Leo to reconcile them. Leo presents his credentials.

[1] This letter is given by William of Malmesbury in the Gesta Regum, lib. ii. § 166; and with very slight variations from the text of the Cotton MS. Notwithstanding its exceptional form, it is accounted genuine by Dr. Jaffé (Regesta Pontificum, p. 338). It was printed by Wilkins, Conc. i. 264, and by Mansi, xix. 81. The fact that it is found in the Cotton MS. proves it to be a contemporary document.

[2] *omnibus fidelibus*] interl. MS.

[3] Leo is not counted among the archbishops of Treves; Dr. Lappenburg (Gesch. Engl. i. 422) understands that he was a vice-bishop or suffragan. The mention of him has been thought to throw doubt on the genuineness of the document; see Freeman, Norman Conq. i. 631; Palgrave, Hist. Normandy and England, iii. 106. I have no doubt that the Leo in question was the abbot of S. Boniface at Rome who was in the year 991 employed in Germany.

A.D. 991. Ethelred called his wise men and agreed to make peace.

mus; qui accersitis cunctis sui regni fidelibus utriusque ordinis sapientioribus, ob amorem et timorem Dei Omnipotentis, necnon et Sancti Petri apostolorum principis, et per nostram admonitionem paternam, firmissimam concessit pacem, cum omnibus filiis suis et filiabus præsentibus et futuris, et cum omnibus fidelibus suis sine dolo. Qua de re misit[1] Æthelsinum, sanctæ Scireburnensis ecclesiæ præsulem, necnon Leofstanum filium Alfwoldi, atque Wistani filium Ethelnothum; qui[2] transierunt marinos fines et pervenerunt usque ad Ricardum præfatum marchionem; qui et monita nostra pacifice suscipiens, simulque audiens decretum suprafati regis, libenti animo eandem pacem firmavit, cum filiis et filiabus suis præsentibus et futuris, et cum omnibus fidelibus suis, eo rationis[3] tenore, ut si aliquis eorum vel ipsi injuste aliquid contra alterum perpetraverit, digna emendatione purgetur, paxque maneat perpetualiter et inconvulsa, sacramentorum utriusque partis stigmate stipulata; ex parte scilicet regis Æthelredi Ethelsinus præsul sanctæ Schireburnensis ecclesiæ, et Leofstan Alfwoldi filius, et Athelnothus Wistani filius; ex parte Ricardi Rogerus episcopus, Rodulfus Hugonis filius, Turstenc filius Turgis. Actum Rotomago kalendis Martii, anno ab Incarnatione Domini nongentesimo nonagesimo primo, Indictione quarta: et de hominibus regis vel de inimicis suis, nullum Richardus recipiat, nec rex de suis sine sigillo eorum.

Names of ambassadors.

Richard received the embassy, and agreed.

Oaths of the sureties.

Dated at Rouen, Mar. 1.

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[1] *misit*] mittens, MS., corrected. Ethelsige bishop of Sherborne ruled from 978 to 992.

[2] *qui*] interl. in MS.

[3] *eo rationis*] et orationis, MS.

XXVII. Epistola ad Sigericum.

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 164.)

A.D. 990-994. The writer offers his good wishes.

Consentaneo typici nominis præsagio Sig.,[1] Apostolico summi præsulatus ciriceo[2] largiflua Dei gratia decurrato,[3] levitarum infimis[4] N. commodissima vacillantis tempora sæculi, necne in generalis judicii examine senatorum apostolici prioratus summam. Clamentissimi Redemptoris nostri veridica valere oracula in tuo, præsulum karissime, dominio divinitus collato non aureo seu quovis mercatus quomodo multorum mos est munere adepto, luce clarius expleta patescit, quibus proprios alumnos vivificæ doctrinæ sequaces, quorum tu in ecclesia Dei vicarium apicem septiformis spiritus sancti obtitulatum insignitus præcluenter exerces mystico summo die rationis et iste fovit potando . . evangelia . . . sene sic ut alicubi exorsus est; Omni habenti dabitur et habundabit, ei autem qui non habet, quod habere videtur, etiam auferetur ab eo. Hujus ergo Dominici lactis . . . mo ingeniolo[5] habetur . . . . medio frigore . . . . . astico pastori delitescat . . . . . præsagio . mellifluæ caritatis amplitudine limpidissime patescere incunctanter credimus. Quam felix provincia loci etiam situ amœna, tantum animularum sortita promum salutiferi Christi sacramenti misteriarche, non perifrasticis ellebori aut Aristotelis sive reliquorum sophistarum cavillationes indagantem, quorum multifida perplexionum argumentatio, quia stolida hujus mundi elegit Deus, velud fumus per inane longiuscule diffusus, irrita adnullatur, verum orthodoxorum catholicæ fidei cultorum omeliis canonicis gregem Dominicum sibi commissum ambrosciatim pascentem. Nec mirum competente quo-

Sigeric has not purchased promotion.

To describe the happiness of the province he will not use Greek philosophy.

[1] Probably from the writer of No. xxviii., who also uses the word *misteriarcha*; if not, it may be referred to the writer of No. xxi.

[2] *ciriceo*] Probably κηρυκείῳ; the herald's staff, used here for the pastoral staff.

[3] *decurrato*] decorato.

[4] *infimis*] So MS.; read infimus.

[5] *ingeniolo*] Compare the use of this word in No. xxi. p. 386 above.

A.D. 990-994. He will preach sound sermons.

rumlibet religiosorum merito, talem præfectum gratuita Dei miseratione prædestinatum constat quia sicut exigentibus perfidorum legirupum excessibus sermo doctoris sæpe adimitur, sic benivolus Deo subditorum votis cœlitus augetur.

Subjectus mecum populus nunc plaudat ovando
Paulo quo totum sternat seseque magistro
Limpida vitalis capiens alimenta salutis
Ut Stigias Zabuli valeat vitare lacunas
Ac paradisycolis . . . conjungere turmis.
Salve summe . . præsul præs . .
Angelicis comitatus eas proventibus opto.

XXVIII. Epistola Elfwerdi[1] abbatis ad Sigericum archiepiscopum.

(MS. Cotton, Tiberius A. 15, fo. 170.)

A.D. 990-994. The abbot doubts the power of language to express his affection for the archbishop.

Dilectissimo in Christo patri Sigerico misteriarchæ, humilis vestræ paternitati abbas Elfwerdus æternæ beatitudinis et perpetuæ prosperitatis salutem.

Amico antiquo novus non est similis; amicus qui fortunam sequitur et tempus observat, qui juxta loci qualitatem mutatur, nunquam verus fuit. O si ferrea vox esset omnipotens pilivertentia in linguis, vel sic ad aures tui cordis verba dilectionis sinceræ pervenire valuissent, vel in tuo pectore spiritus esset prophetiæ, ut perspicere cordis mei archana potuisses; crederes itaque quam suavissimo sapore tui amoris pectus meum completur; sed nunc quod valeo faciam, hos parvos apices magnæ indices caritatis tibi dirigo, ut per hos intelligas quod vix intelligi potest, sicut flamma videri, tangi hoc non potest . . . . . karitas in litteris cerni potest, sed vix . . . . . sentiri valet scribentis, quasi scintillæ . . de igne . . . . . ut dilectio litterarum officio valet, sed plurimi sunt, in quibus . corde extinguuntur, ideo

Abbot Elfwerd exhorts archbishop Sigeric to continuance in good works.

[1] Elfweard succeeded as abbot of Glastonbury on the promotion of Sigar to the see of Wells, which took place between the years 975 and 978. He continued abbot for several years in the next century. Sigeric as a monk of Glastonbury may have been his pupil.

gratius lucescit, ubi vel aliqua ejus flamma ardescit. A.D. 990-994
Quia in te, pater karissime, veram inveni karitatem, ideo nulla terrarum spatia me prohebent secundum opportunitatem portantis cupientem in Christo perhenniter frui; cujus amor nostram utinam . . . dam per Ejus dilectionem nobis inviolabilis . . . . paternitas cujus caritatem si consacerdos . . . . . sicut tuba cœlestis, sicut præco salutis cunctorum ingerere cordibus studeas; quicquid illius respuit sanctitas instantissime respue: quicquid illius diligit bonitas ardentissime prædica. Memor esto semper quod guttur tuum tuba Dei debet esse, et lingua tua omnibus præco salutis. Esto pastor non mercenarius, rector non subversor, lux non tenebræ, civitas firma fide murata, non domus pluviis diruta, miles Christi gloriosus, non apostata vilis, pater prædicator et non adulator. Melius est Deum timere quam hominem, plus Deo placere quam hominibus blandiri. Virgam accepisti pastoralem, et baculum consolationis fraternæ; illam ad regendum, istum ad consolandum, ut mœrentes consolationem habeant in te, et contumaces correctionem sentiant per te. Potestas judicis est . cendere . vivificare. Quid times hominem propter gla . . . vem regni accepisti a Christo; recordare quia passus est pro te et non metuas loqui pro Illo. Ille pro tuo amore clavis confixus pependit in cruce et tu 'si' . . . . . dignitatis tuæ ob timorem hominis tacueris . . novit, pater, novit; sed, sicut Ille dilexit, ita dilige et Illum. Qui plus laborat plus mercedis accipiet. Si . . . . delinquentes, tibi est merces apud Dominum et summa salus . . . . . odierit increpantem. Ille est . . . . . tudo. Esto miseris consolator, pauperibus pater, omnibus affabilis, donec intelligas quid cuicumque respondeas, et semper tua responsio sale sit sapientiæ condita, non temeraria sed modesta, non verbosa sed honesta. Sint tibi mores humanitate præclari, humilitate laudabiles, pietate ama-

He warns him of the responsibilities of his great office.

Exhortation to a life of edification.

A.D 991-994. biles, ut non solum verbis sed exemplis erudias tecum viventes vel ad te venientes. Sit manus tua larga in elemosynis, promta in reddendo et cauta in accipiendo. Præpara tibi thesaurum in cœlis: divitiæ viri redemptio est animæ illius, quia beatius est dare quam accipere. Invenimus unam pretiosam margaritam, demus omnia quæ habemus et emamus illam. Lectio sanctæ scripturæ sæpius tuis inveniatur in manibus, ut ex illa te . . saturare et alios pascere valeas. Vigiliæ et orationes assiduæ sint tibi, eo magis quia pro tuo populo Christiano intercedere debes; esto omnibus . . . . vicarius Dei, exemplum honestatis . . . . medicina vulneratis, afflictis consolator; pastor non mercenarius; domus Dei non spelunca latronum; palma florens, oliva semper virens. Non terrena fragilitatis terreat potestas, non sæcularis ambitio pontificalem severitatem compescat. Noli timere eos qui corpus possunt occidere, animam autem non possunt. Noli columbas vendere Dei; da quod gratis accepisti. Irreprehensibilem te ipsum in omnibus exhibe, ut vita tua doctrina sit populi, ex bona conversatione tua ædificentur plurimi: lege diligenter obsecro evangelia Christi, libros quoque alios canonicæ auctoritatis, sed et Pastoralem beati Gregorii papæ sæpissime perscrutare. His epulis animam tuam pasce, ut habeatis unde alios reficere valeas. Dulce mihi est sæpius tuæ scribere reverentiæ, opiniatissime pater, tuamque implorare clementiam, quatenus quæ vestræ perpaucas paternitati literulas theoricæ causa karitatis omisimus, me quoque per cunct . . implere nequisse cognoscas, nostraque cordetenus tædiosum verbositas haud videri optamus; tuæ quoque celsitudinis litteris recitatis gaudebam de tuæ prosperitatis salute, cujus præsens quantum valui fautor fui etiam et nunc absens cupidus, et utinam . . . in litteris præmisisti, memor sis utique paternitatis et dulcedinis inter nos in Domino, qui semper nos in sua provehat voluntate et proficere faciat in suis mandatis. Memores simus quod nos de stercore

To the study of Holy Writ.

To blameless life: and read S. Gregory's Pastoral.

erexit, ut collocet inter principes populi sui, non nostris meritis, sed sua gratuita misericordia, Cui semper gratias agamus in omni vita nostra ut ille qui exaltavit etiam et conservet. Omnes vero ecclesias quas . ad dirigendum accepisti, diligentissime in Dei laude exorna; in eis horis psalmorum melodia, orationum instantia, missarum solemnia, et intercessiones pro te . . tuisque amicis. Sint tibi filii minores cum honestate et temperantia vestimentorum, moderatus cultus, convivia non in luxuria et ebrietate, sed in sobrietate, et congruentia temporibus et personis. Ubique Dei amorem ante oculos habeas; humilitas te exaltet, et veritas honorabilem faciat, misericordia amabilem; sit tua manus pauperibus larga, amicis benigna; esto fidelis dispensator domus Dei; forma esto salutis omnibus tecum habitantibus, quia te Deus honore nobilem fecit. Esto quoque ex moribus nobilis; luceat lux tuæ bonitatis coram omnibus, ut glorificetur in te Pater cœlestis, Qui te in hac præsenti vita custodiat, et in futura vita gloriam tibi concedat æternam. Mei quoque obsecro ut memoriam habeas inter missarum solempnia et in sanctis orationibus tuis, ut anima . . . perpetua prosperitate gaudeat vitæ. Ego devotus tuæ paternitatis filius nunquam obliviscar tui, sed semper super omnes alios diligo karitate. Deum cotidie cum . . . cordis compunctione deprecantem æterna pietate custodiat, regat, protegat, sine fine defendat.

A.D. 990-994. Exhortation to regularity in divine service.

Mitis ab æthereo clementia Christus Olimpo
Protegat, exaltet, ornet, amet, foveat.
Nec . . . . . mine nostras
L . . scripsit quæ pietatis amor.
Terra, polus, pelagus, homines volucresque feræque,
Cantoris resonent voce, valeto pater.
Pagina si brevis est non est brevis ardor amantis,
Nam plus corda colunt quam mea verba sonant.
Christicolæ angelica Sigerico carmina laudent
Salve, sancte Dei præsul resonantque per ævum.

XXIX. Epistola cujusdam.

(MS. Tiberius A. 15, fo. 160.)

The writer assures his friend of his constant employment in study.

C . . . . nalium fratri gloria fideli . . feliciter candenti N. amicitiæ sine segr . . deficiendi totum posse inter angelicarum consortia turmarum cum fulgentis nuptialis indumenti consessionem. Fratri merito fidissimo, ne minus . . memora . . nulla patens dilectionis intimet, mando quia meditatio benivola cordi tenet amando, et fit per amplas regiones kartula amoris nuntia quæ Paulinos clientulos de Græcia per Timotheum . . . exortabatur gratiosa, ne nos doleas absentes . . . . conversari intimamus nos dulciter cum probabilissimis refoveri; cotidie lectum quampluris convenimus, nec minus voluntati proficimus. Jamque vale inceptæ ferto karitatis amorem. Per commodum remitte qui nobis quid tecum agatur nuncium nunciet, O jugiter ben . . .

XXX. Epistola cujusdam ad Wulstanum.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Vespasian B. 14, fo. 177.)

A.D. 996–1003. The writer sends good wishes to Wulstan. He has received a command to translate some book into Latin.

Domino illustrissimo atque divinis dogmatibus et operibus plenissimo, metropolitanæ Lundoniæ ecclesiæ pontificum dignissimo Wulstano, cunctorum sanctæ crucis caracterem gestantium famulus supplex, post virtutum omnium expetibilem ubertatem, summamque inter apostolicos doctores cœlo fulgidos felicitatem. Quia salutare præceptum beatitudinis vestræ, quæ me quadam sapientiæ prærogativa nescio unde arbitrata florere, archana quæ nostis meis studuit auribus insinuare, quæ litteris Latinis deberem commendare, impotens

[1] Wulfstan, bishop of London 996–1003. The bishop seems to have ordered the writer to turn some work into Latin. He finds himself unequal to the task, and humbly declines.

sum parere: in multa cordis fluctuatione me scitote laborare; enimvero si hanc jussionem vestram, quæ divinæ dulcedinis absque dubio fert jocunditatem, fructuosa obedientia explere valerem, tempestuosæ conscientiæ meæ cupitæ temperiei tranquillitatem obtinerem. Igitur quia sic mihi fluctuanti hæc denegatur tranquillitas optima, multum expavescens quo indignationis vestræ offensam mea patiatur supplex et artibus omnibus nuda inopia, ad pœnam suam satis sibi sit, quæso, magna quam sustinet verecundia; hanc inquam verecundiam ipse in me acriter reprehendo, quia ipsam adeo mihi molestam non sustinerem, si quod mihi imposuistis me expleturum non devoverer, si quidem spem aliquantulam habebam me in hoc negotio posse obedire; quandoque jussus fueram ad primum studui inire, sed revera postmodum diligenter dulcissimam eloquii vestri considerans sagacitatem, decenterque dispositæ narrationis prolixitatem, simulque profunditatem, me ad hæc transferenda nullam reputo habere facultatem. Attamen si temporis opportunitatem et linguæ vestræ prædulcem sonoritatem haberem, piis imperiis vestris quoquomodo parere valerem. Vos ergo clementer hanc excusatoriam suscipientes querimoniam Ejus pro amore Qui nos cotidie audit plus Sibi promittere quam persolvere, insipientiæ meæ quæ amplius quam potuit non puduit promittere dignemini parcere. Omnipotens Dominus ad Suæ utilitatem ecclesiæ dies vestros in Sua pace disponat, atque vos cum multiplici numero commissarum vobis animarum ad gaudia cœlestia perducat. Valete.

A.D. 996-1003.

He begs leave to decline, being diffident of his own power.

XXXI. Epistola archiepiscopi cujusdam ad Wulfsinum.[1]

(MS. Paris, Lat. 948.)

A.D. 993–1001. The writer gives his best advice to the bishop.

[ ] Dei [gratia] archiepiscopus, fideli amico Wlfsino episcopo, æternæ sospitatis et pacis in Domino Deo salutem. Gratias agamus Deo, qui nos indignos et ultimos servorum suorum præordinavit ad regimen Suæ sanctæ ecclesiæ in tam periculosis et laboriosissimis temporibus. Et nunc in commune deprecemur Omnipotentis Dei clementiam ut Ille nos adjuvet in omni opere bono. Et tu, carissime frater, viriliter fac, et fortiter opus Domini quod habes in manibus perfice, ad mercedem animæ nostræ et ad salutem multarum animarum. Non cesset lingua tua in prædicando, non pes tuus circumeundo gregem tibi commissum, non manus tua a laborando, ut eleemosynæ fiant per te, ut sancta

[1] This letter was first printed by Mabillon, AA. SS. O. S. B., sæc. v. p. 239, from the Paris MS. Mabillon ascribes it to Dunstan, but gives no reason for doing so beyond the fact that it is found in what he calls the Pontifical of Dunstan, that is the Pontifical of the church of Sherborne. That the Wulfsige to whom it is addressed was bishop of Sherborne may be proved by this; but no such bishop was consecrated by or contemporary with Dunstan. The same MS. gives a list of the bishops of that see, which exactly agrees with the results of an examination of the charters. The dates seem to be as follows:—A bishop Wulfsige of Sherborne rules from 948 to 958; Elfwold succeeded and signs charters from 961 to 978; then Ethelsige, from 979 to 991; then another Wulfsige, from 993 onwards. It is possible that the elder Wulfsige survived to 961, and saw Dunstan on the archiepiscopal throne; but it is scarcely likely that Dunstan would write such a letter as the above to a person much older than himself; and it would seem probable from the fact that Brihthelm bishop of Wells is spoken of as "Dorsetensium episcopus" (above, p. 38), that he was administering the see of Sherborne, at the time that Canterbury was vacant on the death of Odo. It seems best, therefore, to refer the letter to the later Wulfsige, in which case the writer would be archbishop Sigeric, or more probably the more famous Elfric, who succeeded to Canterbury in 995 or 996. The reference to the troublous times may also belong more probably to the reign of Ethelred than to that of Edgar. The tone presents a remarkable likeness to No. xxviii., and suggests that Sigeric, if he were the writer, had adapted the letter he had received from Elfwerd to his own use.

Dei ubique exaltetur ecclesia. Esto forma salutis omnium: in te sit exemplum conversationis sanctissimæ, in te sit solatium miserorum, in te confortatio dubitantium, in te disciplinæ rigor, in te veritatis fiducia, in te totius bonitatis spes. Non te sæculi pompa exaltet, non ciborum luxus enervet, non vestimentorum vanitas emolliat, non adulantium lingua decipiat, non detrahentium adversitas conturbet, non tristia frangant, non læta elevent, non sis arundo vento agitata, non flos auræ tempestatis decidens, non paries ruinosa, non domus super arenam posita; sed templum Dei vivi super firmam petram constructum, cujus ipse sit Spiritus Paraclitus inhabitator. Mitem te et humilem ad meliores ostende, durum et rigidum ad superbos, omnia omnibus factus, ut omnes lucrari possis; habeas in manibus tuis mel et absinthium, quicquid cui placeat edat ex illis; cui de pia prædicatione vesci libeat, accipiat mel; qui dura invectione indigeat, bibat ex absinthio, ita tamen ut liceat ei mel veniæ sperare, si rosea confessio pœnitentiæ præcedat. Omnia vestra honesta cum ordine fiant; tempus statuatur lectioni, et oratio suas habeat horas, et missarum sollemnia proprio tempore conveniant. Qui diem sapit Domino sapiat. Sit modesta in conviviis lætitia, sit casta in jejuniis perceptio; lavetur pœnitentia facies, unguatur oleo misericordiæ caput, ut omnia acceptabilia fiant Domino Deo, Qui te elegit Sibi sacerdotem. Ducem[1] ammone et omnes sæculares principes, ut pietatem et misericordiam in judiciis conservent, munditiam cordis et corporis semper diligant, quia beati mundi corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt; ecclesiam Christi defendant, ut eorum adjutor ac defensor fiat Dominus ecclesiæ; viduis et pupillis misericordes ut illorum misereatur Deus, et in

A.D. 993-1001. He warns him against the temptations of the world.

He urges him to a life of edification, reading, prayer and worship.

He bids him advise his ealdorman and other chiefs to defend the Church.

[1] If the ascription to the second Wulfsige be admitted, the *dux* here spoken of will be the ealdorman Elfric to whom the letter No. XXV. is addressed.

A.D. 993-1001.

omnes homines mites et benigni, populum Dei congregantes et non dispergentes, pacem inter se habentes, quia beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur. Et tu, carissime frater, ante oculos cordis semper habeto timorem Dei et amorem, et liber Pastoralis beati Gregorii patris, ubi Dei rectorum subjectorumque vita diligentius discernitur, sæpius ante te legatur; et nostri memoriam nominis habeto in tuis sanctis orationibus, ut Dei Omnipotentis misericordia nos defendat, regat atque custodiat, sicut vos velle credo, ut in dilectione Dei et voluntate cursum agamus vitæ nostræ. Et superfluum non æstimes, nec arrogantiæ, ut vos ammonerem, sed intimo caritatis affectu suscipite, quia urbs firma frater qui a fratre juvatur.

He urges him to read S. Gregory's Pastoral.

Te Deus Omnipotens salvum conservet in ævum.

XXXII. Epistola encyclica W. Scireburnensis episcopi[1] ad universos episcopos, abbates et fideles.

(Martene & Durand, *Ampl. Coll.* i. 354.)[2]

A.D. 993-1001.

1. Annuente atque favente melliflua Dei gratia episcopis, abbatibus, ducibus, universisque inclytis vernaculis sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ, W. humilis apostolicus minister S. parrochiæ pacis prosperitatem permanendamque in Christo salutem.

The bishop addresses all sons of the Church.

Igitur nullatenus dubitamus vobis esse cognitum, quomodo in primordio hujus labilis vitæ nostri protoplasti parentis natus multatus fuit a Deo pro sola fraterni sanguinis effusione, et sic postea longe lateque per climata totius cosmi perplurimæ similes miseriæ, instigante zabolatico conatu, perpetratæ sunt. Idcirco pro certo reminiscamini vos, quicumque litteras has perlegitis, quod ista imago Dei est in pœnitentiæ loco con-

Cain had been doomed to be a wanderer.

[1] Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne, 992-1001.

[2] "Ex MS. Bibliothecæ Regiæ."

stituta pro sui interfectione fratris, filii aut avunculi, sive fratruelis, quam provise seu improvise aut etiam per incuriam perficiebat suadente hostili versutia. Qua de re vos benignissime precamur, ut pro Dei dilectione sitis illius auxiliatores, administrantes ei corporale indigentiæ subsidium, verum etiam quod multo melius est, spiritale, ut spiritus illius in die magni judicii Dei servetur inlæsus, cum omnibus electis in dextra Dei collocatis. A.D. 993-1001. The bearer has slain a kinsman. Give him bodily and spiritual succour.

2. Domno papæ cunctisque generaliter matris ecclesiæ filiolis W. Scireburnensis ecclesiæ. Notum fieri vobis cupimus de portitore schedulæ præsentis, quia diabolico instinctu avunculi sui filium interemerat; unde a nobis pœnitentiæ fructum inquirentem, in hujus vitæ peregrinatione constituimus, corporalique cruciatui damus quo spiritus ejus in tremendi examinis die salvetur. Valete cuncti fideles vineæ Domini cultores, ipsius inopiam benedictionum vestrarum copia reficere volentes in Christo. The bearer is doing penance for slaying a kinsman.

XXXIII. Epistola Wulfrici ad Abbonem.

(MS. S. Gall, 337. f. 1.)

Wilfricus, abbas Augustinensis monasterii,[1] dignissimo abbatum doctissimoque abbati, Aboni, æternæ prosperitatis salutem in Christo. Quod vestra, O obtime vir, legatio ad nos pervenit, vestræ benignitati gratias humiliter Deo volente persolverimus. Istum itaque libellum pro magnifici viri Sancti Dunstani amore, quatinus ornate in metricæ artis versus transferatis, nostra exiguitas solliciter præcatur, ut vos promisistis. Ergo pro multiplicis obstaculi retardatione quanta deliberavimus vobis intimare breviter pitaciolo isto nequimus. A.D. 1000-1004. Wilfric, abbot of S. Augustines, sends the Life of Dunstan for Abbo to versify.

Arbiter æthereus salvet vos tempore cuncto. Valete.

[1] Wulfric became abbot of S. Augustines, A.D. 1000.

XXXIV. Tria poemata Abbonis ad Dunstanum.[1]

(MS. Nero E. 1. fo. 14.)

A triple acrostic addressed by Abbo to Dunstan.

SUMME SACER, TE SUMMA SALUS TUEATUR AMICIS,
Virtutis veræ speculo sUb carnis amictU,
Mundo fulgente qui Magnus culmine moruM,
Munificus pastor, hoMinum spes, ara reoruM;
Esse videris et es plEnus pietatis ubiquE,
Septa gregis servanS divini totus oviliS,
Ad quem lativii pelAgi pia protulit aurA,
Cui solito largus feCistis tot bona, doneC
Exul in orbe alio crEvit sua vocula sed mE
Rauca subit, quæ claRa diu, nec noxia nupeR
Tum devota sacro canTu quem spero resumeT,
Et laudando canEt omni nectarea musÆ
Suavior auspiciis iStic devincta suetiS,
Unde tibi recinens, qUi vivis nobilis ortU,
Mira refert quod priMus eam dignatus eodeM
Munere donasti donuM reputando supernuM,
Anglica cui tandem cAntat sic voce LatinA,
SUMME SACER, TE SUMMA SALUS TUEATUR AMICIS.
Angelicam qui fers fAciem de luce supernA
Lacteolus vultu, polLens ex ordine præsuL,
Vir patriæ carus, seU civibus utilis actU,
Solus Odo pius cenSor qui jure sacerdoS
Te pater ante fuiT, sat nos amplexus amaviT,
Unde tibi supplex deVovi scribere quod tU
Exigeres tractare senEx secretus in urbE
Argivum vatem qui grAmmata pandit AchivA,
Tam sapiens ut te cum Te plus scire timereT,
Verum semotus habitu, Velut angelicus astU,
Restat te dignus sacRo omnes agnitus ardoR,
Ante quidem juvenes Audax deponere verbA,
Mitia dans septem deMum discrimina vocuM
In verbis quæ pertimuI tibi scribere patrI;
Cui genus et species Curæ felicior ex hoC
Ima tibi mea musa canIt, quod protulit audI.
SUMMA SACER, TE SUMMA SALUS TUEATUR AMICIS.

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[1] A curious specimen of misdirected ingenuity. A similar puzzle addressed by Abbo to the emperor Otto III. will be found in Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. vol. iii. lib. iv. c. 1.

A farewell to Dunstan in triple acrostich.

II.[1] **O**. præsul Dunstane pr**O**bus, sine fine valet**O**,
Ruriculis cunctisque **R**eis tua vita videtu**R**
Omnis esse boni ren**O**vatus, more aquilin**O**.
Sciris enim clemens **S**ortito munia curan**S**,
Et gratis pandens cr**E**denda salubria ver**E**.
Recta doces et recta **R**ogas, innoxie docto**R**,
Efficiendo quod ips**E** mones, ne voce moner**E**
Non fecisse velis ta**N**tum devotus in agme**N**,
Extollar tandem juv**E**nis, qui si tua dign**E**,
Summe patrone, mei**S** ascripsi vota Camœni**S**
Ad cœlum rursum veni**A**m, quo sistitur ampl**A**
Conditione salus, ne**C** sese jactitat illi**C**
Effera vis quæcunqu**E** mali, cum desiit ind**E**
Rabbulus ad veteris **R**ixæ divortia libe**R**,
Mordicus unde furit **M**atri Sion ira suoru**M**;
En te corde sequar qu**E**m qui seceatur in ax**E**
Major erit plenus cu**M**ulo virtutis avoru**M**.
O præsul Dunstane pr**O**bus, sine fine valet**O**,
Rumpe moras, ne sis du**R**us, cui ludo parumpe**R**
Inque tuis tutatis prim**I** hic jam carmina nol**I**
Stertere, sed præsens de **S** odæ vortior aure**S**,
Memet enim satis ore **M**oves, ut talia dicte**M**,
Et lætator quod adess**E** piis addicis opim**E**,
Mirus ubique cavens **M**ores ac facta reoru**M**
Obsistendo rudi, ne m**O**x male crescat avit**O**.
Rex regum tali proce**R**um dans gaudia nupe**R**
Ob sua gesta sibi dec**O**ret de vertice mund**O**.
Totus enim candes, te **T**andem parcius urge**T**
Ira, furor, quia sis agil**I**s sub corpore len**I**,
Vir fervens animis, p**U**ro ferventior æst**U**;
Sum dare verba pater **S**enio felicior ausu**S**,
Ecce tibi tuus Abbo p**E**tit, ne despice ferr**E**,
Si quæris laudum cau**S**as quia fabar iniquu**S**
Turpia, tu carmen nos**T**rum, mi, suscipe, sicu**T**
O præsul Dunstane pr**O**bus, sine fine valet**O**.

[1] This poem like the preceding contains much unintelligible stuff; but it is characteristic of the age.

Abbo asks Dunstan's prayers.

III. Illustris merito virtutum sancte sacerdos,
Confessorque Dei pulcherrima gemma salutis,
O Dunstane tuis precibus per sæcula servis
Assis in auxilium regnum poscendo polorum.

XXXV. Epistola Eadmeri ad Glastonienses.

Quale sit quod Glastonienses asserunt se corpus beati Dunstani habere.

(MS. C.C.C. 371, fo. 10.)[1]

A.D. cir. 1120. Eadmer to the monks of Glastonbury.

Glorioso conventui monachorum cœnobii Glastoniensis, frater Edmerus unus ex minoribus bonitate et scientia ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis filiis et fratribus, fidelem amicitiam et caritativum servitium in Christo Jesu Domino nostro.

He retains a vivid recollection of their hospitality, and is therefore jealous of their honour.

Recordor me jam olim quadam vice ad vos venientem magno gaudio et honore susceptum, et cum majori tripudio et exultatione, donec mihi velle fuit, vobiscum morandi, habitum ac detentum. Unde vobis hucusque gratiosus exsisto, nec minus gratiosus ero dum in vita præsenti subsisto. Dum igitur talis sim et jure[2] esse debeam erga vos, nulli mirandum existimo, si vestrum honorem diligo, si ea quæ vobis conducunt approbo, si denique ea quæ vobis opprobrium generant detestor et improbo. Nec enim aliter fidus amicus essem, nec fraternæ dilectionis legem servare dici veraciter possem. Quod quam grave videri debeat Christiano ad Dei regnum pervenire volenti, advertit qui beato apostolo

[1] Printed in the Anglia Sacra, ii. 222–226. A copy of this letter exists in the Lambeth MS. 159 (L.), fo. 31, with the title "Epistola ad "Glastonienses Elmeri aliter Edmeri, quo tempore Glastonienses "asserunt se corpus patroni nostri "Sancti Dunstani habere."

[2] *jure*] de jure, L.

credit dicenti omnem[1] non amantem fratrem suum homicidam esse, et ejusmodi in regno Christi et Dei hæreditatem non habere. Cur hæc prælibaverim accipite. A.D. cir. 1120. The duty of love.

Quidam ex vestris noviter, ut putamus, inter vos conversi, prædicant antiquos patres vestros fures fuisse et latrones, et quod nequius est, etiam sacrilegos: idque illorum prædicandi laudi ascribunt quod tales fuerunt, fortassis[2] eadem voluntate debriati, non perpendentes quod divina intonat pagina: "Fures scilicet et latrones "regnum Dei non possessuros." Super hæc ut firmius eis credatur ita esse, Judæ traditori eos similes fuisse affirmant, qui loculorum Domini custos ea quæ custodire debebat[3] sceleratissime furabatur. O homines! O fratrum honoratores! O verborum Domini intentissimos auditores! Centum et eo amplius anni evoluti sunt ex quo ipsi, quos fures et latrones prædicant, a vita præsenti sunt elongati: et modo noviter tantum iis opprobrium invehitur, ut[4] æterna pœna, qua juxta sententiam istorum miserrime cruciantur, infelicissime illis innovatur. Vere magna impietas! Nam et si ipsi non fuerunt tales quales isti eos esse volunt, non est propter hoc horum impietas minor, immo, remoto omni ambiguo, major, qui infamant innocentes, qui se omnibus manifestant esse mendaces ac impudentes. Testis enim mihi est omnia sciens et disponens Veritas Deus, quia cum adhuc in scholis puerulus essem, ex præcepto beatæ memoriæ Lanfranci archiepiscopi, primatis videlicet totius Britanniæ, indicto jejunio toti populo Cantiæ, levatum est corpus beatissimi patris[5] Dunstani a primo sepulturæ suæ loco, astante abbate Sancti Augustini Scodlando,[6] et Gundulfo post facto Rhofensi episcopo, cum toto monachorum agmine utriusque ec-

Some of the brethren have said that their forefathers were thieves and traitors.

1 Cor. vi. 10.

Those men lived a hundred years ago.

When the writer was a schoolboy, he witnessed the elevation of S. Dunstan's body.

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[1] *omnem*] hominem, L.
[2] *fortassis*] et, ins. L.
[3] *debebat*] debeat, L.
[4] *ut*] et, L.
[5] *patris*] om. L.
[6] *Scodlando*] Scotlando, L.

A.D. cir. 1120. A great multitude was present.

clesiæ, nostræ scilicet quæ est Christi Cantuariensis, et vicinæ nobis beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quæ usitatiore [1] nomine hoc tempore dicitur beati Augustini: confluente ad hoc innumera virorum ac mulierum multitudine, qui omnes ipsum [2] cœlestem thesaurum cum ingenti modulamine vocis ac jubilo cordis usque ad locum quo recondendus erat prosecuti sunt, et diem illum divinis miraculis illustratum lætum atque solennem peregerunt. Nunc autem effluxis quinquaginta annis [3] ex quo illud factum est, quidam ex vestris, si tamen ex vestris,[4] surrexerunt, et ubi eis libet prædicant jam ante centum annos ecclesiæ vestræ monachos custodes ecclesiæ nostræ deputatos, quæ ob martyrium gloriosi patris nostri Ælfegi in magnam ut aiunt desolationem venerat, et ibi quod pretiosissimum habebatur fraudulenta calliditate furto surripuisse. Væ homines omnibus hominibus nequiores! Ecclesia totius Britanniæ insulæ mater in occisione sui patris ac filiorum afflicta confugit ad filiam suam unice ab ea dilectam, et ea [5] re, quod quasi factum sit ad præsens accipiatur, magis in protectione illius confisa, ut se et reliquias suas servaret; et ipsa, sicut vos prædicatis, meliores filiorum suorum ei ad quod petebantur destinavit; et ipsi illic custodes sacrorum effecti, uterum matris suæ quam tuendam susceperant, invaserunt, diripuerunt, cor ac intestina ipsius deprædati sunt, rapuerunt, asportaverunt. Judæi cum mortuum Dominum ac sepultum, ne ab apostolis auferretur, in sui custodiam accepissent, quamdiu potuerunt a custodiendo non defecerunt; [6] nec sibi commendatum furto surripere aut alias auferre conati sunt, sed potius furti crimen aliis se dormientibus im-

Now after fifty years, it is said that the body had been stolen a hundred years ago.

It is incredible that the church of Glastonbury should have so treated the church of Canterbury.

[1] *usitatiore*] usitatorio, L.

[2] *ipsum*] illum, L.

[3] The translation of the relics took place soon after Lanfranc's appointment to the see in 1070. See Eadmer's own account of the matter above, p. 232.

[4] *ex . . . vestris*] tamen ex vestris, L.

[5] *ea*] ipsa, L.

[6] *defecerunt*] defuerunt, L.

posuerunt. Si simili modo custodes Glastonienses fecissent, hoc est, si sacrilegium quod laudantur commisisse, ab aliis se somno depressis, dicerent commissum fuisse, forte aliquantulum famæ suæ consuluissent, nec tam detestabili modo deliquissent. Nunc autem quid dicemus? ut prælibavimus, Judæ similes eos in furto approbamus, non tamen nos sed eos sequentes fratres sui Glastonienses. Nos enim revera scimus eos omnino immunes esse ab hoc peccato. Quid igitur[1] illis erit qui conficto tam infrunito mendacio fratres,[2] immo patres, suos criminantur?· Sed utique nec fratres nec patres. Nam si fratres aut eorum filii essent ipsi, naturalis affectus,[3] aut certe pudor humanus, doceret eos parcere linguæ suæ,[4] doceret eos providere famæ suæ. Sed esto ut furtum suum sancti fratres Glastonienses prudenti astutia cunctis absconderent, cadaver cujusdam abbatis sui, cujus nomen ab iis qui ista componunt ignoratur, secum tulisse feruntur, ac loculo sancti patris[5] Dunstani, ne vacuus remaneret, reposuisse. O prudentiæ! Non erant ossa mortuorum inter Cantuariam et Glastoniam, ut necesse eis fuerit, ad celandum furtum suum, cadaver nesciunt cujus per ducenta, ut ita dixerim, milliaria transtulisse. Noverit beatitudo vestra, quia ego qui hæc scribo non parum confundar in tam evidenti stultitia, et omni homini risu digna, maxime quod ab Anglis dicitur esse conficta. Væ! quare non consuluistis aliquem hominem transmarinum, qui in multis conversati, multis imbuti, multa confingere sciunt, et vel pretio ageretis quasi ipsi saltem vobis aliquid verisimile mendacium de tanta re componerent. Væ vos! meæ gentis homines, tam stolida simplicitate notaremini, ut omnibus deridendi in perpetuum judicaremini.

A.D. cir. 1120. It is quite incredible.

Shame ought to prevent them from publishing such a story.

But it is absurd.

Englishmen could not have been so foolish.

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[1] *igitur*] om. L.
[2] *fratres*] suos, ins. L.
[3] *naturalis affectus*] naturales effecti, L.
[4] *suæ*] om. L.
[5] *patris*] nostri, ins. L.

A.D. cir. 1120.

How could the body of an unknown abbot have been substituted for Dunstan's?

Ad hæc rogo prædicatores tam præclari sacrilegii quatenus mihi compatriotæ[1] suo dicant, utrumnam cadaver sui suppositi abbatis noviter defuncti et integrum a Glastonia Cantuariam detulerunt? et[2] utrum more summi pontificis infulatum, palliatum, spindulatum, et sandaliis fuerit calciatum, necne? Quod si hæc omnia habuit,[3] unde quæso pallium, ut de aliis interim taceam, habuit? Numquid antiquitus abbates Glastonienses pallio utebantur? Sed hoc patriarchis solum, primatibus et archiepiscopis a Roma et apostolica sede conceditur. Sed hactenus sæculo omni inauditum est patriarchatum Glastoniæ fuisse, vel etiam pontificatum. Si[4] igitur palliatum cadaver ad deceptionem futurorum antecessores vestri Cantuariæ detulerunt, hoc effecerunt ut ipsi Romano pontifici et omni Christiano homini qui se ad fidem Christi sub magisterio beati Petri tenet,[5] obnoxii sint et infames ac omni opprobrio digni judicandi. Scitur enim quia illud a sede apostolica non habuerunt; sed ipsi illud, malignitatis illos auctore docente, vel[6] composuerunt vel componi, si ita fuit, a sui similibus effecerunt. Re etenim[7] vera corpus quod invenimus ita fuit inventum scilicet quasi omnino integrum, infulatum, annulatum, palliatum, spindulatum, sandaliis venustissime adornatum; cum quo et scriptura in plumbea tabula exarata inventa est, quæ plane testabatur beati Dunstani archiepiscopi Cantuariorum corpus esse quod tumulatum ibi jacebat. Habetis quæso aliqua litterarum monimenta, quæ hæc ita se habuisse probent? videlicet quæ ferant cadaver abbatis illius eo quo diximus modo redimitum. Adhuc quæro; illi antiqui patres et fratres vestri, qui ad tuendas destitutæ ecclesiæ nostræ reliquias, ut dicitis, adducti fuerunt,[8] attuleruntne secum cadaver illud beato Dunstano sup-

Did abbots wear the pall?

The body seen at the translation was fully habited.

But have you any writings to prove it; or to explain it?

[1] *compatriotæ*] patriotæ, L.
[2] *et*] ut, L.
[3] *habuit*] habuerit, L.
[4] *Si*] Sed, L.
[5] *tenet*] tenent, L.
[6] *vel*] om. L.
[7] *etenim*] enim, L.
[8] *fuerunt*] sunt, L.

ponendum, utpote de futuri[1] furti sui effectu securi? An ipsi primo venerunt et effossum corpus patris[2] Glastoniam detulerunt, ibique insignibus[3] pontificalibus spoliatum, abbatem vestrum eisdem insignibus redimitum in sepulcro sublati patris recondendum transtulerunt? Quicquid horum dixeritis factum fuisse, quantæ[4] dementiæ sit vobis credere, facillimum est cuivis etiam cæco videre. O infelices, qui sic immani[5] stoliditate involuti sunt, ut[6] intelligere nequeant ipsam stoliditatem suam nullius prudentis oculos posse latere. Christus, Qui est Veritas, dicit, "Veritas liberabit vos." Et vestri vates hoc tempore dicunt, furtum et sacrilegium patrum nostrorum et nostrum[7] mendacium honorabunt ecclesiam nostram et nos. Quod mendacium! Corpus, inquiunt, beati Dunstani pontificis Cantuariorum et primatis totius Britanniæ a sua ecclesia patres nostri[8] furtim abstulerunt, et nostrum[9] abbatem tali sacrilegio emptum, quia nobis[10] inutilis erat, illuc delatum sepulcro illius intulerunt. O gaudium! O luctum! O locum vestrum tali, tanto, fœnore magnificandum! Sed O contrarii puræ veritati, quid facietis, oro vos, cum ipsa Veritas venerit perditura omnes qui loquuntur mendacium? Et quidem omnibus luce clarius constat mendacium vos imponere patribus vestris, quia nec[11] invitati Cantuariam secum cadaver sui abbatis detulerunt; nec ibi degentes asportato corpore beati Dunstani illud attulerunt. Illud enim nimiæ et incredibilis, non dico stultitiæ, sed dementiæ esset. Hoc autem impossibilis perpetrandæ audaciæ effectus existeret. Cum enim ipse beatus sepulcrum sibi effodi, ut liber vitæ ejus veracis-

A.D. cir. 1120.

Did they carry S. Dunstan to Glastonbury and then remove their abbot to Canterbury?

It is a falsehood.

The Glastonbury monks were not invited to Canterbury, nor did they bring their dead abbot.

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[1] *de futuri*] om. L.
[2] *patris*] beati Dunstani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ad, L.
[3] *insignibus*] insigniis, L.
[4] *quantæ*] quantum, L.
[5] *immani*] inani, L.
[6] *ut*] et, L.
[7] *nostrorum et nostrum*] vestrorum et vestrum, L.
[8] *nostri*] vestri, L.
[9] *nostrum*] vestrum, L.
[10] *nobis*] vobis, L.
[11] *nec*] om. L.

A.D. cir. 1120. Canterbury never was depopulated, as the story requires.

sime testatur, præcepit, et infra terram ad staturam virilis corporis foveæ profunditas penetraverit, qui quæso tam immani [1] furto locus et opportunitas esse potuit? cum et ecclesia ipsa nunquam sine monachis domesticis filiis suis fuerit, et civitas Cantuaria civibus suis nequaquam fuerit exinanita. Ad hæc considerandum quod [2] ecclesia ipsa in passione beatissimi martyris [3] nec igne consumpta, nec tecto aut parietibus diruta fuit. Violatam quippe fuisse et pluribus ornamentis spoliatam, ac supposito de foris igne ut concremaretur adorsam, novimus, quo vesana manus pontificem intus sese tuentem quem invadens mandaret exire compelleret. At ubi ipsum exeuntem comprehenderunt, omissis ignibus et aliis malis quibus ad captionem illius occupabantur, ipsum, necatis aliquibus monachis in oculis ejus, abduxerunt, et usque ad locum exitio illius destinatum multis afflictum injuriis et cruciatibus perduxerunt et peremerunt. Quæ cum ita sint, qua fronte dici potest pavimentum ecclesiæ, sub oculis omnium [4] spatio septem pedum hinc inde ad sepulcri profunditatem tendenti effossum; aliter enim nullo modo attingi valeret; et ita, abstracto corpore sanctissimi patris Dunstani, per quindecim ut dicam dies patens remansisse, donec monachis cum furto euntibus [5] ad monasterium suum, et ibi non dico peremptum ab eis sed in occursu [6] illorum statim mortuum abbatem suum, detractis [7] beato Dunstano pontificalibus ornamentis, illum adornasse, et ita cursim forte [8] asello aliquo Cantuariam delatum in sepulcro ejus collocasse? Adhuc interrogo. Vastata fuit tota [9] terra inter Glastoniam et Cantuariam illis diebus, et in solitudinem [10] acta? ut liber cursus ac recursus nullo obstante deferentibus tantum thesaurum

The church was despoiled but not burned, when Elfege was killed.

How could the body be taken up unseen? and the grave left open for a fortnight?

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[1] *immani*] inani, L.
[2] *quod*] quia, L.
[3] *martyris*] Elphegi, ins. L.
[4] *omnium*] omni, L.
[5] *euntibus*] subeuntibus, L.
[6] *occursu*] cursu, L.
[7] *detractis*] a, ins. L.
[8] *forte*] fortasse, L.
[9] *tota*] om. L.
[10] *solitudinem*] solitudine, L.

quaquaversum pateret, annon? Verum utique ubique quando ista, ut astruitis, gerebantur, Danorum scatebat[1] immanitas; nusquam pax, nusquam securitas; bella et seditiones quaque[2] fervebant. Super hæc, quemadmodum certissime scitur, in medio chori ante gradus, quibus ad majus altare ascendebatur, corpus beati Dunstani humatum fuit, in plumbeo loculo, et illo in magna profunditate terræ locato, uti Anglis olim moris erat suorum cadavera tumulare. Qualiter igitur monachi ecclesiæ, qui ad minus, juxta quod dominus Osbernus[3] refert, quatuor tantæ cladi supererant, cum clericis qui eis admixti Dei servitium in ipsa ecclesia administrabant, ipsum terræ hiatum per tot dies sustinuerunt, donec allato abbate innominabili in sepulcro sublati Dunstani collocaretur? Mira patientia et vere mirabilior pro adventu venturi abbatis Wlsini[4] fortasse vocati exspectatio!

A.D. cir. 1120.

How could these monks have travelled unnoticed from Canterbury to Glastonbury and back.

How could the monks of Canterbury have overlooked the opened grave.

Propter Deum[5] obsecro, est[6] aliquis qui ad tantam vanitatem se a risu contineat? Et certe adhuc satis plura non minus idonea ad designandam ipsius vanitatis ineptiam dicere possemus, si pudori sacri cœnobii vestri non parceremus. Quod enim tales qui ita se infamant, fovet, nutrit, amplectitur, pudor est illi et opprobrium magnum. Nec enim Glastonienses ea tempestate qua fingunt Cantuariam venerunt nec ibi conversati sunt. Non igitur illis surripientibus corpus beati Dunstani nobis ablatum et vobis ullatenus fuit allatum. Sed ab aliis aut alio tempore allatum negatis. Fatemini ergo necesse est vates vestros falsa locutos, et de corpore beati Dunstani vos quicquam habere omnimodis falsos esse. Quapropter consulite famæ vestræ, et ab ista vanitate os vestrum cohibete. Attamen veritas vobis, si obliti estis, in memoriam revocetur.

The story is absurd and disgraceful.

Such things could not have happened at the time asserted.

Confess that your prophets have lied.

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[1] *scatebat*] patebat, L.

[2] *quaque*] usquequaque, L.

[3] *Osbernus*] Vita S. Elfegi, Ang. Sac. ii. 136.

[4] *Wlsini*] Delsini vel Wlsini, L.

[5] *Deum*] quod, Domini mei, L.

[6] *est*] estne, L.

A.D. cir. 1120. Absque dubio scitote Ægelnothum abbatem, immo exabbatem,[1] Glastoniensem, cum uno vel duobus monachis olim per plurimum temporis conversatum Cantuariæ. Exabbatem dico, quia per beatæ memoriæ Lanfrancum, sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ summum sacerdotem, in generali totius Angliæ synodo a sua abbatia[2] depositus, et Cantuariæ, digna quidem tanto viro, in quadam tamen quasi captione positus. Et tunc numerus monachorum inibi Domino Christo et beato Dunstano famulantium sexagenariam quantitatem ascenderat. Si igitur unquam monachi Glastonienses corpus beati Dunstani furati sunt, æstimo quod isti fuerunt. Sed cum isti Cantuariæ essent, a primo sepulturæ suæ loco, ut prædiximus, jam fuerat translatum in locum ubi eis accessus nullus patebat. Non ergo ab eis fuit ablatum: nec ergo ab ullo vestrorum. Ossa itaque quibus onerastis imaginem nostri Redemptoris, ne Ipse vobis indignetur, nostro consilio auferetis. Satis enim habet in Se unde honoretur, nec opus est ut sanctitas Ei aut ex ossibus mortuorum aut aliunde cumuletur. Fratres mei, cogitet quæso et recogitet prudentia vestra, quod honestum sit vobis cogitare, quod conveniat loqui, quod deceat agere. Centum anni et ultra transierunt a martyrio beati Ælfegi, et nullus hominum qui interfuerit vitæ præsenti superest, vel certe qui se meminerit interfuisse; nec ad nostram notitiam hucusque perlatum fuit quemquam illorum, qui illis diebus vere fuerunt, inde de quo agitis aliquid dixisse vel scripsisse, quod cuivis sanum sapienti pro dicto vel scripto suscipiendum videatur. Quapropter omissis puerilibus næniis, ut decet viros sapientes atque perfectos, diligite beatum Dunstanum sicut patrem vestrum atque patronum, et veritatem de eo loquimini; et tunc revera diligi ab eo merebimini. Membrum et amicus est

Abbot Agelnoth of Glastonbury, after his deposition, lived some time at Canterbury, with some of his monks. Did they steal the body?

No, for it had then been removed to its present shrine, to which they had no access.

A century has elapsed since Elfege's death, and no one has whispered this story until now.

[1] *exabbatem*] et abbatem, L.

[2] *abbatia*] fuerat, ins. L. The deposition of Agelnoth is placed in the eighth year of Lanfranc. See Chr. Sax. 1070.

Summæ Veritatis, nec ab Ipsa discordantes potest admittere in sinum suæ caritatis. Novit Deus et ipse pater et advocatus noster dulcissimus, quia quæ dico pro vestro honore et utilitate dico; nec in aliud tendit hæc intentio mea, nisi ut Deus Qui Veritas est, et in beato Dunstano,[1] sicut æquum est, magnificetur, laudetur et prædicetur, tam a vobis quam a nobis, et si efficere possem, ab universis fidelibus totius conditi orbis. Scio quia modum epistolarem in loquendo paulisper excessi. Sed talis fuit materia, ut quamvis me proposuerim paucis locuturum, tamen se extenderit in id quod videtis extensum eloquium meum. Ne ergo miremini. Non est enim hominis via Ejus.

A.D. cir. 1120. Pray give up the story, and merit the favour of Dunstan.

Vos itaque domini et fratres mei, quibus Deus aperuit sensum intelligendi quæ rationis sunt, compescite insipientium juvenum procacem insolentiam, qui eo solum ut videantur scire loqui aperiunt ora sua, in quæcumque volubilitas cordis sui eos distenderit, autumantes se aliquid esse cum aliorum simplicitas suis verbis accommodat aures. Novi quosdam olim tales et me fortasse fuisse, et ea re non penitus diffido talium et mei similes aliquos hoc tempore esse. Sed jam senui et incanui, et multa quæ juvenis magni pendebam duco pro nihilo. Hoc erit Deo donante et juvenibus temporis hujus.[2]

Eadmer himself has been young and foolish. These foolish story-tellers will learn wisdom.

Quia vero prolixitas epistolæ finem postulat, hoc ultimum dico, quoniam, si omnes antiqui patres vestri, qui in cœnobio Glastoniensi jam ante centum annos fuerunt, defuncti sunt, aliquos tamen puto superesse qui ante ista Normannorum tempora inibi nutriti in monachica religione fuerunt. Quærite ab eis, si qui sunt, utrum recordentur abbatem loci vestri singulis annis ad festivitatem patris Dunstani, cum quatuor aut pluribus monachis, Cantuariam solitum venire, et ibi per

Ask the monks who were at Glastonbury before the Norman Conquest and still survive.

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[1] *beato Dunstano*] beatum Dunstanum, L.

[2] *hujus*] hujusmodi, L.

A.D. cir. 1120. They must remember the annual pilgrimage from Glastonbury to Canterbury.

sex aut plures dies inter fratres ob reverentiam tanti patris lætitiæ et exsultationi vacare, annon? Æstimo, si aliquis talium hucusque remansit, ita rem tunc temporis factam non negabit. Nam si aliter faceret, proculdubio veritati contrarius esset. Si igitur corpus beati Dunstani se sciebant habere Glastoniæ, cur illud venerandum in sua festivitate requirebant Cantuariæ? Hæc ita dicta[1] sint ad imprudentium confutandum errorem, et ad prudentium confirmandum in nos, quem multum optamus habere, sanctum amorem. Valeat igitur sanctitas vestra in Christo Jesu, et oret pro nobis.

Explicit epistola Edmeri monachi ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ.[2]

XXXVI. Epistola Nicolai monachi Wigorniensis de matre Sancti Eadwardi martyris.

(MS. C.C.C. 371.)[3]

A.D. cir. 1120. Nicolas to Eadmer.

Domino Eadmero suus Nicolaus. Ea quæ quæsisti jam demum, quod vetustatis auctoritate plurimorum testimonio verum accepi de matre Sancti Eadwardi regis et martyris, tibi mitto.

Edgar reigned two years with Edwy, and sixteen after his death.

Gloriosissimus itaque rex Anglorum Edgarus xix. annis regnavit; duobus siquidem annis super omnes boreales tantum Angliæ partes quæ a fratris imperio discesserant regnavit, ipso videlicet Eadwio fratre ejus adhuc in Australibus imperium agente. Fluvius autem Tamisia utriusque regni confinia disterminabat. Post mortem vero fratris xvi. annis super omnem Angliam et Scottiam et universas insulas circumquaque positas,

[1] *dicta*] om. L.

[2] From MS. L.

[3] From the same MS. as the last article. It will be seen by reference to pages 163, 213, above, that Eadmer was indebted to Nicolas for the means of correcting the erroneous statements of Osbern. Another letter of Nicolas on the primacy of York in Scotland is printed in the Anglia Sacra, ii. 234.

et usque ad Dublinam Hiberniæ civitatem, cujus etiam regem sibi subjugaverat,[1] imperium potentissime protendit; in tantum ut dum monarchiam in Anglia solus possideret, octo subregulos in exteris regionibus subditos et sibi servientes haberet. A.D. cir. 1120. He conquered the King of Dublin.

Hic in principio regni sui filiam Ordmari ducis Orientalium Anglorum conjugem legitimam accepit, nomine Æthelfledam, cognomine Candidam, ex qua filium, sanctum videlicet Edwardum, procreavit. Quæ post editum filium paucis tantum annis, regni sicuti et thori consors, supervivens, dum morte subtracta esset, rex aliam accepit conjugem, Ælftritham nomine, filiam Ordgari ducis Occidentalium Saxonum; ex qua filium Æthelredum habuit. Hæc denique novercali fraude, ut ad suum filium regnum transferret, ex priori conjuge natum regem Edwardum interfecit. Sed hæc intimare tibi necessarium duxi; quia cum idem antefatus rex Eadgarus suprascriptum numerum annorum regnando compleret, nonnisi ultimo regni sui tempore, id est duobus annis et duobus mensibus ante mortem, a sanctis archipræsulibus, Dunstano videlicet atque Oswaldo, unctus in regem est. Quam consecrationem rex ipse suscipere pro magna humilitate in tantum distulit, quia cum esset undecunque providus et de suæ animæ salute pia religiositate sollicitus, dicere solebat se nullo modo sacrosanctam unctionem suscipere audere, antequam juvenilis lasciviæ impetus perfectius posset refrænando superare. Hoc enim apud antiquos reges solenne erat. Hinc factum est ut prior conjunx, licet legaliter sibi desponsata, et sibi copulata, regni consors et domina Angliæ esset, non tamen uncta in reginam exstitit. Secunda vero uxor cum rege ultimo, ut dixi, ejus regni tempore, sacram unctionem cum corona suscepit. Hæc omnia antiquitatis auctoritate tam cronicarum quam

His first wife was Ethelfreda, daughter of Ordmer, who was mother of S. Edward.

His second was Elfthritha, daughter of Ordgar, the mother of Ethelred.

Edgar delayed his consecration because he felt himself unworthy until he had outgrown the passions of youth. His first wife was not crowned, his second was.

[1] The same statement is made in a forged charter of Edgar in the Worcester Cartulary; see Kemble, C. Dipl. ii. 404.

A.D. cir. 1120. So say the native chronicles.

carminum, quæ ea tempestate a doctis patria lingua composita de his noscuntur, cæterarumque scripturarum testimonio vera esse percepimus, tibique veraci assertione transmittimus.

XXXVII. Versus Eadmeri de Sancto Dunstano.

(MS. C.C.C. 371, fo. 1.)[1]

Hymn for Dunstan's day.

Salve sancta dies celebri dignissima laude,
Qua, Dunstane pater, cœlica scandis ovans!
Salve sancte dies!

His birth.

Quem transitivæ nactum primordia vitæ
Gratia cœlestis imbuit, excoluit,
Salve sancta dies!

His recovery from sickness;

Æger divino medicamine consolidatus
Cum tenui virga castra maligna fugas.
Qua Dunstane, &c.

his climbing the church;

Angelico ductu templi super ardua scandens
Undique firmatam tendis in ecclesiam.
Salve sancta dies.

his hearing heavenly songs;

Cœlorum cives audis sibi conjubilantes
Et pacem patriæ discis adesse tuæ.
Qua Dunstane, &c.

at the death of Edred.

Vox sonat e superis quæ te de de pace quietis
Edredi regis edocet, exhilarat.
Salve sancta dies.

His temptations by the devil.

Dæmon in effigie vulpis contritus et ursi
Subdolus insidias tendit ubique tibi.
Qua Dunstane, &c.

His harp playing of itself.

Per citharæ cantum prænoscis quid sit agendum,
Unde repente locum deseris atque habitum.
Salve sancta dies!

[1] From the same MS. as the last two articles.

Spiritibus sanctis sociatus acumine mentis — A.D. cir. 1120.
Kyrie eleyson eos conjubilare probas. — The kyrie.
Qua Dunstane, &c.

Ad templum noctu Domini genitricis euntem — The song of the virgins.
Obvia cum sociis excipit ipsa parens.
Salve sancta dies.

Præcedunt binæ versus modulando puellæ — Singing the hymn of Sedulius.
Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio.
Qua Dunstane, &c.

Primus ad ima ruit magna de luce superbus,
Sic homo cum tumuit primus ad ima ruit.
Salve sancta dies.

Mox te spirituum sanctorum visitat ordo, — Visit of the blessed spirits.
Teque suum vocitans suadet adire Deum.
Qua Dunstane, &c.

Jam vitæ metas inducit corporis ætas, — He went to the angels.
Lætus et angelicis insereris cuneis.
Salve sancta dies!

Conduntur terris artus et spiritus astris, — His body to the earth.
Quo tibi pro meritis gloria perpes erit.
Qua Dunstane, &c.

Jam sacer antistes Christo reverende cohæres, — Prayer for his help.
Conjunctus superis auxiliare tuis.
Salve sancta dies!

Quod parit in nobis terreni fervor amoris
Per te detergat castus amor Domini.
Qua Dunstane, &c.

Sic quoque unanimis ut Christo complaceamus,
Qui nos æterna muneret in patria.
Salve sancta dies.

Et faciat secum felices omne per ævum
Vivere, quo luctus non erit aut gemitus.
Qua Dunstane, &c.

Quod Pater et Natus quod nobis Spiritus almus,
Conferat ipse quod est semper ubique manens,
Salve sancta dies.

XXXVIII. SCRUTINIUM FACTUM CIRCA FERETRUM BEATISSIMI PATRIS DUNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI, EX MANDATO REVERENDISSIMI PATRIS AC DOMINI, DOMINI WILLELMI WARHAM CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI, ET DOMINI THOMÆ GOLDSTON[1] SACRÆ PAGINÆ PROFESSORIS, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRIORIS DIGNISSIMI, ANNO DOMINI MDVIII. DIE XXII°. APRILIS.

(MS. Lambeth, 159, fo. 36 v°.)[2]

A.D. 1508. The monks of Glastonbury not only assert that they have Dunstan's bones, but have recently set up a new shrine in a conspicuous place, and with great ceremony.

Quoniam dilecti fratres monachi Glastonienses jam meis temporibus non modo solent jactitare, uti quidam de patribus eorum facere consueverunt, se habere apud suum monasterium corpus illius beatissimi patroni ecclesiæ nostræ Cantuariensis, Sancti Dunstani; verum etiam jam dudum fabricari fecerunt novum scrinium, quod ut fertur in facie ecclesiæ suæ non obscure statui fecerunt; in quo non verentur fabulare reponi corpus Sancti Dunstani. In ejus namque scrinii erectione ipsi non modica nec obscura celebritate usi fuerunt, quippe qui ad illud festum non solum vicinos sed ipsius fere totius diocesis magnates, nobiles, populumque innumerum promiscui sexus, ad tantum spectaculum confluere procuraverunt. Quibus illic consistentibus, et solemni processione quam tunc fecerunt interessentibus, cunctis spectantibus scrinium antedictum erigi fecerunt, non quidem in eorum vestiario, ubi solebant patres eorum, tanquam in loco quasi obscuro, reponere aliud scrinium magis vetustum, quod uti eis libebat scrinium Sancti Dunstani etiam appellabant; sed istud nonnulli scrinium, ut fertur, in loco clarissimo cunctis illic confluentibus patente constituerunt. Quæ cum ita sint, ne ipsi Glastonienses populum in errorem abducant, putantes sic ibidem præsens corpus Sancti Dunstani colere,

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[1] Thomas Goldston was prior of Christ Church from 1495–1517.

[2] Printed in the Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. pp. 227, 228.

placuit reverendissimo in Christo patri Willelmo Warham archiepiscopo Cantuariensi diligentissime fieri scrutinium in sua ecclesia circa feretrum Sancti Dunstani, ut ex oculorum aspectu confunderet confingentes ac mentientes alibi corpus illud se habere. A.D. 1508. The archbishop directed that a search for the relics should be made at Canterbury.

Vicesimo igitur die Aprilis anno Domini MDVIII., quo die tunc accidebat Cœna Domini, ex mandato ipsius domini archiepiscopi et domini Thomæ Goldston prioris, deputati sunt tres vel quatuor de confratribus ad ejusmodi opus aptiores et ferventiores, ut in vespere, postquam fores ecclesiæ essent clausæ, ne laici hujusmodi negotio adessent, ad scrutinium faciendum circa feretrum Sancti Dunstani, ut ipsi explorarent qua via faciliori possent ejus sacræ reliquiæ videri, ea ratione ut omni ambiguitate et scrupulo semotis oculata fide rei veritas probaretur. The search was begun April 20, 1508.

Hi quidem fratres in ipsa noctis tempestate non tam diligenter quam prudenter ad id quidem perduxerunt opus, ut ante lucanum oculis perspicere potuerunt arcam quandam plumbeam ubi sacræ reliquiæ recondebantur. Quæ quidem arca deposita fuit et immersa in opere lapideo feretri. Ea siquidem arca intus erat lignea, exterius interiusque plumbo undique cooperta, et clavis omni in loco affixa; adeo ut inter clavum et clavum non erat spatium relictum latitudinis humanæ palmæ. Erat quoque hæc arca longitudinis juxta longitudinem operis lapidei ipsius feretri, videlicet vii. pedum, latitudinis circiter pedis cum dimidio. Eratque in omni sua parte ferreis ligamentis circumducta tutissime, adeo ut vix possit discerni via possibilis illam aperiendi. Confisi tamen in divino auxilio et sancti patroni suffragio, instituit archiepiscopus cum priore, ut quidam confratres in consequenti nocte laicis semotis iterum opus aggrederentur, quod et factum est. Sex enim de confratribus per priorem ad hoc deputati, una cum ope aliorum quos convocarunt, ingenti sudore hanc arcam, quæ est magni ponderis, fecerunt supra opus The brethren began at night and dug till a little before daylight. They came on the coffin. Measurement and description. It was not opened until the next night.

A.D. 1508. Opening of the coffins. lapideum sublevari. Id cum fecissent, tandem cum magna difficultate satagentes, anteriorem partem arcæ aperiunt. Quod profecto facere nequissent, nisi partem asseris, quo in superiore parte arca claudebatur, effringerent. Eo sane confracto, licuit videre interius ab uno fine arcæ usque in alterum finem. Ibi vero patebat aspectui cista quædam plumbea; quæ quidem cista facta est non ex plano plumbo sed arte quadam pulcherrime est plicata. Ea vero aperta, reperta est etiam et alia cista plumbea quasi tabefacta, quæ putatur esse illa, in qua ossa Sancti Dunstani, cum primum sepeliebatur, recondebantur. Infra has duas cistas plumbeas, cum aperirentur, primo reperta est quædam parva lamina plumbi jacens supra pectus corporis. In qua quidem lamina continebatur hæc scriptura, "Hic requiescit "Sanctus Dunstanus archiepiscopus." Et scribitur hic titulus Romanis litteris. Deinde repertus est pannus quidam tinctus, nitidus valde atque integer, superpositus corpori Sancti Dunstani. Quo sublevato, apparuit illud sanctissimum organum Spiritus Sancti, indutum pontificalibus, tum pro magna parte consumptis. Porro apparuit ibidem testa capitis, quæ et tangebatur et osculabatur tam a domino archiepiscopo, qui valde mane in crastino sequenti, videlicet in vigilia Paschæ, aderat, quam a priore cæterisque quamplurimis de conventu monachorum. Cujus quidem testæ partem a reliquo divisam dominus archiepiscopus tradidit priori, ea ratione ut decenter adornaretur, et inter reliquias ecclesiæ venerandum reponeretur. Denique videbantur et alia ossa diversa, tam de brachiis quam de costis, et nonnulla massa de carne ejusdem patroni nostri. Quæ revera omnia odore redolebant suavissimo. Ad istud non tam jocundum quam desideratissimum spectaculum affuere prope omnes de conventu. Ad hoc etiam invitati sunt per dominum archiepiscopum sex novicii nondum professi, qui simul cum aliis ista cernebant. Ad hoc quoque sacrum spectaculum affuere hii capellani de familia do-

There were two of lead.

A plate of lead on the breast of the saint.

Description of the bones discovered.

Sweet odour proceeding from them.

mini archiepiscopi per eum invitati, videlicet prior Dovoriæ, episcopus suffraganeus [1] ejus, nomine Johannes Thornton doctor sacræ theologiæ, magister Cuthbertus Tunstall [2] doctor in legibus, cancellarius ejusdem domini archiepiscopi, magister Thomas Wellis [3] doctor theologiæ, magister Robertus Weks, magister Andreas, in artibus magistri; magister Johannes Pers, bachalarius legum. Hii vero vocati sunt ad videndum et testimonium perhibendum eorum quæ superius scripta sunt. Erant interea ad ipsum advocati per dominum archiepiscopum tres notarii publici, utpote magister Johannes Barrett scriba actorum prærogativæ ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, magister Johannes Colman scriba consistorii Cantuariensis, magister Willelmus Pottkyn scriba jurisdictionis immediatæ. Eos notarios dominus archiepiscopus requisivit ut, singulis quæ superius scripta sunt, de scrutinio facto circa reliquias Sancti Dunstani, diligenter per eos inspectis et consideratis, instrumentum publicum de eisdem conficerent. Idque complere super depositionem testium prædictorum polliciti sunt. Hæc cum peracta fuissent, tunc, ad mandatum domini archiepiscopi, arca superius dicta iterum clausa est firmissime tam opere ligneo quam plumbeo, clavisque quamplurimis tutissime affixa. Idque factum est in prædicta vigilia Paschæ. Nec fores ecclesiæ antea aperiebantur, quam confratres id operis explevissent. Ejusmodi experimento facto circa reliquias Sancti Dunstani, modo luce clarius constat quanto errore atque dementia laborant dilecti fratres Glastonienses, qui somniant apud se habere corpus beati Dunstani, idque publice prædicare non erubescant. Si enim eorum reatus conscientiæ falsa de sancto Dei prædicare compescere non valeret, saltem mundi hones-

A.D. 1508.

Names of the witnesses.

Names of the notaries who drew up the public instrument on the search.

Thus is the error of the monks of Glastonbury refuted.

[1] John Thornden, "episcopus Sur-" ronensis, in partibus infidelium," Warham's suffragan and prior of Dover: died in 1516.

[2] Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards bishop of London, 1522–1530; and of Durham, 1530–1559.

[3] Thomas Wells, bishop of Sidon and suffragan of Canterbury, d. 1526.

A.D. 1508. It is to be hoped that they will now be silent.

tas mendacia pertinaciter defendere cohibeat. Itaque post tam clarissimum hujus negotii experimentum jam factum, amodo jam sileant carissimi fratres Glastonienses corpus beati Dunstani vendicare; ponantque modo ostium circumstantiæ labiis eorum; et confingere desinant per patres eorum corpus illud ab ecclesia sua, ubi sepultum est, quovis pacto surreptum fuisse.

XXXIX. Exemplar litterarum reverendissimi domini, domini Willelmi Warham Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ad abbatem Glastoniensem, anno Domini M°D°VIII°.

(MS. Lambeth, 159, fo. 38 vo.)[1]

Letter of Archbishop Warham to the Abbot of Glastonbury.

Honorande frater,[2] post condignam commendationem. Pervenit nuper ad aures nostras feretrum quoddam divi Dunstani in vestri monasterii ecclesia palam a vobis erectum, ex quo quidem sacrum ejusdem corpus apud vos tumulatum habere prætenditis. Nos igitur super hac re non parum moti, sedula mente nobiscum considerantes præfatum sanctum in dignitate archiepiscopali Cantuariensi nos præcessisse, ibidemque mortem obiisse; quo fit ut in eadem ecclesia et non alibi sepulturam sibi delegisse verisimiliter optimo jure credatur. Cupientes rei certitudinem investigare, an corpus videlicet suum in dicta ecclesia nostra Cantuariensi humatum remaneret, quum proximis his diebus illic adessemus, de illo sumus diligenter perscrutati. Matura itaque inquisitione facta, invenimus in eadem ecclesia nostra quandam capsulam ligneam in modum tumbæ erectam, ferro circumligatam, in parte Australi summi altaris servatam, ubi verissime cernitur præfati Sancti Dunstani corpus honorifice sepultum jacere. Quam quidem capsulam dilecto fratri nostro, ejusdem ecclesiæ

Search has been made for the coffin of Dunstan.

[1] Printed in the Anglia Sacra, ii. 229.

[2] Richard Beere, abbot of Glastonbury, 1493–1524.

nostræ priori moderno, ac nonnullis commonachis suis, nec non quibusdam notariis publicis, viris recte probis atque discretis, multisque aliis personis fide dignis, quadraginta numero, tunc et ibidem ex mandato nostro astantibus ac hæc cuncta, ut tum fiebant, haud obscure intuentibus, cum ea qua decuit reverentia aperiri fecimus. Qua aperta invenimus intra eandem quandam cistam plumbeam, et sub intus unam parvam peciam plumbi de longitudine unius humani pedis, hujusmodi litteris insculptam, "Hic requiescit Sanctus Dunstanus archi- "episcopus." Deinde intra eandem cistam quædam linthea candidissima, velut balsamis suavissime redolentia, reperta fuere; quibus revolutis calvam capitis memorati sancti integram, atque diversa sui corporis ossa, cum multis aliis ejusdem reliquiis, inibi etiam reperimus. Cæterisque probabilibus testimoniis manifeste apparet præfatum Sancti Dunstani corpus venerabile non alio loco quam in ecclesia nostra prælibata requiescere debere. Quare vehementer admiramur tanta vos cæcitate tantave temeritate aut audacia duci, ut non vereamini asserere præfatum corpus apud vos habere sepultum: ex quo maximum ecclesiæ Dei scandalum exoritur, populusque hujus regni in non modicum errorem, superstitionem atque confusionem inducitur. Neque revera errore carere potest, quod unius sancti corpus in diversis credatur esse locis, aut quod unum corpus pro altero reputari aut coli deberet. Unde valde est timendum ne Deus Ipse ex illo gravissime offendatur, vosipsique haud mediocriter fallamini. Ne igitur tanta labes tantaque abusio in eminentius malum paulatim, si diutius permitteretur, irrepserit, utque rei veritas clarius patefiat, fraternitatem vestram instanter hortamur, rogamus et requirimus, ut ad nos erga festum translationis divi Thomæ martyris proximum futurum sese conferre, scripta monumentave prætensum suum titulum in hac parte foventia, si quæ talia habuerit, secum deferens. Nec erit inconsultum fraternitati vestræ, quoniam præfata

A.D. 1508. In the presence of many witnesses the shrine and coffin were opened.

The bones and other relics were found within.

The Glastonbury claim has caused great scandal.

The abbot summoned to produce his evidences.

A.D. 1508. He will do well to attend in person, and bring the pretended relics.

res ipsa non parvi fuerit ponderis aut momenti, ut, si commode fieri poterit, in persona sua propria ad nos accedat. Sin autem, quosdam consiliariorum suorum prudentiores, plene ac perfecte de mente sua instructos in hac causa, erga antedictum tempus ad nos transmittere diligenter curet. Nec imprudenter faciet, si hujusmodi reliquias præfati Sancti Dunstani, quas in monasterio suo habere prætendit, ne iterum aperiri aut a populo coli aliquo pacto sinat; ne, si aliter fieret, major tumultus, scandalum atque error ex illo sequeretur.

Dated, June 4, Lambeth.

Ex Lambetha, iv. Junii, anno pontificatus nostri quinto.

XL. Exemplar litterarum abbatis Glastoniæ.

(MS. Lambeth, 159, fo. 39 vo.)[1]

A.D. 1508. Answer of the Abbot of Glastonbury.

Reverendissime in Christo pater, post humillimam commendationem. Litteras paternitatis vestræ ea qua decuit reverentia accepi. In quibus scriptum erat eandem jamdudum audire nos feretrum quoddam divi Dunstani in ecclesia nostra publice erexisse, ex eaque prætendere corpus ejus apud nos habere sepultum. Humillime respondeo nos feretrum quoddam memorati sancti patroni nostri et amplificatoris eximii plus abhinc ducentis annis in ecclesia nostra per religiosos patres nostros antecessores erectum, auroque et argento pulcherrime fabricatum, cum potestate et auctoritate episcopi diocesis a loco in locum transmovisse, non aliam ob causam nisi ob Dei gloriam, sancti Ejus ad honorem, et majorem monasterii nostri decorem, quodque addi potest, quod inter multos ad locum ubi prius stabat confluentes propter divi Pantaleonis et aliorum sanctorum devotionem, ob quorum venerationem ille locus frequenter invisitur, aliquando etiam inventi sunt,

It is true that the shrine of Dunstan has been moved to a more conspicuous place.

[1] Printed in the Anglia Sacra, ii. 230.

qui de scrinio ejus, quod manu tangi poterat, particulas quasdam argenteas atque deauratas surripiebant. Ut igitur ab istiusmodi compilatoribus tutius esse posset, in loco aliquanto editiori collocavimus nos non prætendentes ejus corpus apud nos sepultum fuisse, sed sacra ejus ossa post destructionem ecclesiæ vestræ Cantuariensis per Danos factam ad nos allata fuisse et comportata. Quod itaque reverendissima paternitas vestra se diligentissime nuper perscrutatum esse, an ejusdem sancti corpus in ecclesia sua Cantuariensi sepultum adhuc remaneret, et sic invenisse in una cista plumbea quandam minutam peciam plumbi hujusmodi litteris insculptam, videlicet, "Hic requiescit "Sanctus Dunstanus archiepiscopus;" atque inibi linthea quædam candida; quibus revolutis calva capitis Sancti Dunstani apparuit integra cum pluribus sui corporis ossibus; et propter hæc argumenta eandem reverendissimam paternitatem vestram admirari nos prædictos viros tanta cæcitate aut audacia duci, ut non vereamur illud corpus apud nos tumulatum esse affirmare. Reverendissime pater, fieri poterat ut, maxima parte reliquiarum ejus ad nos comportata, aliqua ibi relicta, vel ad petitionem confratrum Cantuariensium post curriculum temporis in monasterium suum restitutorum, sive illuc ad contemplationem alicujus archiepiscopi transmissa sit: quoniam etiam quinque post divum Dunstanum a monasterio nostro Glastoniensi istinc ad archiepiscopatum promoti sunt. Cujus rei eo facilius conjecturam facio, quod nos ossa ejus majora firmioraque habemus, dilecti vero fratres Cantuarienses, quatenus ex reverendissimæ paternitatis vestræ litteris vel ex eorum publicis scriptis colligi potest, tantum quasdam minutias, nos occipitium et cœlum capitis, illi calvam seu cranei priorem partem possident. Quod si verum sit, intima caritate gaudeo Deum immortalem dilectum sanctum suum diversis in locis velle honorari, sicuti nonnulli honorantur, sine scandalo aut aliquo

A.D. 1508. June 28. A new shrine has been made for safety.

The relics were brought from Canterbury.

The bones found at Canterbury may have been taken back from Glastonbury.

The larger bones are at Glastonbury, the smaller at Canterbury.

A.D. 1508. June 28. The abbot cannot forbid the relics to be honoured.

tumultu populari. Cæterum quod hortatur nos reverendissima paternitas vestra in calce litterarum suarum, ut prohiberemus sancti Dei reliquias aut aperiri aut a populo coli, si in eam sententiam vellemus concedere, quod reverendissimæ paternitatis vestræ venia, dilectissimorum quoque fratrum pace, dicatur, non tam cæci et audaces quam prorsus nefarii atque impii dicendi essemus. Quis enim vel temerarius non timeret ne gravissime inde Deus offenderetur si mortalis immortalem suspenderet, aut in hac militia labilis peccator triumphantis insignia desecraret? Quod porro si fieret, maximum quoque scandalum, tumultus et periculum sequeretur, quæ nobis in reverendissimæ paternitatis vestræ litteris humanissime proponuntur ad terrorem. Quicunque enim præsens cerneret assiduum concursum populi, vestibus exuti, nudis pedibus quotidie supplicantis, diceret nobis proculdubio, id quod Actuum quinto a Gamaliele dictum legitur; "Sinite illos, etc., ne forte Acts, v. 38. "et Deo repugnare videamini." Certe ego tum populi devotionem, tum Omnipotentis Dei promissionem, Qui in sanctis Suis perpetuo gloriosus est, accurate pensans, nullo modo audeo tentare, quod contra sancti Ejus æstimationem esse possit; sed totus intremisco vel tale aliquid deliberare, præsertim quando non solum chronicæ antiquæ sed etiam vulgaris fama decantat, ejus sacra ossa vere et indubitanter apud nos esse. Quo fit ut quidam contermini nobis parochiani singulis annis in die felicissimi ac beatissimi patroni nostri Sancti Dunstani, qui alioquin professus est, ab operibus domesticis feriati, ad ecclesiam nostram Glastoniensem, tam viri quam fœminæ, tam patres familiarum quam mercenarii eorundem seu villici, summa cum veneratione ex vetusto quodam ritu conveniunt. Inter quos quidam e majoribus natu coram certis auctoritate apostolica a publicis notariis interrogati qua religione id facerent, responderunt se a veteribus didicisse patres parentum eorum ossa Sancti Dunstani, dum per eorum

There is a tradition as to the route by which they were brought to Glastonbury.

confinia a Cantuaria Glastoniam deportabantur, eo modo ad ecclesiam nostram Glastoniensem cum devotione fuisse insecutos, et propterea eos parochianos in rei memoriam solere, usque in hodiernum diem, non solum in eo die feriari, sed etiam ad ecclesiam nostram Glastoniensem devotionis causa venire. Quod si aliquis eorum ita facere recusaverit, aut rei suæ attentior a laboribus eo die non supersederit, eo anno nihil prospere ei succedere, sed vel armenti vel rei familiaris grave dampnum et jacturam facere. Quod contigit in diebus adhuc viventium persæpe. Itaque minori cum scandalo, salvo judicio reverendissimæ paternitatis vestræ, dilecti fratres Cantuarienses reliquias suas nuper inventas tantisper celare possent, dum vel cum reliquiis nostris comparatione facta, unde, si vere ejus sacræ reliquiæ sint, proculdubio commanarunt, vel per aliqua scripta vetusta certiores facti, omni ambiguitate et scrupulo remotis, homines intelligant eas, quas Cantuarienses se habere dicunt, veras esse reliquias ejusdem sancti, qui tot annis apud nos in veneratione maxima ab universo populo est habitus. Hæc autem eo diffusius scripsi, quod aliquantulum laborans adversa valetudine, sicut vellem et debeo, ipse venire ad reverendissimam paternitatem vestram hoc tempore non possum. Quocirca eandem impense rogo obtestorque, ut hanc valetudinem meam excusatam habeat, qui ejus causa sum omnia libenter facturus, citra ecclesiæ meæ aut monasterii juris præjudicium, aut Dei Optimi Maximi sanctorumque Ejus offensam. Quorum præsidio perpetuo fulta sit eadem reverendissima paternitas vestra.

Scripta Glastoniæ quarto kalendas Julii.

A.D. 1508. June 28. Holy day kept in commemoration.

It would be better if the Canterbury relics were concealed until proved to be true.

The abbot excuses himself by illness for not going to Canterbury.

XXXIX. Exemplar litterarum Reverendissimi domini Willelmi Warham, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ad abbatem Glastoniæ missarum.

(MS. Lambeth, 159, fo. 41 vo.)[1]

A.D. 1508. July 10. The archbishop has not yet heard by what authority the shrine at Glastonbury is erected:

Honorande frater, post condignam commendationem. Vestras litteras a quodam vestri ordinis monacho accepimus, quibus feretrum quoddam divi Dunstani in ecclesia vestra ad multos hinc annos fuisse erectum, vosque grandiora ejus ossa possidere scribitis, neque audere reliquias prætensas a populo coli prohibere, etc. Quantum vero ad primum attinet, nondum nobis quoquam pacto innotescit quanam auctoritate aut quo jure jurisve colore tale feretrum erectum exstiterit. Quod si forte a vestris, uti scribitis, antecessoribus minus prudenter attemptatum factumque fuerit, id negligenter ulterius haud permittendum erit, sed recte ac juste reformandum. Quod autem scribitis præfati sancti ossa post destructam ecclesiam nostram per Danos ad monasterium vestrum fuisse apportata, nihilque præter quasdam sui corporis minutias in ecclesia nostra relictum;—

or if the relics were taken from Canterbury, by what authority it was done:

Hæc si vera essent, quod certe a nobis credi non potest, qua tamen auctoritate quove titulo hujusmodi ossa fuerint ad vos allata non edicitis. Absentia vero monachorum ecclesiæ nostræ tunc temporis fratribus vestris aliquas illinc auferendi reliquias nequibat auctoritatem tribuere. Cum ergo nec summi pontificis nec archiepiscopi nec fratrum illius ecclesiæ pro tempore existentium, sine quorum consensu præfatæ reliquiæ ad

or proof that they were translated.

alia loca de jure transferri non poterant, consensus et auctoritates vobis et monasterio vestro factos minime exhibere valeatis; non videmus qua ratione hujusmodi reliquias habere prætendatis. Quod si forte vestri monachi eas sua audacia ac violenter abstulerint, in eo se

[1] Printed in the Anglia Sacra, ii. 230.

furtum et sacrilegium commisisse facile convincuntur. A.D. 1508. July 10. Neque hujusmodi reliquiarum detentores aut eis consentientes tractu vel diuturnitate temporis sacrilegii poterint prætendere sese immunes, neque sine debita restitutione absolvi. Longe præterea a veritate videtur alienum, maximam, ut asseritis, illius sancti reliquiarum partem apud vos esse, cum manifestum ac clarissimum sit tam brachiorum ejus quam tibiarum ossa grossiora, costas etiam ac spondilia totumque capitis tegumentum integrum, cæteraque omnia tot et tanta corporis ipsius particularia ossa, quot et quanta ex aliquo corpore defuncto tot annis in visceribus terræ jacente remanere sit possibile, in capsa illa in qua venerandum corpus suum collocatum atque reconditum fuit, adhuc contineri; quæ non modo oculis inspeximus verum etiam et manibus palpavimus. Hæc enim res ipsa, multorumque fide dignorum, qui præmissa etiam viderunt, testimonium nobis tacentibus verissima comprobabit. Nolite igitur cogitare, hæc aut ficte aut minus vere a nobis prædicari. Quicunque enim præmissa, quemadmodum nos vidimus, inspexisset, fateretur proculdubio verum prælibati sancti corpus absque diminutione quapiam in ecclesia tunc sua, nunc, licet sine merito, nostra requiescere. Quare desinite frustra deinceps conjicere inaniterve jactitare maximam reliquiarum ejus partem penes vos remanere aut aliquas minutias vel ad fratrum Cantuariensium petitionem vel alicujus archiepiscopi contemplationem ad ecclesiam nostram a loco vestro fuisse transmissas, quoniam impossibile est unius et ejusdem corporis ossium majorem partem et apud vos et apud nos in ecclesia nostra posse simul haberi. Quod postremo scribitis vos subvereri ne gravissime Deum offenderetis, sanctumque Suum afficeretis injuria, si ejus quas asseritis apud vos reliquias aperiri colique prohibere videremini;—Qui enim veras adoraverit reliquias, Deo placet, non qui falsas, fictas vel incertas;—In hoc Deum potius offendere quam placere, sanctoque

Lapse of time does not lessen the offence.

He has himself seen the true relics at Canterbury, and they were complete.

They cannot be in two places at once.

A.D. 1508. July 10.

It is impious to promote the honour of false relics.

Suo summam inferre injuriam, eundemque magis inhonorare quam honorare censemini; quod alienum corpus suum esse fingitis, ac pro suo corpore usurpantes, venerationem sibi sacrisque ejusdem veris reliquiis debitam aufertis, alieno simulatoque cadaveri irreligiosi attribuentes; et quod deterrimum est, populum in vanam ac superstitiosam culturam inducentes, qui in grave tum vestrarum tum suarum periculūm animarum, quod vehementer est dolendum, vestris sinistris assertionibus maxime seducitur atque illuditur. Quis enim non formidaret se Deum valde offensurum, si non sanctum pro sancto, aut corpus fictum pro vero, et incertas reliquias pro certis colere auderet? Hæc autem a vobis fieri nemo est qui nesciat. Quod enim dignum judicatis fratres nostros Cantuarienses dictas reliquias divi Dunstani celare debere, ineptum certe ac minus prudens consilium est, quoniam hi fratres nostri in jure priores ac potiores existunt. Pro quarum etiam possessione jura præsumunt, propterea quod sanctus ille, dum in humanis agebat, sedi archiepiscopali Cantuariensi præfuit, sepulturamque sibi in ecclesia sua præelegit; ibique realiter sanctum corpus suum humatum fuisse a vobis non negatur. Quare æquum ac justum est vos, qui sine aliquo justo titulo hucusque exhibito hujusmodi reliquias possidere prætenditis, usque ad realem tituli exhibitionem prætensas apud vos reliquias ab aliis coli minime permittere. Si enim hæc Dei et ecclesiæ causa non esset, haud tantopere contenderemus. Nam ob pristinam inter nos amicitiam vos monasteriumque vestrum singulari quadam benevolentia et amore prosequimur. Hac itaque unica duntaxat causa excepta, aliis cunctis in rebus vobis pro virili nostra cupimus libenter gratificari. Jura equidem et ecclesiæ nostræ dignitatem in omnibus quoad possumus fortiter tueri et conservare astringimur. Ut hoc igitur negotium æqua lance trutinetur, justo exitu potiatur, omnimodæ ambiguitates, scrupulus, occasioque scandali prorsus tol-

The abbot's last suggestion is wanton and impertinent.

latur, vos enixe hortamur ardenterque requirimus, ut scripta, evidentias, munimenta, cæteraque omnia quæ titulo in hac parte vestro suffragari videbuntur, citra Omnium Sanctorum solemnia proximo ventura sine ulteriori dilatione in medium afferre diligenter curetis. Quod si non effeceritis, hoc unum pro certissimo habetote, nos ubique per nostram Cantuariensem provinciam litteris nostris declaraturos, acriterque injuncturos, ne quis hujusmodi assertas apud vos reliquias sub excommunicationis aliarumque ecclesiasticarum censurarum pœnis deinceps venerari aut pro veris reliquiis reputare præsumat.

A.D. 1508. July 10. He is bidden to bring the so called relics to the archbishop before All Saints' Day.

Ex Lambetha, decima Julii, anno regni Henrici VII^i. xx^o iii^o., et pontificatus nostri v^to.

VIII.

FRAGMENTA RITUALIA, DE DUNSTANO.

I. Oratio ad Dunstanum.[1]

(MS. Cotton, Nero A. 2.)

A.D. cir. 1020. Prayer to Dunstan for the country.

O inclite confessor Christi, O candelabra doctorque Angligena gente, O bone pastor Dunstane, altorque totius Albionis, qui es sanator diversorum debilium tuo tumulo visitantium, te nunc flagitamus per illa sancta merita quæ te ab Altithrono concesse sunt, ut tuis precibus Deo flagitas, ut hanc patriam ab hostibus eruat, nosque a nexu criminis solvat, atque ad æternam vitam perducat.

II. Ad Dunstanum.[2]

(MS. Ashmole, 328.)

A.D. cir. 1020. Prayer to Dunstan.

Alleluia; veni, alme Dunstane ad Christi solium sanctum, humilibus et tuis deposce famulis regnum cœleste.

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[1] From a MS. written very early in the eleventh century, which contains also Athelstan's prayer for victory and a hymn to S. Ethelbert.

[2] In a hand of the eleventh century, on a fly-leaf of Byrhtferth's book "de Compotu Latinorum," &c.

III. Hymnus de Sancto Dunstano episcopo.

(MS. Cotton, Vespasian D. 12.)[1]

A.D. cir. 1020. Hymn to Dunstan.

Ave, Dunstane, præsulum
Sidus decusque splendidum,
Lux vera gentis Anglicæ,
Et ad Deum dux prævie.

Tu spes tuorum maxima,
Dulcedo necnon intima,
Spirans odorum balsama
Vitalium melliflua.

Tibi, pater, nos credimus,
Quibus te nil jocundius,
Ad te manus expandimus,
Tibi preces effundimus.

Prayer for help against the Danes.

Oves tuas, pastor pie,
Passim premunt angustiæ,
Mucrone gentis barbaræ
Necamur en Christicolæ.

Offer sacerdos hostias
Christo precum gratissimas,
Quibus placatus criminum
Solvat catenas ferreas,

Per quas Anglorum terminis
Ecclesiæque filiis
Et nationes perfidæ
Pestesque cedant noxiæ.

Per Te Pater spes unica,
Per Te Proles pax unica,
Et Spiritus Lux unica,
Adsit nobis in sæcula. Amen.

[1] This hymn is printed by Dr. Henderson from a Durham MS., B. iii. 32 of the eleventh century, with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss. The Vespasian MS. is about half a century older than the Durham MS. See the Latin hymns of the Anglo-Saxon church, Surtees Soc. 1851, pp. vii. ix. 98, 99.

IV. Missa de Sancto Dunstano.[1]

(MS. C.C.C. 328, p. 75.)

A.D. cir. 1070. A mass on S. Dunstan's day.

Deus perennis gloriæ rex et dator piissime, dignare præsentis diei gaudia tuo munere illustrare, in qua beatissimus pontifex Dunstanus æternæ lucis gaudia meruit introire, per Dominum.

Dedit Dominus confessionem Sancto Suo.[2]

Evg. Homo quidam peregre.[3]

Secr'. Hostiam Tibi, Domine Deus, nostræ devotionis offerimus, quam tanto benignius quæsumus accipias, quanto eam ecclesia Tua in veneratione pontificis Tui Dunstani diligentius commendat. Per.

Præfatio.

O Æterne Deus, Qui beatum Dunstanum multiplici virtutum gratia ditasti, et hodierna die gratiam pro gratia tribuisti, ut sicut indefessus Tui extitit semper amator, ita sit beatissimæ visionis Tuæ assiduus contemplator; et quem in ecclesia Tua fidelem fecisti pariter et prudentem, nunc super omnia bona Tua constitutum, beata facis jocunditate lætantem. Precamur itaque omnipotentem clementiam Tuam, ut nos ejus meritis a peccatorum nexibus absolutos, in sancta professione confirmatos, ad illam cœlestis regni gloriam facias pervenire, ad quam ipse perveniens audivit Euge serve bone, per Christum Dominum.

Postcommunio.

Assit nobis, omnipotens Deus, beatissimi pontificis Tui Dunstani jugis oratio, quæ nos illius misterii participatione dignos efficiat, in quo totius humanæ salutis summa consistit. *Per.*

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[1] From the C.C.C. MS. of Osbern. This service was probably composed by Osbern himself, as precentor of Canterbury. It does not seem to have made its way into any service book.

[2] Ecclesiasticus, xlvii. 9.

[3] S. Matt. xxv. 14.

Prosa de Sancto Dunstano.

Hodierna Aevia resonent gaudia virtutum præclara — A.D. cir. 1070.
Opera beato Dunstano collata! — Mass for S. Dunstan's day.
A matris utero Deitatis præventus gratia
Extra mundum, extra mundi mente transivit omnia.
Salvatoris monita audiens salubria ejus ad vestigia
cum beata sedebat Maria.
Unde ardentissimo flagrans desiderio, patriam continua suspirabat amoris lacrima.
Sacerdotis honore præditus angelicam
Egit vitam, signis a puero consecratam; — Recapitulation of his miracles and visions.
Lumen extinctum non natus repârat,
Virga dæmonum effugat catervas,
Sic templi suprema
Transcendit operta
Et angelico ducatu clausam intrat ecclesiam.
Apostolica fultus præsentia
Suscepit arma futuri præsaga;
Vergentem machinam
Prece levat sola;
Hostis et invidos conatus verbere dato vacuat;
Cithara non arte percussa consonam
Reddit symphoniam, in viri gloriam.
Novi regis prima,
Alius extrema,
Voce diva agnovit tempora!
Supernos psallentes spiritus et vota
Factori solventes audivit talia.

Kyrieleyson! Christeleyson! Cum quis sua jam miscet cantica, Dunstane vivens in sæcula pro servis exora, Qui te collaudantes devota persolvunt jubila, Ac pro universa per orbem diffusa Christi ædclesia.

V. Missa Sancti Dunstani episcopi et confessoris.

1. (Missale Sarisburiense.[1])

The Mass on S. Dunstan's day, according to the use of Salisbury.

Si Dominica fuerit, ad processionem, in tempore Paschali, R. Filiæ Jerusalem; *alio tempore anni,* R. Miles Christi. *In introitu chori de Sancta Maria et dicitur absque versibus.*

Officium. Sacerdotes Tui, Domine, induant justitiam et sancti Tui exultent; propter David servum Tuum non avertas faciem Christi Tui. Alleluia.

Ps. Memento, Domine, David et omnis mansuetudinis ejus.

Cantus *de* Kyrie rex splendens, *sine versibus.*

Oratio. Deus Qui beatum Dunstanum pontificem Tuum ad regna transtulit cœlestia, da nobis per gloriosa ejus merita ad gaudia transire perennia. Per.

Epistola. Ecce sacerdos.

Gr. Juravit, Alleluia.

V. Posui adjutorium. Sequentia *de communi.*

Evang. Homo quidam peregre.

In tempore Paschali, Evang. Ego sum vitis vera. Off. Inveni David.

Secr. Suscipe quæsumus, Domine, munera supplicantis familiæ Tuæ, quæ Tibi in beati Dunstani confessoris Tui atque pontificis solemnitate deferimus, precantes ut, ejus patrocinio venerando adjuti, defendi mereamur ab omnium inimicorum insidiis. Per Dominum.

Communio. Domine, quinque.

Postcommunio. Beati Dunstani confessoris Tui atque pontificis quæsumus Domine deprecatione nos adjuva, in cujus veneratione Tua contingimus sacramenta.

2. (Missale Eboracense[2].)

According to the use of York.

Officium. Statuit.

Oratio. Da quæsumus.

Epistola. Ecce sacerdos, Alleluia.

Versus. Surrexit Christus Qui creavit omnia et misertus est humano generi; *vel de Ascensione.*

Evangelium. Homo quidam peregre.

Offr. Inveni David.

Versus. Beatus servus.

Si extra tempus Paschale evenerit tunc dicatur, Gr. Juravit Dominus.

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[1] MSS. Laud, 302, Hatton, 1, Barlow, 5; edd. Venice, 1494; Paris, 1515; Rouen, 1521; 1557.

[2] Ed. Paris, 1533.

3. (Missale Herford.[1])

The Mass on S. Dunstan's day, according to the use of Hereford.

Officium. Sancti Tui Domine.

Oratio. Deus Qui beatum Dunstanum pontificem ad regna transtulisti cœlestia, da nobis per gloriosa ejus merita ad gaudia transire perennia. Per.

Epistola. Ecce sacerdos.

Gr. Alleluia.

V. Posui adjutorium.

II. Alleluia. *De Pasca.*

Evange. Homo quidam peregre.

Offr. Inveni David.

Secr. Intercessio quæsumus Domine beati Dunstani hæc Tibi commendet munera, pro cujus Tibi sunt commemoratione oblata. Per Dominum.

Communio. Domine quinque talenta.

Postcommunio. Sumpta sacramenta quæsumus Domine nos a peccatis absolvant, et per beati antistitis Dunstani suffragia ad cœlos perducant. Per Dominum.

VI. Horæ Sancti Dunstani episcopi et confessoris.

1. (Brev. Sarisb. Rouen, 1492.)

Breviary services on S. Dunstan's day, after the use of Salisbury.

Sancti Dunstani episcopi et confessoris ix. *lectiones fiant.*

Oratio. Deus qui beatum Dunstanum pontificem Tuum ad regna transtulisti cœlestia, da nobis per gloriosa ejus merita ad gaudia transire perennia. Per Do. . . . . .

Si hoc festum, Sancti Aldelmi vel Sancti Augustini vel Sancti Edmundi vel Sancti Barnabæ apostoli, ante Penthecosten evenerit, fiant tres lectiones cum regimine chori, cum omnia fiant de communi sanctorum Paschalis temporis. Si vero post Penthecosten evenerit, fiant novem lectiones. Et cætera omnia fiant de communi reliqui temporis.

Lectio I. Beatus[2] Dunstanus talibus parentibus ortus claruit, quales sæculo exemptos inter choros conspicere mereretur angelorum. Natus vero puer Dunstanus in Sanctæ Trinitatis nomine baptizatur et postmodum litterarum studiis traditus est.

Lectio II.[3] Cumque jam in Dei servitio adolevisset, Dorobernensi archiepiscopo Aldelino patruo scilicet suo accessit, in

[1] Ed. Rouen, 1502.

[2] *Beatus . . . angelorum*] See Adelard, above, p. 54.

[3] Abridged from Adelard, pp. 55, 56.

Hours of S. Dunstan, according to the use of Salisbury.

cujus moribus cum eidem archiepiscopo complacuisset, regi Ethelstano cum omni affectu ab eodem archiepiscopo commendatus est.

Lectio III.[1] Beatus vero Dunstanus tempore Edmundi regis filii Ethelstani monachus et abbas Glastoniæ effectus, monachorum ibi scholam primus instituit, et ita verbo et opere collaboravit. Et sicut de cereo prægnantis ejus genetricis cæterorumque per totam ecclesiam cerei fuerant accensi, ita per eum ex hoc loco norma religionis monasticæ toto Anglorum diffusa est orbe.

Lectio IIII.[1] Cumque præfato regi natus esset filius qui in baptismate dictus est Edgarus, beatus Dunstanus divinis intendens audivit psallentium vocem, "Pax Anglorum ecclesiæ "nati nunc pueri, et nostri Dunstani tempore." Quod postea rerum probavit eventus. Tu.

L. V.[2] Quodam tempore præsente Sancto Dunstano trabs maxima in culmen ecclesiæ erecta ruere cœpit multis minans interitum. Quam Dunstanus dextera manu signum crucis faciens relevat. Hunc etiam quadam nocte orantem dyabolus in ursi effigie aggreditur; et cambucam cui vir Dei innitebabatur, de manibus ejus dentibus suis auferre conabatur; sed vir Dei imperterritus cambucam levat, et horrendum monstrum cædendo insequitur. Et dum psallebat "Exurgat Deus et "dissipentur inimici Ejus," informe fantasma evanuit. Tu autem.

L. VI.[3] Edgarus, in regni solio sublimatus, regnum in pace gubernavit, et Dunstanum abbatem fecit epyscopum Wygornensem. Adauctoque ei Londoniensis ecclesiæ præsulatu, gemino claruit insignitus pontificio. Post hæc vero archiepiscopus Dorobernensis omni consensu effectus est. Hic[4] etiam beatus Dunstanus Spiritum Sanctum in specie columbæ bis vidère meruit; et angelos Dei modulantes et dicentes, "Kyrie "eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson,"[5] in laude Trinitatis audivit, atque cytharam suam parieti adhærentem angelicis manibus resonare antiphonam, "Gaudent in cœlis animæ "sanctorum," solus veraciter intellexit. Vixit itaque beatus Dunstanus septem regum temporibus, [6] dieque vocationis suæ imminente ecclesiam sibi commissam Deo commendavit. Et sumtpo sacramento corporis Domini, inter verba orationis

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[1] Abridged from Adelard, p. 56.
[2] Adelard, p. 59.
[3] Adelard, p. 60.
[4] *Hic etiam, &c.*] Adelard, pp. 62, 63.
[5] *dieque*] Adelard, pp. 65, 66.

spiritum in manus Creatoris reddidit, et in pace requiescit. Tu autem. Hours of S. Dunstan:

Tres ultimæ lectiones de expositione Evangelii, Homo quidam peregre. *Cætera omnia de communi unius confessoris et pontificis.*

2. (Brev. Eborac. MS Laud, 84.)

Ad Vesperas, *Antiphona* Alleluia *pertinens ad feriam cum prosis ferialibus.* according to the use of York.

Cap. Ecce sacerdos.

Y. Iste confessor.

Versic. Amavit.

In ebdomade Ascensionis, Confessor Domini.

Oratio. Da quæsumus *ut in communi.*

Ad matutin. Invitatorium. Exultent.

P. Venite.

Y. Iste confessor.

In Nocturnis *antiphona* Alleluia III. Ps. Beatus vir. P. Quare fre. P. Domine quid vult. Versic. Amavit.

Lectio I^a.[1]

Sanctus antistes Dunstanus tam sanctis parentibus ortus claruit, ut eos sæculo exemptos inter choros conspicere mereretur angelicos. Natus ergo puer Dei sacro e lavacro intinctus et Glastoniæ divino servitio mancipatur. Cumique jam flos adolescentiæ in annis adolesceret, de Glastonia egressus archiepiscopo Dorobernensi Aldelmo patruo scilicet suo se junxit. In quo idem pontifex gratiam Dei admirans, in palatio eum præsentavit, et regi Adelstano in magno affectu commendavit. A quo diversis honoribus sublimatus locum quoque in quo educatus est Dei informandum servitio suscepit, ubi monachus et abbas effectus monachorum ibi scolam primus instruere cœpit. Cujus studio sic sancta inibi excrevit religio, ut per eum ex hoc loco culmen religionis monasticæ toto Anglorum orbe diffusum sit.

Resp. Euge serve.

Lectio II^a.[2]

Rex autem Eadgarus regno confirmatus beatum Dunstanum in episcopatu Wigorniensis ecclesiæ promovit. In cujus ordinatione cum Odo archiepiscopus officium rite perageret, eum ecclesiæ metropolis Dorobernensis cunctis admirantibus titulavit. Super quo a circumstantibus modeste redargutus, "Scio," inquit, "karissimi, quid loquatur in me Deus." Adaucto ei de-

[1] Adelard, pp. 54, 55, 56.

[2] Adelard, pp. 60, 61, 62.

Hours of S. Dunstan; according to the use of York.

inde ecclesiæ Londoniensis præsulatu, gemini pontificatus claruit insigni. Prædicto vero archiepiscopo patribus suis apposito, cum electione totius ecclesiæ in cathedra archiepiscopatus successit, cui eum olim Spiritus Sanctus titulavit. Beato vero Adelwaldo Wyntoniæ episcopo, a se olim educato, et ante se ad cœlestia regna præmisso, ei per visum beatus astitit Andreas apostolus, hoc oraculo usus, "Abbatem nomine Elphe- "gum Wyntoniæ consecrabis episcopum." Hujusmodi visionibus beatus pater dignissimus Spiritum quoque Sanctum velud alter Johannes in specie columbæ bis videre promeruit.

Resp. Ecce sacerdos.

Lectio III.[1]

Die itaque vocationis ejus imminente commissam sibi ecclesiam Deo assignavit, verbo instruxit, atque auctoritate apostolica a peccatis omnibus absolvit. Deinde commissa omnibus pace et caritate sua vale ultimum dixit. Ipsa vero die Dominicæ Ascensionis cœpit lente viribus destitui, languoreque prævalescente, lectulo suscipitur, in quo tota sexta feria cum nocte sequenti decumbens mane Sabbati ympnis jam matutinalibus peractis, sanctam adesse jubet fratrum congregationem. Quibus iterum spiritum commendans, viaticum sacramentorum Christi suscepit: unde gratias agens Deo psallere cœpit, "Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum misericors et miserator "Dominus; escam dedit timentibus Se." Inter quæ verba spiritum in manibus Creatoris reddens in pace quievit.

Resp. Agmina sa.

Versic. Ora pro no.

In laudibus et ad alias horas antiphonæ Alleluiaticæ; *cætera de communi unius Confessoris Pontificis. Isto modo dicatur de eo si ante Ascensionem evenerit. Si vero post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis evenerit, dicatur de eo cum tribus lectionibus, sicut de uno confessore pontifice extra tempus Paschale.*

3. (Breviarium Herford. Rouen, 1505.)

According to the use of Hereford.

In Festo Sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi.

Oratio. Deus qui beatum Dunstanum pontificem ad regna cœlestia transtulisti, da nobis per gloriosa ejus merita ad gaudia transire perennia. Per Dominum.

Tres Lectiones fiant sine regimine chori.

Lectio Prima.[2] Sanctus antistes Dunstanus tam sanctis parentibus ortus claruit, ut eos sæculo exemptos inter choros conspicere mereretur angelicos; ipso autem maternis retento

[1] Adelard, pp. 65, 66.

[2] Adelard, p. 54.

visceribus, de præsentato puero Jesu in templo dies illuxit celebris. Tu autem. Hours of S. Dunstan, according to the use of Hereford.

Lectio Secunda.[1] Natus ergo puer Dei sacro est lavacro intinctus, et Glastoniæ divino servitio mancipatus. Cumque jam flos adolescentiæ in annis adolesceret, de Glastonia egressus archyepiscopo Dorobernensi patruo suo Aldelmo se junxit. Tu autem.

Lectio III.[2] Hunc nocte quadam orantem dyabolus in ursi effigie aggreditur, et cambucam brachiis complexans frendens dentibus et ore de manibus sancti auferre conatus est. In quem vir Dei imperterritus insurgens horrendum monstrum cum cambuca cædendo persequitur. Et eo psallente "Exurgat "Deus et dissipentur inimici Ejus," per subdola bestiarum transformata evanuit.

Et cætera de communi unius pontificis istius temporis.

4. (MS. Bodl. e Mus. 2.)

Oratio. Deus qui beatum Dunstanum pontificem tuum ad regna transtulisti cœlestia, da nobis per gloriosa ejus merita ad regna transire perhennia. Per . . . . . Another arrangement according to the use of Salisbury.

Si hoc festum vel Sancti Aldelmi vel Sancti Augustini vel Sancti Barnabæ apostoli ante Pentecosten evenerit, fiat de communi sanctorum Paschalis temporis. Si vero post Pentecosten contigerit, fiant ix. *lectiones, et omnia fiant de communi reliqui temporis.*

Lectio I.[3] Beatus Dunstanus talibus parentibus ortus claruit, quales sæculo exemptos inter choros conspicere mereretur angelorum. Natus vero puer Dunstanus in Sanctæ Trinitatis nomine baptizatur, et litterarum postmodum studiis traditur.

Lectio II.[4] Cumque jam in Dei servitio adolevisset, Dorobernensi archiepiscopo Aldelmo patruo suo accessit. In cujus moribus cum eidem pontifici complacuisset, regi Athelstano ab eodem est præsentatus, et cum omni affectu est commendatus.

Lectio III.[5] Beatus vero Dunstanus monachus et abbas Glastoniæ effectus, monachorum ibi scolam instituit, et verbo et opere informavit, ita ut per eum norma religionis monasticæ toto Anglorum diffusa est orbe.

Lectio IV^ta.[5] Cumque præfato regi natus esset filius qui in baptismate dictus est Edgarus, Sanctus Dunstanus divinis

[1] Adelard, pp. 54, 55.
[2] Adelard, p. 59.
[3] Adelard, p. 54.
[4] Adelard, p. 55.
[5] Adelard, p. 56.

Hours of S. Dunstan.

intendens audivit vocem psallentium in sublimi, "Pax Anglo-"rum ecclesiæ nati nunc pueri et nostri Dunstani tempore;" quod postea rei probavit eventus.

LECTIO V^ta.[1] Postea vero regni solio Edgarus sublimatus, regni negotia in pace, sicut cœlitus promissum est, disponente, sapientum consilio beatum Dunstanum de abbate episcopum fecit in Wygornensi ecclesia, quod et divinitus collatum sibi fuisse creditur.

LECTIO VI^a.[2] Hunc quadam nocte orantem in ursi effigiem diabolus aggreditur. Cui vir Dei inperterritus resistens, horrendum monstrum vi cædendo insequitur. Et dum psallebat, "Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici Ejus," et formæ fantasma evanuit.

Tres Lectiones ultimæ de expositione Evangelii, Homo quidam peregre. *Cætera de communi unius confessoris et pontificis.*

VII. ORATIO ANSELMI AD SANCTUM DUNSTANUM, CUM RECORDATIONE MIRACULORUM EJUS.

(Opera, ed. Gerberon, pp. 297–299.)

S. Anselm's prayer to Dunstan.

Sancte Dunstane, dulcis ad invocandum et benignus ad exaudiendum, pius ad subveniendum; tu ad te fugientibus nunquam incertum refugium, tu ad te clamantibus nunquam imparatum auxilium; sancte, benigne ac pie Dunstane, respice miseriam animæ meæ: si enim respexeris, si calamitatem meam et miseriam attenderis, profecto misericordiæ tuæ viscera non continebis. Timore, tremore, horrore, excruciatur anima mea; timet, tremit, et exhorret immania quæ meretur supplicia, et non est quo effugiat constituta ante judicem. Sola assistit, nullus qui pro ea agat existit. Vita discutitur, damnabilis invenitur, bona etenim acta requiruntur, vix aut nulla reperiuntur. Deferuntur admissa; negari non possunt tam multa et tam grandia quæ omnem veniæ spem excludunt. Longanimem sui patientiam judex exigendo prætendit; nihil nisi pertinacem sui impœnitentiam ista obtendit. Circum sis-

[1] Adelard, p. 60.

[2] Adelard, p. 59.

tunt accusantes, iterant et reiterant, replicant et explicant delatas accusationes. Undique accusatur, a nullo excusatur. Astant et expectant crudeles ac horrendi tortores ut probata damnationis sententia mox eam ad cruciandum abripiant. Tanta miseriarum mole obruta miserabilis anima quærit et circumspicit; et ecce qui consurgat et pro ea respondeat nullum aspicit. S. Anselm's prayer to Dunstan.

Tu ergo pie, misericors et clemens Dunstane, surge, surge, exhibe solitam opem miserationis, adhibe viscera pietatis, impende suffragium interventionis; ad te clamandum invitabant et exhortabantur opera pietatis quæ de te prædicantur; sed repellunt ac obtundunt opera impietatis, quæ a me commissa a te horrore intolerabili abominantur atque exsecrantur. Ecce miseria, ecce angustia, ubi reus condemnatur, et omnis Dei misericordiæ ac pietatis sinus obseratur; sic arguitur, confunditur, obtunditur, accusatrice conscientia, ut nec judicem deprecari audeat, nec qui deprecetur pro ea: sed tu, O misericors et pie, ubi pietas, ubi miseratio, ubi misericordia, nisi ubi miseria? Cui pius, cui misericors fies nisi misero? Agnosco, agnosco, agnosco, agnoscens obmutesco, intentans enormitatem criminum meorum; attamen quanto major miseria, tanto fit prædicabilior misericordia; nec miseria mea tanta erit, ut deficiens fiat potentia tuæ virtutis. An eo usque amplificatur miseria mea ut angustetur misericordia tua? An invalitudo mea præponderabit potentissima merita tua? Immo meritorum tuorum præponderans gratia sustollat, leviget ac evacuet impietatum mearum pondera. Libentissime tibi Judex Ipse donabit quidquid tua tam dilecta et cara Eum familiaritas postulabit: non negabit tibi unius salutem miseri, Salus Ipsa Cui tam familiaris existis: facile reddet tibi unius mortui vitam Vita Ipsa apud Quam tantam habes gratiam.

Ne deficiat, quæso, in me uno tuæ benignitatis munificentia, cujus in multis et tam innumeris redundant beneficia. Obtineam per te indulgentiam ut tam

S. Anselm's prayer to Dunstan.

dilecti et diligentis Dei ac Domini tui in omnes prædicent ac magnificent misericordiam. O quam prædicandis monstrabat Deus indiciis quantum Ei tu gratus esses ac familiaris! O inæstimabilis cordis tui puritas, cum qua tam crebro sermocinabantur angeli Dei! O inæstimabilis apud Deum familiaritas, cui sic familiaris erat angelorum dignitas! O decus[1] ac præmium virginitatis, cui sic adgaudet natura angelicæ dignitatis! In cœlum deducebaris, intereras beatis agminibus illorum, oblectabaris modulationibus angelicis,[2] cantans cum illis canticum quod solus cantat chorus virginalis. Rursus tibi in terris hymnum celebranti vicissim aderat et consonabat melodia cœlestis: concinebant agmina virginitatis, summa dignitas supernæ civitatis. Potens ac præpotens gratia, cui sic obsequens erat dignitatis angelicæ potentia! Excellens ac præcellens meriti eminentia, quam sibi acceptam, sic pretiosam divina monstrabat superexcellentia. Nunquam ergo quam dilecti, tam familiaris sui precem avertet, ut reo uni veniam non donet. Denique Ipse testatur quoniam non vult ut peccator moriatur: libenter itaque animæ peccatrici salutem dabit cujus testatur Se nolle mortem.

Rursus occurrunt spes et confidentia ereptionis meæ apud Ipsum Judicem, insignia familiaritatis tuæ. Quos enim prænuntios, quos apparitores ad te præmisit, cum directam tuam beatam animam jam carne abituram, Illum adituram, ac Secum permansuram adjudicavit? ne ullo metu terreretur, stupore turbaretur, incertitudine sollicitaretur, dies prædicitur, æternæ beatitudinis mansio promittitur, ducatus curiæ cœlestis adducitur, a quo hilari securitate ac secura hilaritate perducitur.

Quanta et O quanta, quali et O quali suscipitur exsultatione, qui cum tali ac tanta deducitur apparitione! quantum jocundatur et glorificatur susceptus cujus sic honorificatur adventus? quanta denique veneratione,

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[1] See Osbern, p. 119, whence the words seem to be taken.

[2] This is word for word from Osbern, above, p. 117.

quanta glorificationis exhibitione fit ipsa annuntiatio migrationis tuæ? Per visum tibi sedenti in cathedra tua pontificali[1] astans et circumstans angelorum frequentia, supernorum civium curia; quærit a te quoad tibi placeat commorari in carne ista; refert nuntium, indicat votum totius supernæ concionis optantis, orantis ac deprecantis, ut jam cum eis ante summum pontificem perpetuum Sanctus decantes in cœlis. Respondisti te nunc non posse abire; quia Dominicæ Ascensionis aderat festum, in quo allocuturus et communicaturus eras commissum tibi populum. Fit concessio justæ et caritativæ excusationis; indicitur dies in qua nulla occurreret causa dilationis. S. Anselm's prayer to Dunstan.

O insignis et admirabilis gratia familiaritatis, cujus solius voluntati, totius supernæ dignitatis votum ac voluntas cedit! Concedit dilationem Sui ne hujus non habeat adimpletionem; quod non vult, illa fieri mavult quam ne non fiat quod ista vult. Quo ergo amore præsentia ejus amatur et amplectitur cujus absentia sic desideratur et exspectatur! Quod a Deo gratiæ donum accepit in cœlis tantum gloriæ munus in terris concessit! Splendidus in stola virginitatis quam veneranter suscipitur ad nuptias Agni! Inter primos discumbit, quia cum decore integritatis induitur virtute humilitalis; præditusque gratia caritatis ac totius virtutis, sequitur Agnum quocunque vadit. Quomodo ergo tam amatus, tam familiaris apud Ipsum Auctorem salutis, misericordiæ ac pietatis, non obtinebis salutem unius peccatoris, si voluntas adest, constat quia possibilitas non deest; nec voluntatem fas est abesse, quia te voluntati Ejus fas non est contrarium esse, Qui omnes homines vult salvos facere. Obtine itaque quod vis, et quod potes obtine: liberetur et vivat tua intercessione anima mea, pro qua ut viveret, mori voluit beata Vita, Deus Ipse, misericordia mea, Qui est benedictus in sæcula. Amen.

[1] See Osbern, p. 120. The word *cathedra* looks as if Anselm had read Eadmer's account, p. 217.

VIII. Sermo de maxima laude Sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi et confessoris.

(MS. C.C.C.C. 161.)

Sermon in praise of Dunstan.

Beatissimus Dei præsul Dunstanus, cujus laudes paria paribus copulando succincte digerere juvat, vere multis et egregiis virtutibus et gratiis atque magnalibus, magnis felix successibus, omnium justorum spiritu plenus, omnimoda cœlestium ordinum dignitate præfulgebat. Quæ ut omnia sigillatim elucescant, in moribus nimirum quadrifida principalium virtutum quadriga, id est, prudentia, justitia, fortitudine, temperantia, cum appendicibus earum, supra sidera efferebatur, adeo ut totius humani generis præfulgidum sidus non immerito videretur. Quarum omnium mira profectio, si in ejus vita quæritur, profecto invenitur. Speciosis plane renitebat gratiis, qui adeo erat et forma decorus et lingua facundus, ingenio acutus, memoria tenax, studio pertinax, manu efficax, scientiis peritus, cautela discretus, prophetia prævidus, prodigiis mirificus. Multiplici quoque successu præter cœlestes ejus clarificationes felicissimus, utpote a puero in regum palatiis educatus, principibus et populis unice gratus, per ipsas etiam persecutiones prosperatus, singulari exemplo gemini simul episcopatus episcopus unus, deinde etiam omnium Angliæ ecclesiarum principalis pastor et patriæ rector et regum imperator, pontificali simulque regali officio strenuissime functus. In signum autem signorum mirificentia præditus, a Deo quidem Patre cœlestium et terrenarum rerum revelationibus, aliisque prodigiis multifarie glorificatus, Filii Dei in cœlis et Spiritus Sancti in terris iterato visu donatus, a divina matre præsentia ejus et cantu, visu et auditu, processione et obsequio, ab angelis quoque cæterisque sanctis in cœlo et in terra singulari gloria dilectus, frequentatus, adjutus, veneratus; ab hominibus reveritus, dæmonibus formidatus, in cæteras etiam creaturas imperiosus. Carminum cœlestium

His graces.

His successes.

His signs and wonders.

in cœlis et in terris auditor et cantor, discipulus et doctor, qui quod cœlicolæ eum docebant, homines docebat; qui angelis canebat, et cui angeli canebant, et ipsius cithara citharizabant; sancti applaudebant, et ipsa virgo virginum cum suis virginibus dulcissime cantabat. Vates futurorum, invisibilium spectator, poli deambulator, ipse quoque corpore in alta sublatus. Suffragator hominum, tortor dæmonum, dampnandarum liberator animarum, jussor creaturarum, mutator naturarum. Ad cujus obsequium subvolabant pondera, aer tulit pondera, cedebant inmobilia, inundabant arida, molliebantur dura, loquebantur muta et insensibilia. Jam vero quod omnium justorum spiritu plenus claruit ex subjectis liquebit. Ab utero sanctificatus est ut Jeremias, et miraculo præsignatus ut Johannes; cum Petro a Petra, et monte qui Christus est, divinitus nomen trahens: et ut Christi imitator in templum præsentatus, sicut ille Symeonis prophetico, sic iste angelici senis prædicatus oraculo. Ut virgo Juliana atque Christiana dæmones domabat, eosque ut Martinus visibus suis et præterea verbis atque verberibus subjectos habebat. Sanctæ armoniæ musicus Daviticus, et sicut Salomon artificiosus. Sicut Davit ab invidis, et ut Helyas a tirannis et altera Jezabel pro justitia persecutionem passus. Sicut Helyas a corvis in vita sustentatus, sic iste a canibus de morte liberatus. Sicut Johannes Evangelista salubri ægritudine ad cœlibatum conversus, sicut Johannes Baptista Spiritum Sanctum manifeste vidit, sicut Antonius et Benedictus sacram relligionem multiplicabat. Sicut Moyses et Gregorius prælationes humiliter renuebat, et sicut Aaron idemque Gregorius divino indicio obedienter suscipiebat. Magnus ecclesiæ pastor, ut Petrus; patriæ rector ut Samuel, regum imperator ut Ysaias. Sicut Helyas et Heliseus tirannos indomabiles increpabat, et prophetali sententia plectebat; et sicut Helyseus dociles corrigebat, correctosque regebat. Item sicut Helyseus a pro-

His signs and wonders.

His high privileges and powers.

His power over the elements.

His likeness to S. John the Baptist, S. Peter, SS. Juliana and Christiana, and S. Martin.

To David, Elijah, the two S. Johns, S. Antony, and S. Benedict.

To Moses, S. Gregory, Aaron, S. Peter, Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha.

Dunstan's miracles, preservation, and visions.

fundo aquæ ferrum enatare, seque fecit manibrio aptare, sic Dunstanus trabem in aerem sursum evolare et loco debito se collocare. Sicut prophetæ multa et mira prædixit, et sicut martyres plurima pro justitia pertulit. Sicut Davit a persecutoribus suis divinitus vindicatus. Quorum uni, sicut Gregorius animam pagani imperatoris a tartareis tormentis, sic et ipse animam impii regis a tortoribus eripuit demoniis.

He wrought miracles like Moses, Gregory, and Bridget.

Fontem ut Moyses de rupe produxit, ecclesiam ut montem Gregorius dimovit, casulam ut Brigida in aere suspendit. Sicut Danieli et Ezechieli, Zachariæ atque Johanni per angelos, et sicut Machabæo per sanctos, sic et isti per utrosque multa occulta Deus revelavit.

He was like S. Paul, Isaiah, and Ezekiel.

Sicut Paulus in cœlum deduci meruit, ibique et in terris archana verba et angelica carmina audiit, eaque sibi et in cœlo et in terra loqui et canere et homines docere licuit. Item sicut Ysaias et Ezechiel Dei majestatem in cœlis et Johannes Spiritum Sanctum et Dei Genitricem in terris, utrobique autem frequenti miraculo et raro exemplo, angelos et sanctos, et familiarius Andream apostolum videre et alloqui, multisque ac miris modis,

His friendship with S. Andrew.

ut præfatum est, ab eis oblectari consuevit. Et hæc quidem omnia in se uno congessit maximorum maxima Sanctorum magnalia. Sed illa certe sibi soli appertinent propria et incomparabilia, quod tantis honoribus a matre Domini Creatoris et omnium creaturarum Do-

He is served by angels.

mina diligi et deduci, et ab Ipso Domino transmissis ad eum universis angelorum agminibus ad regnum cœleste invitari dignus fuit. Sicut igitur omnium justorum spiritu repletus, et omnibus ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ gradibus promotus, sic et omnimoda sanctorum

His promotion through all degrees of sanctity.

atque angelicorum ordinum dignitate præditus. Erat enim, ut gradatim ad summa conscendamus, corde simul et corpore virgo, confessor prædicando, martyr vero vita et voto, multaque patiendo. Claruit apostolus, ut Christi legatus, vaticinio propheta, primatu patriarcha. Erat et angelus, quia Dei et hominum officio et actu fre-

quens internuntius; erat et archangelus, quia aliorum similium angelorum director et dux. Sicut virtutes virtutum operator; sicut potestates multa in homines et dæmones, in animas et corpora, potestate præditus. Sicut principatus ipsis quoque principans regibus atque principibus. Sicut dominationes omnibus dominans spiritualibus et animalibus corporeisque illecebris atque passionibus. Sicut throni Dei sedes extabat per quem mortalibus sua judicia decernebat. Sicut cherubin multa Deum scientia et intellectu cognoscebat atque cernebat. Sicut seraphin miro caritatis ardore Deitati proximus adhærebat. Alta quidem et longe super hominem sunt hæc, sed multo excellentius, salva fide, hic homo divinus prædicatur etiam Deus atque Dei filius et hæres æternus. Deus existebat quia gratia et meritis deificatus, Dei quoque hæres et filius adoptione assumptus. Hæres quidem Dei, cohæres autem Christi, et inter cæteros summi Dei filios insignis et excelsus. Vere igitur multis et egregiis præcelsus privilegiis, vere magnus ab hominibus obsequiis adorandus, qui tantis in cœlis et in terra adeo sublimatur honoribus.

He is compared with the several ranks of the angelic host.

IX.

A COLLATION OF THE TEXT OF THE ST. GALL MS. 337, WITH THE PRESENT EDITION.

Pages of this Volume.

p. 3. Rubric in red capitals, "Incipit Prolugus "de vita vel conversatione almi confes- "soris Dunstani."

l. 1. *archonti Albrico*] archonti videlicet Albrico.
2. *B.*] in margin, "Beda."
5. *placidam*] placidi.
6. *tutionem*] tutorem.
7. *excipiendam*] excipiendo.
18. *exonerans*] exhonerans.

p. 4, l. 14. *fundotenus*] fundetenus.
15. *precaria*] a, ins. MS.
29. *schemate*] scemate.
34. *antistitis*] antestitis.
35. *summe*] sum me.

p. 5, l. 13. *educando*] edocando.
20. *agrestem*] egrestem; as MS. A.
28. Rubric in red capitals, "Incipit gloriosi "Dunstani archipræsulis conversatio vel "vita."
29. *Cum multorum*] Cum ergo multorum (in violet uncials).
temporum a vero cultu Cristi] in black capitals.
30. *quibus*] ut.
32. *decernebat*] decrevisset, tandem.

Pages of this Volume.

p. 6, l. 2. *ejusdem cæcitati*] genti præfatæ.
3. *hujus*] has.
5, 6. *sociaret . . fidelium*] efficeret populum Anglorum in . . .
7. *inter insciæ nationis vepres*] in populum jam dictum.
8. *triticeum*] triticium ; (tritieum, A.).
9. *inseruit, sic*] inserebat, sic omne . . .
10. *hac exstirpavit, ut*] eo exstirpavit, nec . . .
11. *ea pullulare prohiberet*] ea pullulare permisit.
13, 14. *debere . . spreverat*] offerre demonstravit. Quid multa ?
16. *Hic*] Dominus.
17–19. *optimæ . . reges*] tamen hominibus adhibens meliorem, elegit sibi pastores de populo Suo, reges videlicet.
20. *Ecclesiæ Suæ*] ecclesiarum.
22. *cum justitia*] ac servarent.
24. *hos præcipuos*] quos etiam.
24–28. *quem . . adnumeratus*] gloriosus Æthelstanus quamvis eum multi reges, quorum nunc nomina difficultas non sinit rimare per singula, regnando præcederent, post tamen annis succedentibus rex Anglorum adnumeratus est.
28. *igitur*] quoque.
29. *oritur*] ortus est.
30. *Heorstanus*] Heorstan.
Cynethrydis] Cynethryth.
31. *vocitatur*] vocabatur.
sacri baptismatis] sacris baptismatum.
32. *itaque*] igitur.
34. *autem*] itaque.

p. 7, l. 1. *vicinorum*] Anglorum.
nuncupata] vocitata.
5. *muneribus*] beneficiis.

Pages of this Volume.

p. 7, l. 5. *In ea siquidem ipsius loca*] In qua quidem insula.

7–8. *nulla . . paratam*] nullis hominum arte recordationibus fabricatam vel dicatam.

12–14. *Huic . . dedicaverunt*] Ad hanc etiam aliam addiderunt opere lapideo ædificantes ecclesiam, quam Christo pontifices sanctoque Petro apostolo dedicarunt.

15–16. *et jam dictæ . . frequentabat*] adorabat, frequentabat locum jam dictæ insulæ pretiosum.

16. *ergo*] enim.

18. *transire Glestoniam*] transisse Glæstoniam.

21. *excessu*] aspectu.

24. *eo . . fuisse*] eo videlicet ordine quo nunc statuta vel facta referuntur.

26. *religiosi*] jam dicti, add. MS.

27. *otiis*] curiose, add. MS.
studentem] om. MS.

30. *transiliret*] transilisset.

p. 8, l. 6. *vacua*] vacuo.

12. *morituras*] morituris.

14. *abiit*] saliit; this is probably the true reading.

33. *Ostia*] Hostia; so also A.

p. 9, l. 2. *ut*] om. MS.

5. *Exsurgat*] Ut surgat.

6. *Nam . . tanto*] Nam quantum fuerat crescendo sublimior, tanto erat.

p. 10, l. 1. *quantoque*] quantumque.

2. *quanto vero*] et quantum.

9. *tempore continuo*] om. MS.

12. *cedrus*] cedris.

15. *tam*] namque. The following variations are of more especial importance, owing to the lacuna in the Arras MS.

16. *ut*] adeo nempe ut.

Pages of this Volume.

p. 10, l. 117. *autem*] tamen ut.
18. *captabat . . sed*] captaret favores sed ut.
illam] omnem, add. MS.
19. *gestabat*] gestaret.
22. *dictavit*] et nevit, add. MS.
23. *et divinorum*] om. MS.; so also MS. B.
sic] om. MS.; so also B.
24. *ut*] eo videlicet tenore ut.
25. *et*] et ut.
27. *sensum*] om. MS.
Hibernensium] Hiberniensium.
Glestoniæ] om. MS.
28. *fidelium turbæ*] nationes.
et] om. MS.
29. *maxime*] tamen, add. MS.
junioris] senioris; so also B. Mabillon, however, as well as the Bollandists, preserves the former as the reading of A.

p. 11, l. 2. *phylosophantes*] philosophantes.
5. *persensit*] persenserat.
Ita] Et ita.
6. *vero*] om. MS.
cohercebat] cohercens.
7. *divinæ Scripturæ libros scrutaretur*] hujusmodi libros enucleaverat.
9. *mulcebatur*] insudaverat.
12, 13. *et . . suorum*] immo sæcularium, maxime videlicet ipsi consanguinei sui.
18. *ut hirci*] uti hyrci.
20. *inopinatam in eum scabiem mendacii*] inopinata mendacia.
21. *salutaribus*] salubribus.
23, 24. *historiarum . . nœnias*] histriarum frivolas coluisse incantationes.
24. *autem*] quippe.
25, 26. *beatus tyro semper Christum opposuit*] ipse necessario adhibendus est Christus.

Pages of this Volume.

p. 11, 27–29. *in cujus . . auctores*] cum teste Suo David scilicet fideli qui in persona Ipsius Sancti Spiritus præventus oraculo de falsis testibus tempore . . . Compare the reading of B., note 10.

30. *vanitates*] vanitatem.

p. 12, l. 3. *auditoribus Suis*] iterum Ipse auditoribus Suis inqui t.

6. *Itemque*] Dominus, ins. MS.
vos] vobis.

9. *illo*] illa.

10. *ergo*] namque.

11. *firmissima sponsione confortatus*] fidelissima sponsione Christi sui confortatus, libens.

12. *curans*] haberet.

13. *vix . . aperuerit*] numquam contra se latrantes canes aut raro aperiret.

16. *quadam*] qua præfatus sum.
coram rege] apud ipsum regem.

17. *impetraveruntque*] impetrantes.

18, 19. *Deinde . . rabie*] At illi impetrata expulsionis licentia.

21. *ac*] videlicet ac.

23. *efficerent, pedibus superimprimebant*] afficerent pedibus super calcantes imprimebant.

24. *eorum*] illorum ; so also MS. B.

25. *dehonestarent*] sordidando, add. MS.

26. *e palude*] a fece.

27. *distantem*] distante.

28. *venire disposuit*] pervenit.

29. *vero illi*] itaque illi Dei amici propinquaret domui.
luto] ita.

30. *deturpatum*] attaminatum.
putāverunt] putabant.

p. 13, l. 1. *crudeli*] crudeliori.

Pages of this Volume.

p. 13, l. 1. *tamen*] sed.

1, 2. *ut blandientis vocem audierunt, mox esse illius ex eo*] blandientem vocem remulcentis audissent, mox illum e voce.

5. *in*] ad tam.

6. *mutata*] mutatam.
natura] creatura.

8. *humanitatis*] humanitate.

10. After this section the S. Gall MS. has the following verses:—

" Talibus obprobriis ceterisque bachantibus actis
" Sæpe virum proprio pepulere ab honore beatum.
" Sed Domini famulus, postquam sermone fideli
" Se quoque reddiderat purgatum crimine cuncto,
" Securus rediit digno functurus honore,
" Cunctorum invitus sociorum vana latrantum.
" Quid voluit sibi stulta choors nec præmeditata,
" Quæ studuit dampnare pium sub fraude nociva?
" Forte putabat eum pressisse dolis machinarum
" Quem Domini pietas maluit præcellere cunctis.
" Est labor inmodicus durum coriare cotillum,
" Aut natare diu contra refluentia stagna."

p. 13, l. 14. *cessisse, quibus*] cesisse quibus ipse.

15. *sed*] et.

17. *Primum enim mulierem*] Primum enim, ut ita dicam, muliebrem.

19. *Ælfheagus*] Ælfheah, videlicet.

21. *rogavit*] rogaverat.

22. *instinctu*] ab instinctu.

25, 26. *verba abnuentis audivit*] abnuentis verba audisset.

27. *inferret*] talia intulisset.

29. *agnosceret*] agnovisset.
Deo misericorditer favente] quidem Deo dictante.

Pages of this Volume.

p. 14, l. 1. *Eo namque modo*] Eo itaque ut.
3. *obtexit, ut*] obtexisset, in tantum inquam.
4. *et*] ut.
5. *Tunc*] ergo, add. MS.
6. *pontificem . . spretum*] præscriptum pontificem jam antea spretum.
11. *taliter*] hoc prædicto modo.
14. *revocavit*] The S. Gall MS. proceeds, "consuluit post hæc famulus Dei Dunstanus, "et vir virilis ingenii effectus est coram "Deo et hominibus. Et dum ex hac "prædicta Dei correctione," etc.
15. *antistitis Ælfheagi*] antestitis Ælfheahi.
16. *post*] postea.
18. *Interea*] enim, add. MS.
Wintoniensium] Wintonensium.
19. *invitaverunt*] rogaverunt.
20. *in sua civitate Wintonia*] ipsi quoque in prædicta civitate.
21. *Numinis*] Nominis.
condiderant, in parte] condiderunt, in parte videlicet.
23. *omnibus . . esse*] omnium ecclesiarum esse proxima perhibetur.
24. *pontifice*] pariter, add. MS.
26. *coegerunt*] invitarunt.
27. *caritatis*] caritatum.

p. 15, l. 4. *quam*] quam etiam.
7. *dixit*] dicebat.
8, 9. *Compleamus . . nostram*] Perpleamus hic apud sanctum apostolicum nostrum Gregorium ultimam nostri.
11. *in unum*] episcopus scilicet et Dunstanus.
12. *proderent*] prodidissent.
Qua . . daretur] Et post peractam confessionem, dum dabatur.

Pages of this Volume.

p. 15, l. 13–16. *lapis . . læsit*] ecce lapis permagnus ab alto aere descendit, nisus ictu minaci amborum capita conterere; sed parcente Domino inter utraque capita, tangens tamen capillos amborum vehementi lapsu in terram corruerat.

20. *quendam*] ejusdem, add. MS.
æcclesiæ] templi.
Wulfredum] Uulfredum.

21. *mortem subiisse*] necem subire.

25. *multa*] quæque.

26. *suæque . . ætatis et*] omniumque suorum.

p. 16, l. 1–3. *Auditis . . positus*] Audito itaque beato Dunstano tanta mysteriorum miracula, tantosque inevitabiles vitæ suæ casus, ait per hanc revelationem ad eum.

3. *Si quæ*] Si omnia hæc quæ.

7. *digitoque demonstravit*] digito demonstrans.

8–19. *Quia hæc . . humari*] "Si hæc omnia quæ "tibi referebam vera sunt, et non falsa, "hoc in loco ante triduum presbyter qui- "dam sepelietur, sed nondum est infir- "matus; corpusculum vero sacerdotis "ejusdem ab occidentali parte templi præ- "sentis veniet deportatum." Ad hanc visionis vocem expergefactus est. Mane vero facto et meante diliculo, ecce beatus Dunstanus memor miræ revelationis post horam primam diei ipsius suis cum sodalibus deambulando venit ad locum spiritaliter sibi prænotatum, arripiensque lapidem manuabilem, et in prætitulatum projecerat locum, dicens, "Hic vero, si is qui mecum "loquebatur est verax, ante triduum pres- "biter unus est humaturus."

21. *magister*] minister.

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p. 16, l. 22. *obtinuit*] elegit.
aliqua] alia.
23. *sepulturam*] pausationem perpetuam.
24. *siquidem*] enim.
25. *post paucum*] paulatim.
26. *Deinde*] ita inquam ut.
extremum] emissurum.
27. *commendavit*] commendaret.
28. *assignatus*] assignatum.
32. *Wulfred*] Uulfred.

p. 17, l. 4. *Nunc*] Nunc enim.
5. *intermitto*] intermittam.
6. *proferam*] perferam.
namque] itaque.
9. *nuper*] superius. nuper.
Hæc] Hæc igitur.
14. *vero*] namque.
15. *qui hanc*] quia hunc; as in MS. B.
18. *autem*] enim.
19. *se*] famula Dei jam dicta, ins. MS.
20. *præpararet*] præparasset.
23. *igitur*] quidem.
24. *intimo*] nimio; as in MS. B.
26. *ergo*] namque.
27. *obvia*] obviam; as in MS. B.
28. *quia*] quoniam; as in MS. B.

p. 18, l. 3. *promissam*] permissam.
præcedenti] statuto, antecedentes regem.
4. *habilia*] abilia.
7. "*Non patiatur*"] "Nolit," inquit.
12. *sibi adesse*] om. MS.
13. *supplementum*] sublementum.
regis] terreni regis.
14. *ad tempus præfinitum*] jam tempus prænotatum.
16. *introivit*] introibat.

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p. 18, l. 19. *pincernis*] tamen nihilominus.
20. *sciphis*] scifis.
21. *indiscretæ quantitatis vasibus*] vasibus magnis et modicis.
23. *ministrantium*] ammiratus, ins. MS.
24. *nimis*] namque nimis.
superfluitate] mole.
25. *nepti*] nepte.
26. *subit*] ibat.
27. *famula Dei*] prænominata Dei famula.
28. *cursu*] et, ins. MS.
33. *ipso*] sed tamen in ipso.
finiti] finitæ.
34. *cum . . scolasticis*] cum imbuendis scolasticis suis.
35. *obseratam*] seratam.
compleret] repleret.

p. 19, l. 3. *mira*] siquidem, ins. MS.; so also MS. B.
4. *vero*] enim, ut ita dicam.
7. *quæ*] et.
atria] non desi (*sic* for deside) descensione sed.
9. *continuo*] sed continuo.
12. *accessit*] accedit.
13. *observatrices*] videlicet, ins. MS.; so also MS. B.
14. *loqueretur*] loquatur.
21. *ea etiam*] eam otiam.
quievisset] agnovisset.

p. 20, l. 9. *præjussionis*] prævisionis.
12. *futurum*] futura; the words "erat ostensum" are not in the MS.
14. *post*] postque; as in MS. B.
19. *volebat*] vovebat.
21. *Domini*] Dominæ.
27. *Æthelwynn*] Æþelpynn.

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p. 20, l. 27. *vocavit*] evocavit; as in MS. B.
p. 21, l. 1. *ille*] illi; as in MS. B.
7. *se*] om. MS.
11. *cubilis*] cubiculi.
14. *concinendo*] concinnendo.
26. *qui*] quoniam; as in MS. B.
28. *proceres*] proceratus.
p. 22, l. 1. *Domini*] Dominici.
8. *infra*] jussa.
21. *abscondit*] abscondidit.
in] ut.
24. *ambularet, disposuit*] ambulare disposuit, misericorditer ministrarent.
25. *cordatius*] cordetenus; as in MS. B.
p. 23, l. 4. *et*] om. MS.
15. *nexuri*] nexuros.
21. *Ceodrum*] Ceoddrum.
p. 24, l. 3. *venaturus*] venaturum; as in MS. B.
4. *insectatione*] insectione.
7. *devexum*] divexum.
11. *demersit*] se dimersit: cf. MS. B.
p. 25, l. 2. *cum illuc ducatu*] dum illuc ducatu regis.
12. *ego*] ergo.
20. *inmunitionibus*] munitionibus.
p. 26, l. 2. *morigena*] morigera.
16. *cœpimus*] incœpimus.
ac] vel.
21. *perterrere*] perterere; as in MS. A.
p. 27, l. 3. *chyra dextra*] chira dextrali.
5. *laudem*] laude; as in MS. B.
12. *everteret*] averteret.
19. *in*] eodem, ins. MS.; as in MS. B.
23. *levis*] levi.
26. *kyspidus*] hispidis.
p. 28, l. 4. *congressus*] congressum.
11. *eidem*] idem; as in MS. A.

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p. 28, l. 15. *inepta*] in inepta.
p. 29, l. 9. *Sumersetensium*] Sumersætensium.
15. *Eadrœdus*] Eadredus.
17. *sublimitate*] regia, ins. MS.
p. 30, l. 6. *sermonum*] responsa.
25. *deberet*] et, ins. MS.
p. 31, l. 1. *recussando*] recusando.
10. *sorpto succo*] sorto suco.
8, 26. *Eadrœdus*] Eadredus.
34. *commendaverunt*] commendarunt.
p. 32, l. 16. *palpamentum*] pulpamentum; as in MS. A.
24. *recussare*] recusare.
30. *jussa*] præcepta.
p. 33, l. 4. *dixerunt*] ei, ins. MS.
8. *manu sua*] extendit manum suam.
11. *Æthelgyvu*] Æþelgifu.
20. *venenifero*] venifero.
22. *inimicabilibus*] inimicalibus.
27. *urgente*] urguente.
28. *ipsa*] ire; as in MS. B.
29. *furentis*] furientis.
31. *inbuendos*] inbuendo.
p. 34, l. 4. *occidentali*] occidentalis; as in MS. A.
13. *compatientiæ*] compatientis; so also in MS. A.
17. *velificata*] velificatu; unquestionably the true reading.
19. *populatrice*] pepulatrice; as in MS. A.
22. *dictu*] dictæ.
p. 35, l. 1. *ingemiscendo*] ingemescendo.
4. *cogitaret*] cogitarat; as in MS. A.
13. *verumptamen*] veruntamen.
21. *explete*] implete.
p. 36, l. 1. *adsciscens*] adscissens.
3. *imperiali*] imperali.
12. *secum*] semper, ins. MS.

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p. 36, l. 27. *Brandanford*] Bradanford, as the Bollandists read the Arras MS., and as I myself read it: in the text, however, I have followed Mabillon's reading, which is that of MS. B.
31. *moribus*] moribusque.
p. 37, l. 2. *quoque*] quosque.
5. *Numinis*] Nominis.
8. *Cynewaldus*] Cyneuualdus.
13. *triticeum*] triticium: MS. A. reads *triticum*.
15. *metam*] cum fructu, ins. MS.
22. *pontem*] pontum, with both the other MSS.
30. *Adamica*] Adimitica.
p. 38, l. 9. *Byrhtelmum*] Byrhthelmum.
13. *correctionis*] correptionis.
31. *gradieris*] gredieris.
p. 39, l. 4. *administrationis*] ministrationis.
11. *Dominus*] Deus; as in MS. B.
23. *præstolantes*] præstulantes.
ille] ipse.
32. *procacis*] procaci; so in MS. A.
p. 40, l. 7. *charismate affectus*] carismate effectus.
14. *ditare*] indoctos erudire, pravos corrigere.
ad] veritatis, ins. MS., as also MS. B.
29. *sopitalem*] sopitantem.
p. 41, l. 9. *eidem*] eodem; as in MS. A.
14. *glorificatur*] glorificat.
25. *Alleluia*] om. MS.
p. 42, l. 4. *modulationem*] om. MS., as also MS. A.
10. *mihi*] om. MS., as also MS. B.
coaptare] cooptare.
20. *hæc*] unde hæc; as in MS. B.
21. *Cantica*] Cantico.
24. *recti*] recte.
25. *rex*] om. MS.
p. 43, l. 7. *canticum*] cantica.
8. *quandoque*] quondam.

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p. 43, l. 15. *regnavit*] regnabit.
19. *decantans*] decantabat.
p. 44, l. 9. *divinis*] divis.
20. *Ælfstani*] Æþelstani: a most valuable correction.
28. *oculos . . proba*] proprios oculos, et probe.
p. 45, l. 2. *et mox ex inimicabili*] sed mox ex inimicali: inimicabili is the reading of MS. B. only.
21. *insensibilia*] insensabilia.
p. 46, l. 6. *Saxonica*] sub Saxonica.
8. *nuptialis*] nuntialis.
21. *inbutione*] imbuitione.
p. 47, l. 8. *captare*] captitare.
17. *hesterna*] externa.
31. *beatus vir*] beati.
32. *meriti*] pater.
p. 48, l. 1. *fortiter*] fortunissime.
apparare] præparare.
7. *facunculi*] farunculi: no doubt the true reading.
8. *honorem*] honore.
19. *œdiculam*] ædicula.
24. *sonoritarum*] sonoritatum.
32. *circuitionis*] circumitionis; so also MS. A.
p. 49, l. 27. *orphanis*] orfanis.
28. *amminiculo*] adminiculo.
29. *paratum*] partitum: no doubt the true reading.
31. *vel citra*] cis vel citra.
p. 50, l. 13. *intentis*] invictum, ins. MS.
14. *Quotiesque*] Quotiensque.
15. *dignæ*] digne.
laude] laute.
22. *alta*] alto.
23. *fastigia*] fastigio; as in the other MSS.
25. *finem*] fieri, ins. MS.

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p. 50, l. 28. *sudarat*] sudabat.
32. *aliqua*] qua.
p. 51, l. 13. *facultatem*] facultate.
14. *quorumcunque*] credentium, ins. MS.
18. *lectionis*] lectum.[1]

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[1] The Life ends without a colophon, at p. 91 of the MS. It is followed, pp. 92-94, by a charter of the restoration of the monastery of S. Peter at Squirs in Aquitaine, which begins thus, "Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis " DCCCCLXXVII., indicione V. In nomine Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, " ego Gumboldus episcopus et frater meus Guillelmus Sanccio dux Was- " conum, etc." It is followed by the names of the witnesses.

Pp. 94, 95. A letter on the foundation of the same monastery by Charles the Great, and on its destruction by the Normans.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY.

A.

ÆDITUUS, 3, 386. A bishop; used at p. 256 in its ordinary sense as a keeper or servant of the Church.

AFORISMUS, 367 (ἀφορίσμός). A brief statement.

APICELLUS, 5. A letter.

APORIA, 368 (ἀπορία). Helpless poverty.

ARCHISTEUM, 367 (ἀσκητηρίον). A monastery.

AREGIDIA, 367. An unknown word, possibly the name of a musical instrument; or=harmonia, or =argutia (?)

AXIS, 308. Used for assis, a plank.

B.

BASILITIUS, 386. Royal.

BOIA, 154. A chain or collar; used by Plautus.

BRATTHEA, 366 (βραχύς). Short labours.

C.

CAMBUTTA, 59, 446. A staff.

CARDIAN, 387 (καρδία). The heart.

CASULA, 17. A cottage; 204, 258, a chasuble.

CAUMA, 367 (κᾶυμα). Burning.

CHIRA, 27 (χείρ). The hand.

CIRICEUM, 399 (κηρύκειον). A herald's wand; a pastoral staff.

CLEPTOR, 29 (κλεπτής). A robber.

CONDA, 377. Property (?).

CONVIARE, 368. To accompany.

COPIARE, 360 (κοπιάω). To labour.

CORCULUM, 4. The heart.

COSMUS, 5, 363 (κόσμος). The world, this life.

COSMICALIS, 52. Belonging to this life.

CRISIDINEUS, 4 (χρυσος, δινέω). Dazzling as with gold.

CRUSMA, 367 (κρῦσμα). A musical note.

CURAGULUS, 372. A defender.

D.

DAGMA, 386, 390 (δάγμα). A bite.

DECIBILIS, 32, 44. Decens, becoming; or = Dicibilis, worthy of record.

DEIFICUS, 10. Making one like God.

DEIVIDUS, 104. Enabling one to see God.

DEPICATUS, 12 (pix). Cleansed as from pitch.

DEPRETA, 367 (=deprædata ?).
DESTINA, 83. A cell.
DIARCHA, 103 (δυάρχης like τετράρχης). The ruler of half a kingdom.
DOGMATIZATOR, 25. A teacher or judge of doctrine.

E.

ECLIPTICOS, 384 (ἐκλειπτικῶς) Ecliptically.
ENPIRIUS, 366 (ἐμπύριος). Fiery.
EPISCOPIUM, 57 (ἐπισκοπεῖον). A bishopric.
ESURIES (gen. esurietis), 387. Hunger.

F.

FAVOREUS, 5. Favourable.

G.

GLEVA, 370, =gleba, a clod, or greva, gravel.

H.

HEARPA, 21. A harp.

I.

IDRIOLA, 302, =hydriola, a waterpot.
INCAUSTUM, 4 (ἔγκαυστον). Ink.

L.

LECTOREUS, 386. Connected with reading.
LEPIDO, *gen.* LEPIDINIS, 386. Neatness.

M.

MARTYRIUM, 141. The martyrdom at Canterbury, probably the place where the relics of S. Elfege were deposited, as at a later period the name was given to the place where S. Thomas's shrine was kept.
MAURUS, 196 (μαῦρος). A black man, a devil.
MEDO, 18, 176. Mead, hydromel.
MORULA, 104. A short delay.
MUNDIBURDIUM, 375. Protection of a patron or surety.

N.

NEGITARE, 96. To go on denying.

O.

OCCULSUS, 390. Disabled or killed, apparently formed like perculsus from a verb *occello*.
ONOMA, 383. A name.
ORARIUM, 170. A stole.
OROMA, 366 (ὅραμα). Vision.

P.

PALATINUS, 11, 21. A courtier.
PARTHENALIS, 388. Belonging to virginity.
PERIBULUM, 8, 366. A wall.
PERIERGIA, 367. Laborious care.
PINNICULA, 4. A pen.
PITACIOLUM, 409. A writing tablet; a letter.
PLANETA, 247. A chasuble.

PNEUMA, 366 (πνεῦμα). Spirit.
POMPARE, 21. To adorn.
PRÆBENDARIUS, 223. A pensioner.
PROFESSIO, 3 (=PROFECTIO). A starting.

R.

RABULATUS, 366. A voice.
RECELLA, 262. } An article of furni-
RECOLA, 374. } ture.

S.

SEDEO, 389. To please.
SENIORATUS, 23. Patronage, =mundiburdium.
SIBIERE, 363. See note.
SPINDULATUS, 416. Furnished with the pins, spindulæ, with which the pall was fastened.
STOMA, 387 (στόμα). The mouth.
SYRMA, 367 (σύρμα). A strain of music.

T.

TITULATIO, 5, 388. Literary composition.
THYMIAMA, 68 (θυμίαμα). Incense.
TROSSOLUS, 390. A wallet.

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These volumes contain summaries of all State Papers and Correspondence relating to the reign of Henry VIII., in the Public Record Office, of those formerly in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Public Libraries; and of all letters that have appeared in print in the works of Burnet, Strype, and others. Whatever authentic original material exists in England relative to the religious, political, parliamentary, or social history of the country during the reign of Henry VIII., whether despatches of ambassadors, or proceedings of the army, navy, treasury, or ordnance, or records of Parliament, appointments of officers, grants from the Crown, &c., will be found calendared in these volumes.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1547–1553. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, and Correspondant du Comité Impérial des Travaux Historiques et des Sociétés Savantes de France. 1861.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF MARY, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1553–1558. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law and

Correspondant du Comité Impérial des Travaux Historiques et des Sociétés Savantes de France. 1861.

The two preceding volumes exhibit the negotiations of the English ambassadors with the courts of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, of Henry II. of France, and of Philip II. of Spain. The affairs of several of the minor continental states also find various incidental illustrations of much interest.

A valuable series of Papers descriptive of the circumstances which attended the loss of Calais merits a special notice; while the progress of the wars in the north of France, into which England was dragged by her union with Spain, is narrated at some length. The domestic affairs of England are of course passed over in these volumes, which treat only of its relations with foreign powers.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, &c. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, (Vols. I.–VII.), and ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, (Vols. VIII. and IX.) 1863–1874.

Vol. I.—1558–1559.
Vol. II.—1559–1560.
Vol. III.—1560–1561.
Vol. IV.—1561–1562.
Vol. V.—1562.
Vol. VI.—1563.
Vol. VII.—1564–1565.
Vol. VIII.—1566–1568.
Vol. IX.—1569–1571.

These volumes contain a Calendar of the Foreign Correspondence during the early portion of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, deposited in the Public Record Office, &c. They illustrate not only the external but also the domestic affairs of Foreign Countries during that period.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. 1868–1871.

Vol. I.—1557–1696.
Vol. II.—1697–1702.

The above Papers connected with the affairs of the Treasury comprise petitions, reports, and other documents relating to services rendered to the State, grants of money and pensions, appointments to offices, remissions of fines and duties, &c. They illustrate civil and military events, finance, the administration in Ireland and the Colonies, &c., and afford information nowhere else recorded.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. 1867–1873.

Vol. I.—1515–1574.
Vol. II.—1575–1588.
Vol. III.—1589–1600.
Vol. IV.—1601–1603.
Vol. V.—Book of Howth; Miscellaneous.
Vol. VI.—1603–1624.

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, deposited in the Lambeth Library, are unique, and of great importance. The Calendar (now completed) cannot fail to be welcome to all students of Irish history.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH. 1862–1868.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485–1509.
Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509–1525.
Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain, and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the

second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katharine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. 1873.

Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525–1526.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar of the Spanish State Papers. He has pursued a similar plan to that of his predecessor, but has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864–1873.

Vol. I.—1202–1509.
Vol. II.—1509–1519.
Vol. III.—1520–1526.
Vol. IV.—1527–1533.
Vol. V.—1534–1554.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.–Edw. III.; 1066–1377. Vol. II.—Ric. II.–Chas. II.; 1377–1654. 1869–1873.

The "Fœdera," or "Rymer's Fœdera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fœdera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price 2s. 6d.*

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price 2s. 6d.*

In the Press.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. III.—1586, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by the* Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. III.—1608, &c.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. IV., Part 3.—1529, &c.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. III.—Appendix and Index.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. III.—1702–1707.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. Vol. VI.—1555, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XV.—1639–1640.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. IV.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1622, &c. Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., &c., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. (1760–1800), and JOHN RINGWOOD ATKINS, Esq. (1801–1829).

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, excerpted from the Records preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office; to the end of the Reign of HENRY VII. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., A.B., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland).

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. X.—1572, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo., half-bound. *Price* 10*s*. each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an "uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's "royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, "and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional know- "ledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He "would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His "wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the "ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever "expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., and probably written in the year 1245, on the occasion of the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between the years 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between the years 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA; scilicet, I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. II.—Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. III.—Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1858.

This volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It has been the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed.

5. FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the school-

men had been extended to the field of theology and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND ; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece ; by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends, and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this ; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true ; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three distinct parts, each having its own separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, and extends from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in the year 1100, to the year 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of some value.

8. HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS, by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS) : Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366 ; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially

of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London, in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and

comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born

about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V. and VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1873.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about the year 1188 and may be regarded rather

as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ.

22. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861–1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not

under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^mo^ FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIÆ JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSCRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1873.

In the first two volumes is a history of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., written by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans and prior of the cell of Wymundham, belonging to that abbey. It is printed from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, monk of Saint Albans, who lived in the reign of Edward I., printed from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX. (of the fourteenth century) in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219–231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cottonian Manuscript, Claudius E. III., fols. 306–331: Also an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol by Edward I., 1291–1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., attributed to William Rishanger above mentioned, but on no sufficient ground: A short Chronicle of English History,

from 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A short Chronicle from 1297 to 1307, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with an addition of Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1299, 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1295 to 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: and a fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1285 to 1307, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe a monk of St. Albans, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henricus de Blaneforde, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A full Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer of St. Albans, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, and of the fortunes and vicissitudes of the house, from 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of the Abbey in the reign of Richard II.; from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum; with a Continuation, from the closing pages of the Parker MS. No. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The eighth and ninth volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably written by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The tenth and eleventh volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events occurring during those periods.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Britanniæ*, in 1747.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, and 32–33. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1873.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great

legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY, 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; "but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre; and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. ANNALES MONASTICI. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297; Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and, being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST. Vol. I.:—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI. Vol. II.:—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I.,

Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864–1868.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAVRIN. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471, after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III. and IV. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1872.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. LE LIVERE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVERE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA, AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources, which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments. There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the EARLIEST TIMES to 1135; with a SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III. and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OR, THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. *Edited, with a Translation, by* JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University. Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in

the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

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This important and unique survey of the greater portion of England* is the oldest and most valuable record in the national archives. It was commenced about the year 1084 and finished in 1086. Its compilation was determined upon at Gloucester by William the Conqueror, in council, in order that he might know what was due to him, in the way of tax, from his subjects, and that each at the same time might know what he had to pay. It was compiled as much for their protection as for the benefit of the sovereign. The nobility and people had been grievously distressed at the time by the king bringing over large numbers of French and Bretons, and quartering them on his subjects, "each accord-"ing to the measure of his land," for the purpose of resisting the invasion of Cnut, King of Denmark, which was apprehended. The commissioners appointed to make the survey were to inquire the name of each place; who held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor; the present possessor; how many hides were in the manor; how many ploughs were in demesne; how many homagers; how many villeins; how many cottars; how many serving men; how many free tenants; how many tenants in soccage; how much wood, meadow, and pasture; the number of mills and fish-ponds; what had been added or taken away from the place; what was the gross value in the time of Edward the Confessor; the present value; and how much each free-man or soc-man had, and whether any advance could be made in the value. Thus could be ascertained who held the estate in the time of King Edward; who then held it; its value in the time of the late king; and its value as it stood at the formation of the survey. So minute was the survey, that the writer of the contemporary portion of the Saxon Chronicle records, with some asperity—"So very narrowly he caused it to be "traced out, that there was not a single hide, nor one virgate of land, nor even, "it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do, an ox, nor a cow, "nor a swine was left, that was not set down."

Domesday Survey is in two parts or volumes. The first, in folio, contains the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Chester and Lancaster, Cornwall, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Gloucester, Hants, Hereford, Herts, Huntingdon, Kent, Leicester and Rutland, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Salop, Somerset, Stafford, Surrey, Sussex, Warwick, Wilts, Worcester, and York. The second volume, in quarto, contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

Domesday Book was printed *verbatim et literatim* during the last century, in consequence of an address of the House of Lords to King George III. in 1767. It was not, however, commenced until 1773, and was completed early in 1783. In 1860, Her Majesty's Government, with the concurrence of the Master of the Rolls, determined to apply the art of photozincography to the production of a fac-simile of Domesday Book, under the superintendence of Colonel Sir Henry James, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey, Southampton. The fac-simile was completed in 1863.

* For some reason left unexplained, many parts were left unsurveyed; Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, are not described in the survey; nor does Lancashire appear under its proper name; but Furness, and the northern part of Lancashire, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with a part of Cumberland, are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire. That part of Lancashire which lies between the Ribble and Mersey, and which at the time of the survey comprehended 688 manors, is joined to Cheshire. Part of Rutland is described in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln.

FAC-SIMILES of NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS, from WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR to QUEEN ANNE, selected under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and Photozincographed, by Command of Her Majesty, by Colonel SIR HENRY JAMES, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey. Price, each Part, with translations and notes, double foolscap folio, 16*s*.

Part I. (William the Conqueror to Henry VII.). 1865.
Part II. (Henry VIII. and Edward VI.). 1866.
Part III. (Mary and Elizabeth). 1867.
Part IV. (James I. to Anne). 1868.

The first Part extends from William the Conqueror to Henry VII., and contains autographs of the kings of England, as well as of many other illustrious personages famous in history, and some interesting charters, letters patent, and state papers. The second Part, for the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., consists principally of holograph letters and autographs of kings, princes, statesmen, and other persons of great historical interest, who lived during those reigns. The third Part contains similar documents for the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, including a signed bill of Lady Jane Grey. The fourth Part concludes the series, and comprises a number of documents taken from the originals belonging to the Constable of the Tower of London; also several records illustrative of the Gunpowder Plot, and a woodcut containing portraits of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI., circulated by their adherents in England, 1580–3.

Public Record Office,
July 1874.